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A CENTURY IN THE PACIFIC

A CENTURY IN THE PACIFIC

EDITED BY

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Sydney

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Melbourne

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PREFACE

THE purpose of this book is to review the developments in the South Pacific during the past hundred years. The progress made in these regions may appear to some readers insignificant when the possibilities of this immense area are contemplated; but a keen realization of the humble beginnings of the early settler and the vastness of the area on which he settled will enable the reader to see the work in its true perspective, and lead him to a just appreciation of the marvellous work accomplished during the century. To all who have eyes to see, it is clear that in the Pacific lie the problems of the future. What does the average person know of these problems, and how does he propose to deal with them? It is hoped that this book may assist the reader to appreciate the significance of this Greater Britain in the Southern World.

The editor, who is responsible for the plan of the book, has striven throughout to prevent needless repetition and to preserve proportion. Otherwise each writer has been free to treat his allotted subject in his own way. No effort has been spared to secure accuracy; but as it has not been possible for the writers to see their proofs, some errors may have crept in.

My thanks are due to the contributors who so readily came to my assistance in the compilation of this work; also to the Rev. E. H. Sugden, Master of Queen's College, Melbourne; the Rev. C. J. Prescott, Master of Newington College, Sydney; Mr. C. Brunsdon Fletcher, of the *Sydney Morning Herald;* and the Rev. J. Alfred Sharp, of London, for valuable suggestions. To the Rev. R. H. Colwell, of Durham, who, at my request, prepared the synopses and index, I owe a great debt.

JAMES COLWELL.

September 1, 1914.

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'Histories are as perfect as the historian is wise, and is gifted with an eye and a soul.'—CARLYLE.

'Great men have been among us; hands that penned
And tongues that uttered wisdom.'

WORDSWORTH.

'If you would work any man, you must either know his nature and fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so win him; or his weaknesses or disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him.' BACON.

INTRODUCTION

By W. H. FITCHETT, B.A., LL.D.

Principal Methodist Ladies' College, Hawthorn, Melbourne

SYNOPSIS

Area of Pacific—Artistic view—Dawn and sunset—Colour and form—*Sailing Directions*—Ships of past—Origin of name—Discovery—Spaniards—Dutch—French—Cook—Islands—Great Britain—Past and future—Object of book—Christian missions—Fiji.

INTRODUCTION

THE GREATEST SEA ON THE PLANET

THE Pacific, as measured by the prosaic test of the foot-rule, is the greatest sea on the planet. The area of the Atlantic, north and south, and including the Arctic Ocean, is less than 24,000,000 square miles; the Mediterranean, if we include the Black Sea in that term, stretches over only 1,000,000 square miles. But the Pacific has an area of 70,000,000 square miles! Three Atlantics, that is, or seventy Mediterraneans, might be placed, without squeezing, within the majestic curve of its far-stretching shores! It exceeds in space all the dry land on the globe; it covers more than one-third of the earth's surface. And it will be, if it is not already, as great in political and commercial importance as it is in geographical scale. For it is the sea of the future.

This vast expanse of 'unplumbed, salt estranging sea' breaks against the Arctic ice in the cold north, and against the white cliffs of the frozen Antarctic to the south; while a belt of steamy equatorial waters, 10,000 miles long, runs from east to west, betwixt these two bitter extremes. Such an ocean has inevitably an amazing variety of aspects and weathers. But if we take its best-known stretch, the natural highway of its commerce—the belt of sun-warmed waters swinging under tropical skies—say within ten degrees north and south of the Equator, we have the most beautiful sea zone on the planet. The only way, indeed, to realize what, from the artistic point of view, the Pacific is, is to lie in a deck-chair, under a cool awning, on the white deck of a great modern steamboat, as she traverses this 'broad belt of the world,' and watch the lazily heaving sea, the white clouds drifting in the wind, the island peaks against the horizon, the splen-

dours of tropical dawn and sunsets. It is like nothing else in the world! The senses are steeped in beauty, and in a beauty which takes many shapes; from the slow dawn of the tropical day to the quick coming of the tropical night; from the deep, rich colour of the sea as it lies under the flame of the noonday sun, a pavement of living sapphire, and the strange stars which burn in the sky when the sun has set.

At night, indeed, the sea itself becomes a sort of dim yet starry firmament. All the planets and constellations hanging in the depths of space above are reflected in the cool depths beneath; so that the ship seems to swing betwixt two firmaments, both of them aflame with stars. Then there are the islets which crowd such wide spaces of the Pacific. On the skyline will hang a low cloud of purple; as the ship creeps near, it turns into a cone, or a cluster of cones, of vivid green, the green of tropical foliage; the base is fringed with coco-nut palms and edged with the white foam, and the far-heard thunder of the great Pacific breakers. The glories of tropical clouds, again, are of a quality which might mock the colours of Turner to depict, and leave the prose of Ruskin pale to describe. On the frontiers of dawn and of sunset burn the strangest colour-effects. A sort of precipice of clouds will build itself along the horizon, and the setting sun pierces the masses of dark vapour with flame-like crimsons and scarlets. Turner saw Venice, and has left his vision of it, expressed in immortal colours, on his canvas. Had he seen a tropical sunset, or watched the mountain peaks of Kandava, he would have stained his canvas with richer colours than even those which burn in the famous Turner room in the Art Gallery in London.

The tropical sea itself, again, the sea of the Equator, baffles description. Under colder skies the sea surface is of a greyness which has in it a note of desolation. The sea of the trade winds is a rich but dark blue, pricked and splashed with patches of white spray; and the whole stretch of waters, to the very rim of the horizon, wears an expression of restless

life. But the sea of the Equator, the stretch of water betwixt the south-east and the north-east trades, is like no other tract of sea on the planet. The eye dwells with unexhausted wonder on its wealth of colour. The deep amethystine blue has the effect of a rich and far-stretching pavement, fit for the feet of kings, to which, in some moods, the cloud-hung skyline, marked at intervals with faint perpendicular lines, where some tropical shower is falling, has the softening effects of some vast, rich, pendant tapestry.

For many hours of the day the curve of the horizon is clear and sharp-cut as an airline; and within its curve the sea lies a vast, blue, perfect oval, for, somehow, the effect on the eye is that of an oval rather than that of a circle. Homer's phrase of 'the wrinkled sea' exactly describes its surface. It is one vast monotone of blue, with no speckle of white, the white of wind-blown spray, to break the deep, far-running flame of colour. But the surface is fretted and broken with innumerable lines, giving it a frosted effect, as of some rich metal, rough-cast. By some curious law of association the sweep of solid blue, running to the clear, curving horizon, suggests the story of the forging of the armour of Achilles in the *Iliad*. For the tropical sea itself is like nothing so much as a vast shield laid flat. Its surface has the crinkled lines of cooling metal. The ship itself seems but a metal boss on its surface. And on the eastern and western edges of that vast pavement of blue burn alternately, every twelve hours or so, the splendours of such dawns and sunsets as neither sea nor land elsewhere ever witness.

The story of the Pacific is a sort of sea-Iliad, as rich in adventure as that tale of courage and endurance around the windy towers of Troy, which Homer has set to immortal verse. But the Pacific has not yet found its poet, or even its adequate artist in prose, and the best bit of literature for the deck of a steamboat running across the equatorial belt is the *Sailing Directions to the South Pacific*, issued by the Admiralty Office. The book, in a sense, is not literature. It

is as empty of adjectives as the multiplication table itself. Of style, in the literary sense, it knows nothing. For most readers its pages would seem a dry as 'the remainder biscuit after a voyage.' But when read on the deck of a steamboat, somewhere near the Equator, the book, for any reader of imagination, is something better than literature. It is life, adventure, discovery, endurance, romance, all translated into the most matter-of-fact symbols. Behind the cold sentences, the figures of soundings, the degrees of latitude and longitude, the notes as to currents and reefs, is the experience of strange voyages, of long-dead seamen, of ships that perhaps now are sunken wrecks, or have been broken up a century since for firewood. It stirs the imagination to reflect on the strange craft and wild voyages which are here condensed into *Sailing Directions*.

Across the pages of the book drift picturesque shapes: Spanish warships of the sixteenth century, high in the stern, low in the bows, and as weatherly as so many washing-tubs; Dutch traders, broad-beamed, flat-bottomed, bluff-bowed; British frigates; whalers, rank with the smell of oil; rusty merchant ships, with scurvy in the forecastle, and strong language on the poop; island traders, with mixed crews, and morals yet more strangely mixed. Three hundred years of sea-adventure, in a word, are crystallized in these *Sailing Directions*. Every bump of a whaler on some hitherto unknown reef, every sea current which perplexed some honest seaman's calculations, every islet and strait off which, or through which, with slanting decks and strange sea-going oaths, those ancient sea-dogs marked their way, may be said to have left its signature on these quaint pages. Cook's name, naturally enough, recurs constantly. His ships, the *Adventure*, the *Discovery*, the *Resolution*, have, in fact, a better title to fame than the Golden Fleece of classic fable. They sail across every page.

Much of the paradox, as well as of the romance, of history is reflected in these *Sailing Directions*. How did the Pacific

come to bear that name, or that other title by which it is known, the 'Great South Sea'? It is certainly not of a specially pacific character. It was called Pacific by Fernando de Magalhaens, who crossed it in 1520; but he gave it that name when he knew only its tropical belt. He himself records that, later, he sailed 'with great storms,' *con gran tormenta*. Or how did this sea get its name of 'Mar del Zur,' the South Sea? Keats, in one of the most frequently quoted bits of English verse in English literature, describes how 'stout Cortes'

> . . . stared at the Pacific—and all his men
> Looked at each other with a wild surmise—
> Silent, upon a peak in Darien.

But poets are not always accurate in their facts. It was not 'stout Cortes,' but a much smaller man, Vasco Nunez de Balboa, who, on September 25, 1513, from the summit of a hill in Panama, caught the first glimpse with European eyes of these great unknown waters; and, falling on his knees, thanked Heaven for having granted him the honour of being the first European to behold the sea beyond America. And it was the accident that the water on which he looked lay to the south of him, which gave that unknown ocean the title of 'the South Sea.' Seven years later, in 1520, Magellan, after sounding his dim and perilous way through the strait which bears his name, broke into this unknown sea at a point where its warm waters lay under quiet skies, and so he gave it the name of Mar Pacifico. The *Sailing Directions*, however, has an obstinate fidelity to facts, and it reports courageously, though with defective grammar, that 'the term South Sea or Pacific Ocean are neither of them justly appropriate, seeing that this ocean is neither more south nor more pacific than any other.'

The story of the Pacific is rich in examples of what may be called the satire of history. The Spaniards came first into these waters. They discovered everything; they claimed everything; they have kept nothing! Balboa took possession

of the entire ocean, known and unknown, in the name of the King of Castile and Leon. Spain held the seas, too, by the title of a papal grant; and had an even better title in the number of discoveries its seamen made. Alvaro de Saavedra discovered the Marshall Islands, for example, in 1535; Quiros was the first to visit the New Hebrides. He believed it to be part of a great southern continent, and gave it the sonorous title of Tierra del Espiritu Santo. On the northernmost island he established, on the banks of a river which he called the Jordan, the settlement of Le Nuova Jerusalem. The same fine seaman discovered the Banks Islands and Tucopi Island. Mendana, in 1595, discovered the Santa Cruz group. But the only title that holds in these waters is that of actual use and occupation; and the Spanish flag, to-day, flies on no patch of soil in the vast Pacific.

The Dutch came next, and have a fine record. Abel Tasman, for example, discovered Tonga in 1643, and Fiji in the same year. The Dutch flag, early in the seventeenth century, was a familiar sight in the Pacific. This was the period of sea-power for Holland; a time when, incredible as it must now seem, the Low Countries, according to Sir Walter Raleigh's estimate in 1603, 'possessed as many ships as any eleven kingdoms in Christendom, including England.' They built, according to Raleigh, 1,000 ships annually, notwithstanding that they had not a tree in their whole country. But though the Dutch discovered much, they kept little.

The French record in the Pacific is dark with tragedy. They have some discoveries to their credit, notably that of Samoa, by Bougainville, in 1768; but French performances in the Pacific are best remembered by the unhappy story of La Perouse. He had two ships under his command, *L'Astrolle* and *La Boussole*. They sailed in 1786; the last port at which they touched was Sydney; then they vanished from human knowledge. In 1826 traces of the unfortunate ships were discovered at Vanikoro. Both ships had been wrecked; the survivors of the crews spent ten months on the

island, built a small vessel with great toil, and sailed from it, and were never more heard of! An expedition under D'Entrecasteaux was dispatched from Brest in 1791, in search of La Perouse, and had a fate almost as tragical as that of La Perouse's ships themselves. The two commanders of the expedition died, and ninety-nine out of the 219 men who formed the crews.

Cook is the chief figure, cool, daring, persistent, scientific, and successful, in the history of the Pacific. His three great voyages—the *Endeavour* in 1768, the *Resolution* and the *Adventure* in 1771, the *Resolution* and *Discovery* in 1776—are unsurpassed in sea-history for skill, endurance, and success. Cook may almost be said to have discovered the art of long sea travel. He was the first seaman who was able to keep his crews in health during a voyage which stretched through nearly three years; and the patience, the hardihood, the cool and skilful seamanship shown in finding his way through strange and uncharted waters, and across the whole reef-sown area of the Pacific, are without parallel in history. To-day, when a swift steamer, with the luxurious appointments of a great modern hotel, crosses these waters with the certainty and speed of a railway train, the experience is a tax on human patience. But these seamen of the eighteenth century had no charts; their fare was hard, their ships were slow. They had to creep along strange shores, and discover reefs not seldom by the process of bumping up against them. They added new lands and seas to geography; but they did something better than even this. They created new traditions of hardihood, of a patience which no toil could weary, of an adventurous daring which no sea chances, no peril of unknown waters, of strange lands, and of fierce tribes could daunt. Cook perished at Karakakoa Bay, in Hawaii, under the spears of savages; and it may be said that such a death was the fitting and dramatic crown of such a career.

The Pacific is, in a sense, one of the treasure-chambers of the planet. Its vast stretch of waters is sown thick with

countless islets, on which may be found the richest products of tropical and semi-tropical nature. And yet, for centuries, commerce neglected this great mine of wealth. Some ship —Spanish, or Dutch, or British—touched at some island, explored its reefs, held brief intercourse with its inhabitants, perhaps hoisted a flag on some hill-summit, and then sailed off into space. The islanders lived their easy, savage life; no other ship came near them for a century. The very story of 'the big canoe,' with its white-faced crew and strange weapons, became a dim tradition. And still the world very imperfectly understands the wealth and possibilities of the Pacific, or the area of its island worlds. The Tongan group consists of 100 islands and islets; Fiji has 156 islands. At first the wealth of the Pacific seemed to consist only of the whales in its sun-warmed waters and the guano on its atolls. The whales have gone; so has the guano; but other great sources of wealth are opening on every side. Fiji is already one of the sugar-producing fields of the world, and the Solomons will almost certainly prove a richer field than even Fiji.

Great Britain is the controlling Power in the Pacific; but it owes this to the enterprise of its traders, and the self-sacrifice and daring of its missionaries, rather than to any deliberate policy on the part of its statesmen. No other Power holds so much territory as Great Britain, yet no other has allowed such wide geographical space to slip through its careless fingers. It was Cook, for example, who discovered New Caledonia, the largest island in the Pacific next to New Zealand; British seamen explored all its reefs, and charted all its bays and shores. It was British by discovery, but it is French by occupation.

The Pacific, we have said, is the sea of the future. Over a wide stretch of historical time the Mediterranean was the centre of the world's commerce and life. The trade that crept across its waters, it is true, when translated into modern terms, was not great. Phoenician traders brought tin from

Britain, and ivory and skins from Africa; grain-ships from Egypt carried wheat for food to the hungry Plebs of Rome; Roman and Carthaginian triremes grappled with each other in its blue waters; pirates swarmed around its curving shores. It was, as its name still tells, the centre of the world's life, and the only civilized lands were those washed by its waters. But in 1492 Columbus, sailing in search of Asia, bumped up against America, and, as a result, the centre of the world's trade and politics shifted from the tideless Mediterranean to the stormy Atlantic. Across it the great volume of the world's commerce flowed, now east, now west, betwixt the Old World and the New. The fleets of the great Powers fought with each other for the mastery of its waters. But the Atlantic, in turn, is plainly doomed to give place to a greater sea, and to-morrow the centre of the world's trade and politics will be the Pacific. And that is a fact that must profoundly influence Australia and New Zealand, for they are set in the Pacific, and their fortunes are wrapped up in its fortunes.

One need only look at the map, and trace with instructed eyes the vast shore-line of the Pacific, to know that here is the stage on which great events in the history of the world of to-morrow will be transacted. The two Americas form its eastern shores; north is the frozen Arctic; on the west is the eastern edge of Russia; then come Japan, China, and, still running southward, the great ribbon of islands betwixt China and Australia, the Philippines, Borneo, Sumatra, New Guinea. South, still, of these are set the two garrisons of the Anglo-Saxon race south of the Equator, Australia and New Zealand. Over the wide sea space lying between this vast curve of nations are sprinkled the myriad islets and the rich island-groups of the Pacific. What a kaleidoscope of races, of civilizations, new and old, of creeds and colours, can be discovered along the curving shores running through so many degrees of latitude! And what tremendous possibilities, racial, political, commercial, slumber amongst its many-

tinted races. Across this great sea, it is easy to imagine, will be carried a commerce richer than the world has ever yet known. Battles may be fought on its waters, fraught with mightier issues than the great sea-fight which decided the fate of Rome; or that in the narrow seas which destroyed the great fleet of Philip of Spain; or that immortal battle outside Cadiz Bay when Nelson shattered the sea-strength of France and Spain, and wrecked the dreams of Napoleon. A greater Actium in the Pacific! A more decisive Trafalgar; a sea-battle leaving a deeper mark on history than the defeat of the Armada! Are such events possible? It is certain that the great prize of the trade of the Pacific, the command of its waters, ownership of the soil, and the wealth of its countless islets, may well tempt the greed, and challenge the ambitions, of the nations along its shores. And if the scale of their populations is taken into account, their clashing policies, their wide diversities of race and faith and civilization, or want of civilization, it is quite credible that the Pacific may be the scene of struggles and revolutions greater than any which the other seas of the world have witnessed.

This book, however, is concerned, not so much with the geography of the Pacific, with the ethnology of its native races, the undeveloped wealth of its island groups, and the struggle for the control of this vast sea which the next half-century may witness. Its business is to describe the contributions which, during a single century, missionary work in general, and the missionary enterprise of the Methodist Church in particular, has made in its waters to civilization, and to that Christianity on which the only civilization which can endure is built. It may be claimed with perfect justice that the missionary has done more to lift up the island races of the Pacific to high levels of civilization and morality than the statesman, or the explorer, or the trader. The book, in other words, describes the action, and the results, in this field of those spiritual forces which are shaping, on a new pattern, the life of the world. They stand in the category of things

eternal. Wordsworth's noble lines, with the change of a single word, may be quoted of them—

> . . . powers depart,
> Possessions vanish, and opinions change,
> And passions hold a fluctuating seat ;
> But, by the storms of circumstance unshaken,
> And subject neither to eclipse nor wane,
> These exist—immutably survive.
> . . . . . .
> Whose kingdom is where time and space are not.

The story of Christian missions in the Pacific is a magnificent record, and the present volume undertakes to describe the place in that record filled by the unbroken succession of saints and evangelists which Methodism has maintained in these waters. The story reads like a new page in the Acts of the Apostles. Let the single case of Fiji be taken. On October 14, 1913, a fine memorial college was opened in Fiji, sacred to the memory of the Rev. Thomas Baker and his seven native colleagues, who forty-six years before laid down their lives for the cause of Christianity, and for the natives of Fiji. In Fiji to-day the Methodist Church has 100 native ministers, 800 teachers, 3,670 lay preachers, and 5,000 class leaders, while 30,000 brown-skinned communicants kneel at its sacramental table. His Excellency the Governor made a remarkable speech at this function. He quite naturally emphasized the educational and social results of missionary work. 'You have a right,' he said, 'to be proud of your educational work. Your primary schools are to be found in every village. Your secondary schools, especially those in which technical and industrial training form important features, must result in incalculable good to the whole native race. The adherents of your mission in Fiji number 80,000 out of a native population of 87,000.' Then his Excellency added : 'There are more Methodists in Fiji by 3,000 than the total number of the followers of John Wesley at the time of his death.'

That a hundred and twenty years after Wesley died, in a

single island unknown to him, there should be more of his followers than he had gathered as the result of his life's work, is a picturesque proof of the sustained vitality of the Methodist Church. But what an illustration, as described by a secular but very competent witness, the British administrator of the island, of the power of the working missionary does the state of Fiji offer! And it is an example of the work which the missionary is doing throughout the whole area of the greatest sea in the world. This is assuredly a tale worth both telling and reading.

PART I

SCIENTIFIC

CHAPTER I

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT

By JOSEPH BRYANT, F.G.S., Sydney

Corresponding Member Royal Scottish Geographical Society

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

An unowned continent—Early conjectures—Discoveries concealed—Claims of France and Spain—Maps—De Quiros—Dutch—A tin plate—Mutineers—Tasman—New Holland—Wrecks—English—Dampier—Cook—*Endeavour*—Natives—Slow but sure—New South Wales—Murder of Cook—His achievements—Schemes of settlement—French names—Matra—Botany Bay—Phillip's difficulties—Methodist chaplain—Government by corps—Macarthur and Bligh—Governor Macquarie—Interior exploration—Evans and Oxley—Sturt—Mitchell—Tasmania—Clearing the island—New Zealand—Waitangi—West Australia—Victoria—South Australia—Queensland—To-day.

CHAPTER I

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT

AUSTRALIA emerged from an age-long obscurity, only to lie for many a day rejected and ownerless. The discovery of the continent brought no glory or reward in its train. At a period when European nations were seizing upon new over-sea possessions, Australia went unappropriated by simple default. To adventurers filled with dreams of lands where a rich and feeble civilization, or a splendid barbarism, would yield fabulous spoils, the unpromising coast of Australia, with its handfuls of necessitous nomads, came as a mockery to be resented and ignored. This disappointment and embittered judgement, on what seemed a futile discovery, accounts for the difficulty in assigning the belated honour of the exploit. Exploration for its own sake did not appeal to the sea-rovers of those times, who did not consider knowledge its own reward. They were not in search of strange lands only, but of fields of plenty and mountains of gold. Those who returned empty-handed, or with no clue to certain wealth, were reckoned failures, and their abortive story had little interest.

The existence of a great southern continent was boldly conjectured by ancient philosophers, to whom it was a necessity of thought, in order to secure the essential balance between land and water which their cosmic theory demanded. In classical literature, from Aristotle downwards, frequent references are made to this remote and mysterious land, which it was agreed, however, was inaccessible from this side owing to 'the fury of the sun, which burns the intermediate zone.' Cicero held that this portion of the earth was peopled by a

different race of beings; and, much later, St. Augustine in his great work discussed this whole question, and declared that it was quite impossible that any human beings could be found in a land so disjoined from the cradle of the race. The Chinese were credited, on the authority of Marco Polo, with having a prior knowledge of the great south land. He told of a country known to them, which was to be reached from China by sailing south, lying about 750 miles south-south-west of Java. His description of this distant spot and its people is picturesque and pleasing; too much so to have any application to Australia.

In leaving the realm of hypothesis and myth for that of history in relation to the discovery of Australia, certain reserves must be maintained. There is always the possibility of some venerable chart or musty log leaping to light and demanding an amended award; and the too confident historian may be met by an ancient mariner who holds him with his glittering eye, and insists on telling his tardy story. This point receives emphasis from the bitter jealousy known to have existed between the maritime powers of Europe, resulting in the careful guarding of any discovery as a State secret until it could be turned to direct national advantage. The generous emulation of modern exploration was unknown. Humboldt affirmed, on the authority of the Venetian Ambassador to Spain, that the kings of Portugal had forbidden on pain of death the giving of any information as to the course to Calicut; and Ramusio wrote that accounts of discoveries 'were for many years concealed for convenient reasons.' Sir William Temple, Ambassador to the Hague in the reign of Charles II, declared from information received that 'a southern continent had long since been found out' by the Dutch, and that there was an injunction against 'any further attempts at discovering that continent, having already more trade than could be turned to account, and fearing that some more populous nation might make great establishment of trade in some of these unknown regions.' It is certain

that maps were often falsified by rival nations for selfish purposes.

Truth is the daughter of Time, and it has now become possible to adjudicate upon the many claims advanced to the discovery of Australia. Some of these may be lightly dismissed. First among such is the claim set up for the French sailor, De Gonneville. He sailed from Honfleur for the East Indies in 1503; doubled the Cape of Good Hope; was driven by adverse winds into strange seas; reached an unknown land; spent six months there in kindly relations with its half-civilized people; and when he left, took with him a son of the king to be instructed in the Christian religion, and to return in due time. Such was De Gonneville's story, attested in proper form, but it was published only after a century and a half, and under curious auspices. M. de Meslée has given a serious setting to the suggestion that Australia was the land the French navigator happened upon, but it is not possible to make it convincing. Authorities agree that it was probably Madagascar, and certainly not Australia, where De Gonneville found refuge and welcome.

Another claim has been made in the great name of Magellan when in the service of Charles V of Spain, based upon an ancient map. That illustrious seaman can well afford to forgo this more than doubtful demand. The claim of the Portuguese Godhino de Eredia is also based upon an old map, found in the British Museum, but a comparative examination of the evidence rejects it. Other shadowy claims to be 'the first that ever burst into that silent sea' may be put aside. It is known, however, that in the sixteenth century Portuguese, Spanish, and French navigators were searching the southern seas for unknown lands, and it is likely that some daring captain of that adventurous age has not, and probably never will, come to his rightful name and fame. It is maps, and not personal narratives, that give the earliest place to Australia. Leaving out certain weird constructions which represent pure guesswork, the age of authenticity

gradually dawns, and maps begin to take on some verisimilitude. Among the first of these is the great Dauphin chart of date about 1536, so named because it was apparently executed by order of Francis I of France for his son the Dauphin, afterwards Henry II.

The section which represents Australia is unrecognizably misshapen, but it falls into position, and is plainly founded on fact. Jave la Grande it is called, and names of capes and bays, which may be taken as embellishments only, are printed along its coastline. A number of such maps are in existence, and indicate at least that Australia had emerged from the sphere of scientific dreams and nautical traditions. The completion of its discovery was to be long delayed, but it had in all good faith loomed above the horizon. The words of Major may still be quoted as an authoritative finding upon this obscure period: 'It is highly probable that Australia was discovered by the Portuguese between 1511 and 1529, and almost to a demonstrable certainty before 1542.'

The Columbus of Australia, though not rewarded with the success of the Atlantic navigator (for Cardinal Moran's theory to the contrary must be dismissed as only special pleading), is to be found in Pedro Fernandez de Quiros. Dalrymple says of him: 'Reasoning from principles of science and deep reflection, he asserted the existence of a southern continent, and devoted with unwearied though contemned diligence, the remainder of his life to this sublime conception.' He said himself that this idea 'had grown up with him from his cradle.' He must, indeed, have been possessed by the idea, for he presented over fifty petitions of great length to the King of Spain, praying for the 'necessary measures for the conquest and peopling of the southern land.'

De Quiros had been with Mendana in 1595 on his ill-fated expedition to colonize the island of San Christoval, one of the Solomon group previously discovered by that navigator, and nothing daunted, desired to renew the attempt and yet more beside. In 1605 De Quiros set sail from Callao, in

Peru. He reached finally what seems to have been the New Hebrides, believing that he had come to a portion of the land he sought. He named the island where he landed, according to the pious usage of Spanish explorers, Australia (or, as Collingridge points out decisively, *Austrialia*) del Espiritu Santo, and proceeded to take official possession in the name of the King of Spain, of 'all the lands seen, and to be seen, of all that part of the world south as far as the south pole.' He was the last of the great Spanish seamen in the south.

Luis Vaez de Torres commanded the second ship of De Quiros' expedition, and has given an account in his journal of how his commander's ship left her anchorage and 'departed at one hour past midnight without any notice given, and without any signal,' a mysterious movement due probably to mutiny on board. Torres, being unsuccessful in finding the flagship, determined to carry out the royal orders independently, and sailed as far as the twenty-first parallel. On his return voyage he passed through the strait that bears his name, and reported having sighted hills to the south, but made no further investigation. It is suggested that what he saw was Cape York, though more probably it was the heights of Prince of Wales Island. With the waning of Spanish sea power and the rise of the Dutch navy a new element was introduced into southern waters. As the English seamen, moved by religion and gain, found a pious and profitable delight in 'singeing the King of Spain's beard' Westward ho!, so the Dutch, stung to a merited hatred of the Spanish by long years of oppression and persecution, saw their opportunity in the East Indies, both for revenge and fat damages. The Dutch East India Company was established in 1602, and soon afterwards its ships were trading to Batavia, Bantam, Amboyna, and adjacent lands.

In 1605 the Dutch yacht *Duyfken* (*Little Dove*) of thirty tons, was dispatched from Bantam to explore the islands of New Guinea. The captain of the tiny exploring craft coasted

along the shores of New Guinea, and then unwittingly crossed the entrance of Torres Strait, and entered the Gulf of Carpentaria, supposing its shores to be a continuation of the New Guinea coastline. Some of the crew went ashore and were murdered by 'wild, cruel, black savages.' For want of provisions the captain returned upon his course, naming his furthest point south Cape Keer Weer (Turn Again).

At last Australia had been discovered, albeit unconsciously and ingloriously, the captain's comment upon it being, 'for the most part desert.' Thus, with forbidding face at its threshold, did Australia lower upon its first European visitors. Twelve years later Dirk Hartog, in command of the *Endracht* of Amsterdam, discovered the west coast, and left on an island a record of his landing, inscribed on a tin plate which he nailed to a post. Eighty years afterwards (1697) Captain Vlaming, of the ship *Geelvink*, found this plate, and copying the original and adding particulars of his own visit, replaced it by a new one. More than a hundred years later still, the French ship *Naturaliste* touched at the island, when the second plate was found, half buried in the sand at the foot of the post. A new post was set up and the plate reaffixed. It was only in 1902 that the first immortal plate, Dirk Hartog's own, was found in the State Museum at Amsterdam. The Dutch continued to keep an eye on the great south land in an irresolute way. In 1618 the *Mauritius* touched on the west coast at North-West Cape; in 1622 the *Leeuwin* was on the same coast, and the south-westerly headland was named after the vessel. The year following, Captain Jan Carstens of the *Arnhem* landed in New Guinea and was murdered by the natives. The *Arnhem's* consort, the *Pera*, followed the course of the *Duyfken* to seventeen degrees south. Her captain could only confirm the gloomy report of his countryman who had preceded him. He wrote: 'In this discovery were found everywhere shallow waters and barren coasts, islands peopled by divers poor and brutal

nations, and of very little use to the Dutch East India Company.' In 1627 the *Gulde Zeepard*, 'with sloping mast and dripping prow,' was pitching and rolling in the Great Australian Bight, and followed the south coast for 800 miles, naming it Pieter Nuyts' Land. The next year the *Vianen* followed the west coast for 200 miles, and reported 'a foul and barren shore.'

The wreck of the *Batavia* on Houtnam's Abrolhos off the west coast in 1629 makes a lurid story. The *Batavia* had become separated from the other ships of the expedition, and at midnight struck this reef in an unknown sea. The survivors landed on a small island, and the captain with some seamen presently sailed off in one of the small boats to the mainland in search of water. So hopeless was the prospect that they decided to make for Batavia for help. On their way they met three Dutch vessels, and in one of them proceeded to Batavia, where the Governor ordered the yacht *Saardaam* to sail to the relief of the shipwrecked party. Meanwhile, mutiny had broken out among those left on the little island, and massacre followed. A company of forty-five succeeded in defending themselves against the mutineers, and were able to warn their captain on the relief ship of the intention of the mutinous gang to seize it. On attempting to board the *Saardaam* the ruffians were unexpectedly arrested. Some of them were hanged, and two were put ashore and left to meet what fate might be in store for them.

The sturdy Dutch were slow to abandon hope of the uninviting south land, and under the direction of Anthony Van Dieman, Governor-General of Batavia, an expedition was fitted out for more thorough exploration, with Abel Jans Tasman in command. The little squadron, consisting of two ships, the *Heenskirk* and the *Zeehaen*, sailed from Batavia on August 14, 1642, and with favouring breeze at once stood on a south-easterly course; 'for which the Lord be praised,' ejaculates the devout commander in his journal. On November 24 land was sighted; it was the country which is now

called Tasmania, after its discoverer, but which he loyally named after his chief, Van Dieman's Land. Tasman went ashore, but saw no natives, though he noticed smoke rising at several points. He observed the tracks of an animal 'with claws like a tiger'; and heard strange sounds like a gong; and particularly examined some trees with steps five feet apart cut in them, which suggested to him that there were giants in the land. On December 5 Tasman sailed away, and on the 13th fell in with mountainous country, which he named Staaten Land, and cast anchor in the strait between what came to be known later as the North and Middle Islands of New Zealand. There was immediate trouble with the natives, and a boat's crew from the *Zeehaen* was charged and capsized by a canoe, three of the Dutch seamen being killed. Tasman wrote of the 'detestable deed,' and solemnly proclaimed the natives as enemies, naming the spot Murderer's Bay.

At another point twenty-two canoes were counted inshore; eleven came off crowded with men, and were only stopped by the fire of both ships. A landing was effected on Three Kings' Islands, but finding again that the natives were hostile, and the weather coming up stormy, the expedition sailed away. Whether New Zealand was an island, or part of an archipelago, or a continent, Tasman did not stay to ascertain. He made a second voyage in 1644, which resulted in a map giving the first reliable outline of the coast of Australia as so far discovered; the whole of the east coast, and parts of the north and south coasts, of course, being still blank. The great South Land (Terra Australia) now became known as New Holland; and with much propriety, for the Dutch had expended men and money upon its exploration as no other nation had. But no exact assertion of right to its ownership was made, though Tasman had been directed to take official possession of every place available, by erecting cairns or posts, and placing upon them the arms of the Netherlands with the date of discovery and landing, in order 'to prevent

any other nation in Europe reaping the fruits of our labour and expense in these discoveries.'

Many other Dutch ships visited the coast of Australia, some storm-driven out of their track to the East Indies, or missing their way in the vast waste of water; and heavy toll was taken of them in wreck and treasure and life. In 1655 the *Vergulde Draeck* was wrecked on the west coast. If any of her crew escaped it was only to perish on land, and 78,000 silver guilders went down with the ship. Two years later search ships examined the coast, but found no vestige of crew or treasure. About the year 1684 another vessel, the *Ridderscap van Holland*, was lost on the same coast, and, after ten years this time, again a fruitless search was made. In 1727 the *Zeewyk* was cast away, and most of the crew drowned; but the survivors succeeded in building a raft out of the wreck, and with eighty-two persons on board and ten treasure chests safety was reached. In addition to other recorded voyages, it is probable that a number of Dutch ships, of which no account remains, visited the west coast from the time of Tasman to the end of the seventeenth century. The wrecks of some of these also lie along the Australian coast, a dire tribute of stolid Dutch pertinacity through a century and a quarter.

At last the Dutch became weary of a bootless discovery, and reluctantly abandoned further hope of being finally recouped in Australia. They made the earliest assured contributions to a knowledge of this continent, and then passed, leaving Dutch names on the map, the wrecks of not a few broad-built and clumsy but gallant ships, and piles of records to be codified at The Hague. Australia remained ownerless still, awaiting her true destiny.

English navigators were late comers into Australian seas. The lure of the unknown south land had been lost upon them, or they were occupied elsewhere. English geographers had knowledge of the existence of this unexploited continent, of the loose contemporary kind. In a map of 1578, which

accompanies the account of Frobisher's voyages, it is shown as an unbroken mass of land quite obliterating the Antarctic Ocean. It is described thus: 'Terra Australis seemeth to be a great firm land, lying under and about the South Pole, being in many places a fruitefull soyle, and is not yet throwly discovered, but onlye seene and touched at the north edge thereof, by the travail of the Portingales and Spaniards.'

The first Englishman known to have visited Australia was William Dampier. He was a strange combination of pirate, explorer, scientist, and writer. He came with a wild buccaneering crew to Australia 'to see what the country could afford.' He had a quarrel with his shipmates, who threatened to maroon him on the west coast. But a little later (1699) Dampier was on the same coast again in the reputable rôle of commander of H.M.S. *Roebuck*, for the express purpose of reporting upon Australia to the British Government. He was an erratic genius, and evidently had no enthusiasm for patient and monotonous exploration. He cruised along the coast for 900 miles, according to his own statement, and made some rambling trips on shore, but did not carry out his instructions to solve the problem of the south and east of the continent.

Dampier's first impressions of Australia were doleful enough. Its people were 'the miserablest in the world,' and the barrenness of the country was unrelieved. 'It affords them no food at all. There is neither herb, root, pulse, nor any kind of grain that we saw.' On his second visit he gave a more cheerful report, but evidently the country in his eyes was unredeemed and hopeless. It was left for a nobler Englishman than Dampier to give Australia to his countrymen. James Cook, the final discoverer of Australia, began his life as a farm-boy in Yorkshire; but at eight years of age was sent, by the kindness of a Mr. Skottowe, to the village school. Later he was apprenticed to a shopkeeper in the little fishing port of Staithes. The old story of a stolen shilling, and the consequent running away to sea, has been disposed

of by Kittson in his full and painstaking biography of Cook. But the call of the sea was irresistible, and apparently with the consent of his father and the good-will of his master, the youthful retailer left the village shop, and went as an apprentice on a ship sailing from Whitby in the coastal coal trade.

Cook rose rapidly to the position of mate, and had that of master offered to him; but, with visions of larger possibilities, he left the collier marine, and volunteered with the rank of ordinary seaman aboard H.M.S. *Eagle*. He saw active service, and won recognition and promotion. After six years in the navy he received £50 from the Government, 'in consideration of his indefatigable industry in making himself master of the pilotage of the St. Lawrence,' in connexion with the British operations under Wolfe upon Quebec, held by the French under Montcalm. At the age of thirty Cook was in command of the schooner *Antelope*, charting the coast of Labrador, and while off the shores of Newfoundland took such careful observations of an eclipse of the sun that the Royal Society was amazed at the intelligence and accuracy of the report furnished by a mere warrant officer.

Cook's first voyage (1768) to the South Seas was in command of the ship *Endeavour*, a vessel of 370 tons of the collier class, sent out by the British Government, conveying a scientific party for the observation of a transit of Venus; Tahiti having been chosen as the spot from which to view the transit. His further directions were, when this object had been achieved, 'to make discoveries in the Southern Pacific,' to voyage southward till he touched New Zealand, and then 'to return to England by such route as he thought proper.' There was no mention of Australia in his orders. The scientific mission having been completed, the *Endeavour* left Tahiti on April 10, 1769, and on October 17 New Zealand was sighted. On the following day a landing was effected, first of a long succession of those who would eventually make that remote land as British as Britain herself. In a letter to his friend, Captain John Walker of Whitby, quoted

by Kittson, Cook tells in his quiet, reserved fashion of his doings. 'In the beginning of August, 1769, we quitted the tropical regions, and steered southward in the midst of the South Sea to the height of 40°, and without meeting with any land, or the least visible signs of any; we then steered to the westward between the latitude of 30° and 40°, until we fell in with New Zealand, a very small part of the west coast of which was discovered by Tasman, but he never set foot on it. This country was thought to be part of a southern continent, but I have found it to be two large islands, both of which I circumnavigated in the space of six months.'

Cook had trouble with the natives, and there was some unavoidable bloodshed, which greatly distressed him. He was tactful and patient, and looked at affairs from the natives' point of view. With his own men who offended against native rights he dealt severely. In a letter to Captain Walker he spoke of the natives of New Zealand as 'a brave, warlike people, with sentiments void of treachery, and when once peace was settled they ever after were our very good friends.' It would seem that the idea of founding a colony in New Zealand at once presented itself. The scientific members of the expedition were favourably impressed with the country, and Cook was prepared to recommend as the site of a first settlement the estuary of the new Thames he had named, and the Bay of Islands.

On leaving New Zealand, the *Endeavour* was headed for the east coast of New Holland. Cook knew what was to be known about that land, and never claimed to be the discoverer of it; but the east coast lay unvisited and unplaced; with reference to this, he has unabated right and title as discoverer. This east coast was sighted on April 19, 1770, and as the coastline was followed Cook was pleased with its look. It bore a kindlier face than the west and south had done for their Dutch discoverers. On April 29, the opening of a bay having been noticed, and the country presenting 'a very agreeable and promising aspect,' a landing was decided upon.

The pinnace was sent off to take sounding, the ship following in closely, finally dropping anchor. Cook first named the spot Sting-ray Harbour, but later re-named it Botany Bay, on account of 'the great quantity of plants Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander found there.' On landing, the party met with an unfriendly reception from the natives, and it was found necessary to frighten them by a discharge of firearms and small shot at a comparatively harmless distance. The landing was an epoch-making event; for, unlike all other European visitors to Australia, the British had come eventually to stay.

Cook proceeded northward, carefully noting the coastline. The *Endeavour* was not a rapid sailer, and 26 miles a day was a frequent run, while 10 miles was often recorded. But what was lacking in speed the old ship made up in fidelity, and though a veritable tub, she was, save for rock and reef, almost unsinkable; and Cook had good reason to praise his ship as 'the most proper for the service he ever saw.' All went well until June 10, when, without any sign of danger, the *Endeavour* struck a reef, and, in spite of the jettisoning of guns and ballast, remained fast for twenty-three hours. Finally she floated off, but apparently only to founder in deep water. With great difficulty a sail was passed under the ship and the inrush of water stayed. She was barely floated into the mouth of a river and beached. It was two months before she could be got ready for sea again. Examination of the vessel showed that a large piece of rock had broken off the reef and remained lodged in the leak; and had it not been for this opportune plug, not even the buoyant qualities of the *Endeavour*, and the quick resourcefulness of her commander, could have saved the ship.

A second hair's-breadth escape was experienced when the *Endeavour* was between Australia and New Guinea; a sudden breeze springing up at the last moment enabled the ship to steer off a second deadly reef. Providence Channel is the name Cook gave to this spot where the timely wind came

to his aid and snatched his vessel from the jaws of destruction. It was an anxious time, threading the ship in and out of the reefs, 'without ever having a man out of the chains heaving the lead when the ship was under sail'; and with a sigh of relief Cook left this treacherous track behind. He had now connected his discoveries with those of earlier navigators, completing the whole of the continent; but having no doubt as to his claim to the discovery of the east coast, he proceeded before sailing away to take possession of this portion for the King of England. He named it New Wales, or, as it is given in both the king's copy of Cook's Journal and the Admiralty copy, New South Wales. The formal act of possession took place on Possession Island, August 21, 1770; the English flag was hoisted, and 'three volleys of small arms were fired, which were answered in like number from the ship.' It was a far greater occasion than that 'tall, thin, austere' English sea captain knew; for he had little prevision of the possibilities of the great, empty land he had claimed with what poor pomp and circumstance were at his command.

Cook reached England again on June 12, 1771, after an absence of two years, four months, and nineteen days. The question of the southern continent was not regarded, however, as settled. Australia did not meet the theory, and a second expedition was decided upon, with Cook in command. It proved to be a three years' voyage, during which the Antarctic Circle was crossed, and through fog and storm and ice-floes the two ships of the expedition, the *Resolution* and the *Adventure*, fought their devious way, until a field of ice, of which Cook could see 'no end, either to the west, or east, or south,' turned them back. New Zealand was again visited, but not Australia.

Yet a third time did this tireless navigator find himself in the South Seas, and this time to meet his tragic end. During the call of the expedition at Hawaii there was serious trouble with the natives, culminating in a deadly affray. As Cook and his party fell back upon their boats the natives

attacked them fiercely with stones and spears. The marines replied with a volley, but before they had time to reload the natives charged them in a body, and four of Cook's men were killed. The boats' crews had now opened fire, and Cook turned to order them to cease and pull in to shore. At that moment a native, relieved of the spell of the great navigator's eye, rushed up and stabbed him in the back, and he fell into the water. As soon as he fell the crowd dashed forward, dragged him ashore, and snatching the dagger from one another's hands, displayed a savage delight in sharing the murderous deed. Several attempts from the ships were made during the following days to recover the body, and some parts of it were eventually brought in by the natives. Captain Clerke four days later made this entry: 'The 21st February. At sunset the *Resolution* fired ten minute guns, with the colours half-staff up, when the remains of our late commander were committed to the deep.' Clerke was not a man of words; but Gilbert, the master's mate, has left on record the silent sorrow, the tears of the ships' crews, and how they moved as in a dream.

It is not too much to say that Cook gave Australia and New Zealand to the British Empire. These are his deathless trophies. As a navigator much besides lies to his credit. He discovered the Society and the Sandwich Islands, and the large island of New Caledonia, beside others of less note. He decided, by months of perilous exploration, the theory of a yet greater southern continent. He made a careful examination of the coast of North America for nearly 4,000 miles, and made a bold attempt at the dreamed-of North-West passage. He was a great sailor—none greater—and a great Englishman. In the *Morning Chronicle* of January 22, 1780, there appeared a letter which Kittson thinks bears evidence of being from the pen of Sir Joseph Banks. It gives a simple, unexaggerated, and noble picture of Cook. Among its clear-cut lines are these: 'His paternal courage was undaunted. His patience and perseverance not to be fatigued. His know-

ledge in the art of practical surveying inferior to no man's. His skill in mathematics and astronomy was complete as far as those sciences are necessary to a seaman. His great attention to the cleanliness of his people, and other minutiae of discipline (nothing of which he trusted to any but himself), were the great causes of the wonderful health his ship's company always enjoyed.

'The humanity with which he treated the natives of all places where he had occasion to touch had carried him safe through a variety of nations, among whom were many different tribes of warlike and barbarous people; but his attentions to the safety of those under his command, and his fixed resolution that no one should incur more danger than himself, made it his constant measure never to trust any man ashore without him in an unknown country, till a good understanding with the natives had taken place. But, alas! it is to this humane and laudable disposition that the loss of his life is to be most probably attributed, and to his having placed too much confidence in the return of benevolence which uncivilized people so generally make to those who treat them like fellow creatures, and which he so frequently experienced.'

Both Spanish and Dutch in turn entertained ideas of settlement in Australia. The latter, as late as 1721, actually dispatched an expedition for the founding of a colony in Nuyts' Land on the south coast. Misadventure attended the voyage, and the little fleet never reached Australia, but found its way into the harbour of Batavia. The first British project for the occupation of Australia, it is true, came very early, but only as a speculative bid for the unknown. Sir William Courteen, a London merchant, and part-owner of more than twenty ships, employing between four and five thousand seamen, petitioned King James I in spacious fashion for a personal grant in fee simple of 'all the lands in ye south parts of the world, called Terra Australis, together with all ye adjacente Islands.' He also desired 'power to erecte

colonies and plantations thereon, and Courts of Justice, officers and ministers, for ye settlinge and governinge of ye said colonies and plantations.' It was an ambitious scheme. But Australia would have sadly disappointed such mercantile dreams.

The French had ample territorial opportunities in Australia, but remained indifferent until the awakening was too late. De Bougainville immediately preceded Cook in the South Pacific, followed by his ill-fated countryman, Du Fresne. Within a week of the arrival of Phillip in Botany Bay, the expedition under La Perouse hove in sight, and presently sailed away to meet its doom, unknown for forty years. They came, they saw, they went empty away. Though anticipated by Phillip on the east coast, there was nothing to prevent La Perouse hoisting the French flag over some other portion of Australia. The later expedition under Baudin with two ships, the *Geographe* and the *Naturaliste*, resulted in the evanescent scattering of French names along the south coast; the territory itself being named Terre Napoléon, and Spencer's Gulf becoming Golfe Bonaparte, and the Gulf of St. Vincent, Golfe Josephine. The expedition had, no doubt, a strategic significance. Had the fortunes of Bonaparte been different in Europe, the history of Australia would be different also. The last shadow of France falls upon Australia, and vanishes, in some curious evidence of a secret wild design on the part of Napoleon for invasion and occupation.

Meanwhile, Australia had long gone a-begging. At last she was to be taken up, if only reluctantly and of necessity. The first suggestion of making practical use of Cook's discovery was put before the British Government by James Maria Matra, who had been a midshipman on the great captain's ship, the *Endeavour*. Thirteen years had passed since Cook's visit. Meanwhile, the American colonies had revolted, and been lost to the British Crown. It was necessary for the American loyalists to find another home, in view of the newly constituted Government of the United States.

Matra suggested Australia as meeting the need. There, he pointed out, was a spot for new plantations, with coloured labour available in the South Seas, in place of the accustomed negroes; while convict labour from England could be supplied as to America formerly. Sir Joseph Banks heartily supported the scheme, but the British Government was lukewarm. The loyalists grew tired of waiting, and themselves solved the problem by settling in Canada. But less elevated inducements eventually prevailed with the Government to make use of Australia. The hulks and jails of England were crowded; the American ports to which convicts had been shipped were no longer open. Some outlet had to be found, and Australia was chosen.

The genesis of British settlement in Australia was not so sordid, however, as the bare facts suggest to-day. The founding of a colony by the deportation of prisoners was an ancient European practice. The emigration of free, able-bodied men was regarded as too great a drain upon the population and military resources of a nation, and when a new colony was projected the dispatch of convicts to its shores was regarded usually as an indispensable factor. Phillip's commission did not indicate a penal settlement merely, but a Crown colony. His own conception of the settlement was prophetic and imperial. Intensely sober-minded and matter-of-fact as he was, he saw visions and dreamed dreams. 'I would not wish for convicts to lay the Foundations of an Empire,' he wrote, with a self-revealing touch. He begged the home Government from the first to offer every encouragement and assistance to free emigrants for the new colony.

It was on May 13, 1797, that a British fleet with the first equivocal levy for New South Wales sailed from Portsmouth, carrying 600 male and 250 female prisoners. The guard consisted of 208 officers and privates. In spite of Phillip's watchful oversight the fleet was ill found; and but for his care, amounting to genius during the prolonged eight months' passage, the experiment of conveying over 1,000 persons

cooped together through tropical seas would have been disastrous. Only one marine and twenty-four passengers died on the voyage; while the second fleet, under ordinary official management, carrying 900 convicts, had the gruesome record of 370 deaths on the voyage, and a still greater number carried ashore at the point of death on arrival in port. Again, of 122 male convicts who reached Sydney by the transport *Queen* in the following year, only 55 were alive a few months later, so terrible was the toll on the voyage and afterwards.

Phillip's ship anchored in Botany Bay on January 18, 1788, but the site of the settlement was immediately moved to Port Jackson, close by, which he regarded with intense satisfaction as 'the finest harbour in the world.' The task that confronted Phillip was a tremendous one. He stood in a wilderness of which he knew nothing, but which he was charged to subdue, with the most unpromising agents that could have been placed at his command. Ground had to be cleared; barracks, huts, store-rooms, hospital, and magazine to be built; and the unhappy mob of prisoners to be controlled and organized in a setting of open forest. Not only had a minister of religion been overlooked in the arrangements until the last moments, but artisans and agriculturists were lacking also. The best thing in agriculture Phillip could devise was to put 100 men on the land, under the charge of his butler, who had some little knowledge of farming. The immediate productiveness of the country had been much over-estimated by the home authorities. Now, on the spot, Major Ross declared that the colony would not be self-supporting in a hundred years. 'It will be cheaper,' he wrote, 'to feed convicts at the London Tavern on turtle and venison, than to send them out here.'

It was not long before the problem of feeding the colony became acute. The supply ship, *Guardian,* had been wrecked on her way out; and the *Lady Juliana* arrived with short stores and 200 additional convicts. The nearest point from which supplies could be obtained was the Cape of Good Hope,

and thither sailed the *Sirius*. It proved to be an eight months' voyage out and back. When she returned it was with four months' supplies only, and soon the isolated, helpless colony was threatened with absolute starvation. For a long time half rations were issued, and these had to be again and again reduced. Phillip cast his private stores into the common stock, and himself received daily the same allowance as a convict. On and after April 20, 1790, the weekly issue per man was 2½ lb. of flour, 2 lb. of rice, 2 lb. of pork; but even this pitiful dole could not be maintained. All public works were suspended, for the sufficient reason that no one had strength to labour. Through all this Phillip bore himself as a brave and self-possessed administrator and as the father of his people. Under less capable control the narrow margin between the colony and annihilation by hunger could scarcely have been maintained.

In addition to this prolonged trouble which so seriously retarded the growth of the colony, there were attempts at mutiny among the prisoners, and wildly ignorant attempts at escape. An overland route to China was a favourite theory. At one time as many as forty convicts were absent from roll-call, on their way to China! There were quarrels among the officers; the sheep brought from the Cape died; the cattle strayed and were lost in the bush; lack of interest, incapacity, and insubordination, in high and low, made the Governor's position a difficult and almost hopeless one. But at the end of four years Phillip's indefatigable zeal and good sense had brought the colony safely through the crisis, and real advancement had been made. The Hawkesbury River, with its rich alluvial flats, had been discovered, and was in a fair way of becoming a granary for the colony; and the semblance of an ordered, self-supporting community had been created. At the close of five years the population of the colony was approximately 3,500, exclusive of 889 domiciled on Norfolk Island; the figures representing both bond and free. The returns of stock and agriculture for the same year were: horned cattle 23,

horses 11, sheep 105, hogs 43. Acres under cultivation: wheat 208, barley 24, maize 1,186, garden produce 61. But the increase of population did not yet include the free, unofficial settler who was Phillip's desideratum.

It is disappointing to find in the administration of the colony no sufficient provision for the ordinances of religion. A chaplain was an after-thought in the equipment of the settlement, in the person of the Rev. Richard Johnson, dubbed by Major Grose 'a Methodist.' Collins, in his personal account of the colony, says: 'Divine service was performed every Sunday, on which the weather permitted, at which time the detachment of marines under arms and the whole body of convicts attended.' But no church was built until Johnson erected a thatched structure at his own cost. He was zealous in his work—too zealous, according to official ideas of religion then prevailing—and ministered faithfully to his unwilling flock. In 1794 he was joined by an assistant, the Rev. Samuel Marsden. Six years later Johnson returned to England, when once again the increased population of military and convicts and officials and the few free settlers was left to the care of a solitary clergyman. Not till the year 1800 was the first permanent church built in the colony.

The departure of Phillip, owing to failing health, was an incalculable loss to the settlement. For the next three years Major Grose was Acting-Governor; but practically the administration passed into the hands of the New South Wales Corps. This inferior regiment had been raised specifically for service in the colony. Its officers were men who had little ambition to win a reputation at the cannon's mouth, preferring to essay more material fortune in a new country. With Phillip's strong control withdrawn they proceeded to secure large grants of land and monopolies of trade, and the rum trade in particular. This military ring succeeded in dominating the affairs of the colony, to the complete demoralization of society and government. But to one ex-officer of

the corps, Lieutenant Macarthur, the colony was indebted as being the first to realize that the country was particularly adapted for sheep-farming. He imported valuable sheep from the king's stud in England and from the Cape, and with immense enthusiasm experimented in cross-breeding. He exhibited fine Australian wools before English manufacturers; and so impressed the home Government with the possibilities of the industry in the colony that he was granted 5,000 acres of land on which to continue his experiments. The corps was able to make the position of Governor intolerable to any honourable man. Hunter, who eventually succeeded Phillip, was recalled through its machinations, and King, who followed him, resigned. The next Governor was Bligh, already famous in connexion with the mutiny of the *Bounty*, and his almost incredible voyage with eighteen men in an open boat through tropical seas for 3,600 miles.

Bligh had special instructions to put down the military trade in rum. This he did with a strong hand, and the injured traffickers marked him for slaughter. At a serious crisis, when floods in the valley of the Hawkesbury had swept away the year's harvest, and the price of bread rose to five shillings for a two-pound loaf, Bligh acted with energy and wisdom. He won popularity as the poor man's friend. But toward the ruling class in the community he was high-handed and arbitrary. Isolated as he was by his official quarrels, he fell back upon the advice of the dissolute and incapable Judge-Advocate and a scoundrelly convict lawyer. Macarthur, the sheep-farmer and ex-lieutenant, and Governor Bligh were both masterful men, and a trial of strength ensued. Bligh had no sympathy with Macarthur's colonial enterprise; and Macarthur, public-spirited as he was, yet shared the bad traditions of the corps, and sided with his old comrades in their sworn animosity towards the Governor who had curtailed their perquisites. In an evil moment Bligh decided to bring Macarthur to trial for sedition. Macarthur refused to plead before the Judge-Advocate, who had been his personal enemy for

many years, and the six officers who composed the court sustained the objection. Bligh completely lost his head, and threatened to imprison the six officers.

Macarthur's party decided upon a *coup d'état*. Major Johnstone, commanding the corps, entered into the plot, and next morning marched a file of soldiers to Government House, and Bligh was placed under arrest. A provisional Government under Johnstone was proclaimed, and for a year the deposed Governor was kept a prisoner in his own residency. England was a long way off. But when the news of this short method of dealing with an offending Governor by his subordinates reached the home authorities their action was exceedingly leisurely. In the end another Governor was sent out with orders to reinstate Bligh for twenty-four hours, while Johnstone was to be sent to England under close arrest, and Macarthur was to be tried before the colonial court. The results were that Johnstone was cashiered by the court-martial, but returned to New South Wales to become a great colonist. Macarthur, who had gone home to defend himself, was detained for eight years, and then came back to the flocks his genius and energy had founded. Bligh was raised to the rank of rear-admiral. The New South Wales Corps was recalled, and a few years later disbanded.

The arrival of Governor Macquarie in 1809 marked an epoch in the history of the colony. He did not possess the distinctive greatness of Phillip, but he shared his ideals, and put his hand to the plough in practical, resolute fashion. Like the old Roman proconsuls, he was a great road-builder, and travelled frequently through his province, noting its resources and its needs, and planning new townships. He came to his post with a pronounced policy as to the opportunities for redemption to be afforded to convicts, after imprisonment had purged their offence in the eye of the law. 'My principle is,' he wrote, 'that when once a man is free, his former state shall be no longer remembered, or allowed to act against him; let him then feel himself eligible for any situation which

he has, by a long term of upright conduct, proved himself worthy of filling.'

In carrying out this principle, Macquarie made a grant of land of thirty acres to those whose term of imprisonment had expired, raised some former convicts to the dignity of Justices of the Peace, and received others at Government House. His action gave great offence in colonial military and official circles, and his benevolent conduct was not always well repaid. But this daring attempt to create an agricultural class out of the prison population was probably the best thing to be done in the circumstances. It has to be remembered that while there was a preponderating criminal element among the convicts, yet not a few were sent out for offences which to-day would not entail a month in jail. An increasing number were Irish political offenders; and certain Scotchmen were transported for propagating the theory of a reformed parliament. Meanwhile, prison discipline was inhuman. The triangle and whip were in constant use; a prisoner might be flogged 'for looking disrespectfully at an officer,' or, if out as an assigned servant, at the word of his master; for an extreme offence even a thousand lashes might be ordered; solitary confinement was common; the routine of the chain-gang was heart-breaking in its misery; and the death sentence was frightfully frequent. Macquarie may have lacked discrimination in his policy, but he created a new horizon.

The time had now come when the mysterious interior of the country was to be broken in upon. Maritime exploration had been undertaken earlier and splendidly achieved, notably by Bass and Flinders. These two kindred spirits made their first venture into unknown Australian seas in an 8-foot dinghy along the coast south of Sydney, and brought back valuable reports. Later Bass begged for a whale-boat, and in that small and exposed craft accomplished an exploring voyage of 600 miles, passing through the strait that bears his name as its discoverer. The two friends next sailed

round Tasmania in a sloop of twenty-five tons, mapping its coast. Flinders then returned to England, but was presently back again in command of the *Investigator*, charged to make a complete survey of the east, north, and south coasts, a task intrepidly accomplished. Shipwreck, heroism, imprisonment for seven years in the Mauritius by the French Governor, come into his later story. The story of Bass closes in utter gloom. He was entrapped ashore from his ship at Valparaiso and sent to the mines, never to be heard of again.

Through all this period the colony had been confined to a patch of country around Sydney, nowhere reaching more than about forty miles from the town. The Blue Mountains had proved an impenetrable barrier westward. It would seem in itself an easy task to cross a mountain range reaching at its highest point only 4,100 feet. This range presented, however, unique difficulties, in that passes it had none, but lay a tangled network of deep gorges and precipitous cliffs, with winding ridges that suddenly gave out on the sheer edges of impassable chasms. Darwin has left a description of these ravines and bluffs. 'It is not easy,' he wrote, 'to conceive a more magnificent spectacle than is presented to one walking on these summit plains, when without any notice he arrives at the brink of one of these cliffs, which are so perpendicular that he can strike with a stone (as I have tried) the trees growing at a depth of 1,000 or 1,500 feet below him; on both hands he sees headland beyond headland of the receding line of cliff, and on the opposite side of the valley, often at a distance of several miles, he beholds another line rising up to the same height on which he stands.'

Repeated attempts had been made to force this labyrinthine barrier. In 1813 Wentworth, Lawson, and Blaxland succeeded by desperate courage and labour in reaching a point from which comparatively open country beyond was visible. Deputy-Surveyor Evans followed their blazed track, and pushed westward, reporting rich, grassy plains, and naming the vantage spot from which he gazed on the welcome pano-

rama Mount Pleasant. A road across the mountains, a most formidable work, was speedily constructed by convict labour, and the Governor and his wife drove across and founded the city of Bathurst. The puzzle of the interior at once presented itself. Two rivers, the Macquarie and the Lachlan, were discovered beyond the mountains by the doughty and resourceful Evans; but instead of flowing towards the coast, they flowed inland. Was it into an inland sea, or did they traverse the whole continent to disembogue on the far west coast? Oxley was sent out to solve the problem and generally to report.

He found that the Lachlan, which was expected to lead him to the inland sea, or to the ocean at some unknown point, gave out in an apparently endless swamp of reed-beds. He was not easily daunted, but further progress was impossible, and he wrote: 'It is with infinite regret and pain that I am forced to come to the conclusion that the interior of this vast country is marsh and uninhabitable.' He struck another course, and the country now turned to him its other brazen cheek, and he wrote of it as 'uninhabitable, deprived as it is of wood, water, and grass.' The strange ways of Nature in Australia had yet to be understood. In a second difficult and perilous expedition better fortune awaited him northward; but Oxley was a pessimist on this matter, and refused to be comforted. The pioneer squatters, meanwhile, followed close upon the explorer, and found for themselves, in addition, new areas for their flocks yet further afield. The reduction of the interior thus entered upon was to prove a long and costly campaign. The story, contained in many solid volumes of carefully kept diaries and journals, is not exciting reading. The Australian aborigine was a sorry-looking creature, and not generally very dangerous; there were no ferocious animals to encounter, and no ancient ruins or quaint civilization to give historic interest. The explorer had only Nature to fight against; but Nature did not spare him. For dogged endurance and unyielding battle, the story of Australian exploration

is not to be surpassed. With it came new elements of greatness and renown into colonial history.

In 1821 Sir Thomas Brisbane succeeded Macquarie; but with none of his predecessor's vision and capacity. He was something of a recluse, and left 'emancipists' and 'exclusives,' as they were called, to fight their battles while he studied science at Parramatta. But a stream of immigration had set in, and the colony was rapidly developing the religious, the social, and the commercial institutions of a self-respecting and thriving community; while the first feeble step toward popular government was taken in 1823, by the appointment of a Legislative Council consisting of seven members nominated by the Governor. Meanwhile, the sombre reports of Oxley, which had acted as a deterrent to further exploration, were corrected by Hume and Hovell, who forced a track of 700 miles to the southern seaboard, passing through fine country, and discovering three great rivers. On their way they were the first white men to look upon the unexpected snows of the Australian Alps. The return was a desperate march; and the expedition reached settlement again in the last stages of exhaustion, the final dole of the eked-out provisions having been made some days before.

But it was westward that the sternest conflict lay; and Captain Sturt, of the 39th Regiment, was chosen to lead a new expedition. While the growing colony, now under Governor Darling (1823–31), was hotly divided on questions of vested interest, reform, and freedom, and the Governor was making the game more fast and furious by his indiscretions, Sturt set his face towards the mysterious west. Sturt has been named the father of Australian exploration, and not undeservedly. He conducted three great expeditions against fearful odds, for the seasons were uniformly adverse. The story of his return from the mouth of the Murray River, the natives hostile, his emaciated and partly delirious oarsmen only begging to be allowed to lie down on the bank to die, yet

toiling mechanically at the oars for seventy-seven days, sustained by their haggard leader's courage, is a record of endurance not to be surpassed.

On his third expedition Sturt reached a point within 150 miles of the centre of the continent. His retreat was cut off by the drying up of the infrequent water-holes along the arid track he had covered. For six months his party was held up, without the possibility of advance or retreat, 'as completely as though we had wintered at the North Pole,' wrote Sturt. But the little oasis availed until rain fell again. It was a time of sickening dreariness and suffering, owing to the terrific heat and wind; 'the tube of the thermometer burst, the bullocks pawed the ground to get a cooler footing, and the men's shoes were scorched as if by fire; their finger-nails were brittle as glass, the lead dropped from the pencil, the ink dried on the pen, human hair ceased to grow.' To the last the seasons in their courses fought against Sturt, and made him their hapless sport and victim. As a result, his reports were disheartening and unrelieved. Further knowledge was to correct and redeem them.

Sturt's ambition was to reach the centre of the continent. After a sudden downpour of rain he left the prolonged camp with three picked men. They pushed on 400 miles further, finding country which Sturt has described as a very spectre of desolation, before which the stout hearts of the explorers quailed. Across this stony desert they pushed a track of 50 miles, camping at night without water. At last courage could do no more. One of the party has told how the leader sat alone for an hour with his face in his hands, and then, great in adversity, quietly gave the order for retreat. Sturt did immense and invaluable service; but the man was greater than his work, and his own words may be quoted as unconsciously revealing the brave and chivalrous soul: 'My path amongst savage tribes has been a bloodless one, not but that I have often been placed in situations of danger, when I might have been justified in shedding blood; but I trust I have

ever made allowances for human timidity, and respected the customs of the rudest people.'

Mitchell, who had served in the Peninsular War, and helped to lay out the lines at Torres Vedras, had retired with the rank of major, and was now (1831) Surveyor-General of New South Wales. He conducted four large expeditions, and added immense areas to the colony, notably a magnificent and fertile territory which he named exultantly Australia Felix, 'fit to become eventually one of the great nations of the earth,' he wrote. It was to be known later as the colony, and finally the state, of Victoria. Mitchell had frequent trouble with the aborigines, and on each of his expeditions affrays occurred. He was a kindly man with a fine, and even enthusiastic, perception of the good qualities of the Australian blacks, and a scientific interest in their customs. On one occasion when his men had acted hastily in self-defence, and an aboriginal had been shot, on hearing the wailing of the women at night by their camp-fire, he wrote sadly: 'I am indeed liable to pay dear for geographical discovery.' But on his third expedition he was himself compelled to use arms for the preservation of his party. It was a distasteful thing to one of Wellington's officers to prepare to fire upon these poor aboriginal braves; and, indeed, the actual firing was done without his orders. But he was 100 miles from his nearest dépôt camp, and with this hostile tribe hanging upon the rear, and other tribes raised along the march, the whole party would have fallen in turn. Seven aborigines were killed in this affair, and Mitchell named the spot, with some compunction, Mount Dispersion.

The task of the explorers called for deliberate courage and plodding pertinacity of the rarest kind. On his last expedition Mitchell was afield for thirteen months, and then was baulked of his final goal. At one point a stretch of 120 miles was covered without finding water. The seasons were not understood, and created bewildering paradoxes. Where Oxley struck navigable inland rivers, Sturt found, after a

wasting drought, only a trickle in the cracked and fissured beds. Mitchell dragged his boats 1,600 miles overland, only to find no channels deep enough to float them. But point by point the vagaries and contradictions of Australia have been reconciled, and its mighty possibilities understood. Not for many a day, however, was the new continent to be mapped. The succession of those who should have a right to the title of Australian explorer was to be a long one, and costly in its martyrs' roll. Not a few have laid down life itself in their attempts on behalf of science and commerce to open up the unknown land. No military campaign has seen harder marching or more stubborn though noiseless fighting than the vast, lone interior of Australia.

Phillip's commission as Governor covered the eastern half of Australia only. When in a casual way the British claim was later made to extend to the whole of the continent, no objection was raised by the absent-minded Powers that might have claimed to be interested. Information received that the French intended to occupy Van Dieman's Land moved Governor King to a hasty annexation of that island. French ships were already there when the little schooner *Cumberland* arrived. Its youthful commander lost no time, but landed a guard of three marines, ran up the British ensign in full view of the French, ordered the feeble volley to be fired, and with cheers proclaimed the island a British possession. The first settlement in Tasmania, to use the later title, was particularly sinister. It was selected as the spot for the re-transportation of convicts who had been sentenced for crimes committed since their arrival in New South Wales. This fair island was to form a strong contrast in its natural beauties to the horrors that were to be perpetrated upon its soil. The aborigines of Tasmania were of a kindly and intelligent type, though deeds of cruelty and wrong were to awaken in them a latent savagery of revenge. The convicts and first settlers vilely and cruelly outraged all aboriginal rights. Then followed reprisals, a reign of terror, and a war of extermination.

Governor Arthur arrived on the island in 1824, and set himself to pacify the troubled territory. He proclaimed large areas as reserves for the aborigines, who were required to keep these bounds. Hunting parties were authorized to secure the observation of the order, but such parties added new outrages, and the aboriginals revenged themselves more fiercely upon the settlers. Then the Governor ordered a cordon to be drawn half across the island, to drive all aboriginals before it on to Forestier's Peninsula; but the cordon was easily avoided, and proved useless, and killing and murder still went on. At last Arthur listened to George Robinson, a bricklayer and a Methodist, who had become friendly with the aboriginals in his neighbourhood. He went unarmed through the tribes with infinite courage and pity and persuasiveness, in constant peril of his life, on a single-handed mission of peace. At the end of four years he brought to Hobart Town the placated remnants of the stricken race. But the final touch of tragedy was yet to be added by the callousness and stupidity of the authorities. The surrendered aboriginals were deported to the bleak islands on the north-east coast, and afterwards, those who were left of them, to Flinders Island, cold and wind-swept, to die of fretting for their old tribal hunting-ground. The colony developed rapidly under Arthur's control. The Van Dieman's Land Company was formed in 1825, settlers arrived in numbers, sheep and cattle were found to thrive, and crops did well. In twelve years the population was trebled.

New Zealand was early brought into touch with the colony of New South Wales through whalers and sealers who found convenient harbours along its coasts, and by some establishment of trade with Sydney in native flax. Certain adventurers and refugees from justice, too, found their way to New Zealand, and made alliances and homes among the Maoris. Samuel Marsden, the colonial chaplain in succession to Johnson, was an enthusiastic sheep-breeder, competing with Macarthur himself, but he had also an apostolic soul. He

interested himself greatly in establishing a mission among the Maoris; and in 1814 sailed from Sydney with two missionaries, some mechanics, and the necessary equipment for a station. His interest in this work never ceased; he crossed over on frequent visits, and it is said that on his death-bed his last word was 'New Zealand.' But the Maoris were great warriors, and their intercourse with the British in trade provided them with new implements of war. The missionaries were successful, and acted as peacemakers, though their work was often undone by their own countrymen, who were becoming more numerous, and with larger interests in the land.

In 1833 the Governor of New South Wales appointed a British Resident, but no attempt at annexation was made. So rich a land was bound to attract European settlement. Wakefield, a professed founder of colonies, established a New Zealand Company, and a French Company was also formed. It was not possible for the home Government any longer to remain indifferent, and in 1839 Captain Hobson was sent over with power to treat with the chiefs. The result was the Treaty of Waitangi, which guaranteed native rights, while sovereign power was ceded to the British Crown. One of Hobson's instructions was specially to inquire into land purchases from the natives. As an example he found that Wakefield's company had ostensibly purchased a vast territory at the rate of about sixpence per thousand acres, part of the payment being in Jews' harps. Altogether the claims of Europeans amounted to half of the whole island. The treaty covered only North Island, and the French were now bent upon securing South Island. Hobson heard of this, and at once dispatched the man-o'-war *Britomart* with instructions to hoist the British flag. The French ship *L'Aube* arrived in Akaroa Harbour to find the *Britomart* had been there four days.

The land-grabbing of the New Zealand Company and the settlers, who had arrived in considerable numbers, involved them in disputes with the Maoris. The newcomers had

purchased land before leaving England in some instances, and arrived to find their claims denied by the native holders. The complex land laws of the Maoris were not understood, and their temperate protests little regarded. The situation became acute. At last, during a dispute, a shot was fired, and the wife of a chief was killed. Firing followed on both sides. The Maoris swept the field at a rush, and Colonel Wakefield, brother of the colonial organizer, and others fell. The culmination was in the fierce engagements of the New Zealand war.

The settlement of Western Australia had a different genesis. A military station had been formed in 1826 at King George's Sound, again to anticipate the French. But round the coast was the Swan River, discovered by the Dutch, which to Captain Stirling looked exceedingly inviting. The British Government encouraged the idea of a colony at Swan River by promising immigrants—who were to go out in parties at their own expense—for every £3 they took with them in money or in goods, 40 acres of land. In 1829 the pioneers of the new colony arrived, to find themselves for the most part confounded and helpless in their strange and unpromising surroundings. The smaller holders were driven far afield by the larger claimants, who had right of first choice. The conditions were impossible, and the blacks were particularly wild and troublesome. As many as were able left the disastrous spot; the remainder struggled on, and by dogged perseverance made some headway, and a few little townships were created. A new element was introduced in 1850, when a convict station was established and prison labour provided; but the immediate gain of this was dearly bought, and population and prosperity came slowly in the early discovered West.

The fear of the French hastened settlement also at Port Phillip, the nucleus of the State of Victoria. Baudin had been recently along that part of the south coast, and the British Government in alarm dispatched Colonel Collins with a number of prisoners to effect an occupation. He arrived

in 1803, but being unfavourably impressed with the spot, and taking no pains to explore the country around, he obtained permission to transfer his party to Tasmania; and for thirty years nothing more was done. Final settlement began with the arrival, in 1834, of the brothers Frank and Edward Henty from Tasmania, who brought with them cattle, sheep, and horses. The next year John Batman (distinguished as having captured single-handed the famous Tasmanian bushranger, Brady) crossed over, and made his famous bargain with the blacks for 600,000 acres of land, the price being a quantity of blankets, axes, knives, and other articles, and a hundredweight of flour, also six shirts, with a fixed yearly rental in the same kind. He drew up his title-deed, and Jagajaga headed the list of aboriginal signatories. Unfortunately for Batman the British Government refused to recognize the transaction; but his bold venture in settlement succeeded well enough without it. Fawkner followed closely, and fixed his head quarters on what was to be afterwards the site of the city of Melbourne. Mitchell's expedition connected these new settlements with the older ones northward, and the great explorer was amazed, on coming to the coast of Portland Bay, to find the flocks and herds of the Hentys. So promising a land quickly came to its own, outstripping the mother settlement in the rapidity of its development.

South Australia was founded in 1836, not incidentally, but as a colony carefully planned; and on the theory of its projector, Wakefield, it was to be a paradise for landed gentry on the one hand, and for contented labourers on the other. Land was not to be cheap, for this would give every man a chance to become a land-holder, a condition which eliminated the hired farm-hand. The price of land was to be kept up, and the squire of acres to be created; at the same time only as many labourers as were needed for the land under occupation were to be introduced into the colony. Upon this conservative theory was settlement attempted. It proved to be impracticable. The landed proprietors who were to be at the head of

a happy peasantry did not take kindly to their bush estates, but 'clustered in Adelaide, and engaged chiefly in speculating in town lots.' The immigrant labourers felt that they had come out to better themselves, and were little disposed to settle down as farm-hands at a mere living wage. Soon the colony was in a state of chaos and bankruptcy. The Governor drew on the British Treasury for large amounts, though it had been definitely laid down that the colony should be no expense to the home Government, and finally his drafts were dishonoured. London merchants refused to send out goods. The colony was producing little, and most of the money brought out had been paid away. One result was that land had to be sold for what it would bring. The small man found his opportunity, and the colony proceeded to work out its happy destiny along less academic lines than its original charter. The home Government made a grant of £155,000, and soon the colony, which had not been producing one-tenth in value of its own needs, was prosperously exporting to the other colonies.

On the east coast, far north of Sydney, settlement was effected by the establishment of a convict station at Moreton Bay in 1824. Allan Cunningham, one of the earliest explorers, had discovered the Darling Downs, a splendid tract of country, and now connected that district with Moreton Bay by the discovery of the pass that bears his name, Cunningham's Gap. The town above the bay consisted for many years of little beside Government stores, barracks, jails, and official residences, and gave no augury of the city of Brisbane that was to occupy the site. In 1842 the Moreton Bay district was opened to free settlement, and had the special interest of Dr. Lang, divine, politician, polemic writer, and friend of the little settler, who introduced a large number of picked immigrants into this new area. In 1848 Kennedy led an exploring expedition north in Yorke Peninsula. Of the party of thirteen only three survived, the leader himself falling gallantly. In the same year Leichhardt left Moreton Bay

with the expedition westward that never returned, its fate still a mystery. By 1859 settlement in the great north country had so increased that it was ripe for autonomous dignity as the colony of Queensland.

From such beginnings, not remote, but historically only of yesterday, did the new southern world, late discovered, take its unheralded rise. The original handicap proved astonishingly temporary. The rich blood of hardy, honest Britishers had been freely given to it, not in the oblations of war, but of peace. One wondrous century has seen the growth of these first handfuls of settlement into the Commonwealth and Dominion which count large in the resources and loyalty of the empire. Queenly cities and prosperous towns have sprung up, innumerable cattle and sheep dot the illimitable downs and plains, vast areas wave with harvests, orchards and vineyards bless the labourer's happy toil, untold wealth in gold and the more sombre metals has been yielded up, and the supply is unimpoverished. The frontier of effective occupation has been thrust continually further and further back. But the adequate settlement of Australia has yet to be; and the waiting spaces call for a steady influx of the same sturdy stock who in the past have made the ancient solitudes to smile.

CHAPTER II

GEOLOGY

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SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

Classification of rocks—Igneous—Sedimentary—Altered—Fossils—Succession of types—Scenery—Australia continental—Chains of islands—A once-mighty continent—Three glacial periods—Many arid ages—Elevation and subsidence—Coral reefs—Darwin—Volcanoes—Resources—Coal—Ore deposits—Artesian water—Quiet forces.

CHAPTER II

THE GEOLOGY OF THE SOUTH-WESTERN PACIFIC

At the outset it is necessary to point out what are the bases upon which geological history is built up. Briefly, information is obtained from the *rocks* exposed at the earth's surface, from the traces of extinct plants and animals preserved as *fossils* in these rocks, and from the topographical features which, together, constitute the *scenery* of a region.

Rocks are formed in three distinct ways, each of which imposes certain easily recognizable features on the resulting product. Firstly, there are rocks which have been derived from the solidification of molten mineral matter. These are classed as *igneous*, or *eruptive*, rocks. Two subdivisions of these stand in sharp contrast with one another. Most people are familiar, by description at all events, with the production of rocks by *volcanic* action. Molten lavas and volcanic dust solidify into hard rocks, upon which is stamped the history of their origin. Such rocks may come into existence on land or under water, on the surface of a continent (though never far from its shore) or on a tiny island in mid-ocean. Other igneous rocks are formed quite differently. In a plastic condition they are squeezed into and amongst the solid rocks of the earth's crust, and there they solidify at a depth of from 2 to 20 miles from the surface. Such rocks are termed *plutonic* (after Pluto, the Roman God of the Lower Regions). To this class belongs granite, a rock with which every one is familiar. Now, two important inferences may be drawn from the presence of granitic rocks in any region.

Firstly, the rocks which formerly covered the granite mass must have been entirely removed, not by great convulsions

of Nature, as many people imagine, but by the slow process of atmospheric wear and tear. The exposure of a granite mass, then, indicates considerable *antiquity* of the land area where it occurs. Secondly, large masses of land are requisite to provide the covering under which a granite mass may solidify; it is inconceivable that a granite could form within the body of an oceanic island. Hence an extensive occurrence of granite is indicative of *continental* land areas, a point of considerable importance, as we shall see later.

The second great group of rocks includes those varieties which have been formed by the accumulation of fragments of older rock masses laid down as sediments under the sea, in lakes, estuaries, or river valleys, on the surface of the land or about its borders, by water, ice, or wind. Grouped with these rocks are the mineral deposits from springs, hot or cold, cave deposits, and the like; also accumulations of the remains of plants or animals, in the form of coal, limestone, &c. Produced under such diversity of conditions, it is not surprising that the *sedimentary* rocks afford the geological historian very valuable indications as to the changes in distribution of land and water, the changes in height and depth of the land and ocean, the changes in climate and conditions of life which have occurred in the past. From their mode of origin it is not to be wondered at that they frequently contain fossils.

The third great group of rocks includes representatives of both igneous and sedimentary types, which have been subject to conditions of high temperature and heavy pressure so intense that their original features have been completely obliterated, causing them to take on an entirely new aspect. Such rocks are classed as *altered*. The heat and pressure, both largely the result of friction, are developed in the slow elevation of great mountain chains in continental areas; hence the presence of altered rocks is a distinctive feature of continents, as opposed to oceanic islands.

Fossils are the remains or traces of plants and animals

which formerly lived on the earth. Only a very small proportion of such organisms have any chance of leaving permanent traces behind. Generally, animals and plants with relatively hard, indestructible parts have a better chance than others consisting of soft structures only. Aquatic, and particularly marine, animals exist under the most favourable conditions in this respect.

At the present day plants and animals are limited in their range by conditions of environment; and the same conditions must have acted in the same way in the geological past. Particularly rigid are the limits imposed by depth of water (and consequent pressure, temperature, light, &c.) upon marine organisms. It will readily be seen, then, that careful study and comparison of fossil types may afford valuable information as to the physical and climatic conditions which obtained at the time when they flourished. The succession of types in any one area, their gradual evolution and subsequent extinction, afford the materials for the historic arrangement of geological formations.

Scenery is the expression of difference of hardness in the component rocks of an area, of original difference of level, of the wear and tear (denudation) and of upbuilding (accumulation) of rock materials. The mantle of soil which almost everywhere covers the solid rocks below, hides from our view much of the geological structure; but from a careful consideration of the scenery in the light of modern science, it is frequently possible to fill in the gaps in a most astonishing way. As the surface of the land is constantly changing, topographical studies are most useful in revealing the latest phases of geological history.

We may now sketch very briefly some of the salient features in the geology of the South-Western Pacific.

Naturally enough, Australia is built up very largely of those rock types which we have indicated above as being of continental origin. In Western Australia, South Australia, and the Northern Territory are huge areas of extremely

ancient rocks, proving that Australia has existed as a continent continuously since the dawn of time. In Eastern Australia these ancient rocks are, to a great extent, covered by accumulations of later date, which reveal a history of great vicissitudes of conditions and climate.

New Zealand, though much smaller than Australia, is still of continental dimensions; and here again we have a long and complicated history unfolded. The same statement applies to New Guinea, though this wonderful land remains almost as a *terra incognita* to geologists.

The smaller islands of the South-Western Pacific are worthy of a much more detailed study than can be given here. The most superficial glance at a map suggests a certain regularity of arrangement. The islands are not scattered haphazard, but occur in fairly well-defined *chains;* and if these chains be joined up, we get *festoons*. When this is done we find that the festoons lie along more or less circular arcs roughly concentric with the markedly circular east coast of Australia. The chain-like arrangement is well defined, for instance, in the Solomons and in the New Hebrides.

Many of the islands in the inner festoons are of considerable size, e.g. New Caledonia, New Britain, and some of the Solomon Islands. In all of these continental rocks have been discovered; and it is certain that the islands represent the scattered summits of a once-mighty continent. Such continental traces exist as far to the east as the Fiji Islands; but beyond them all the islands are purely oceanic in character. The oceanic islands are built up either of the lavas and ashes of submarine volcanoes, or of coral reef rock, or of these two together. Many of the larger islands of the inner festoons on which continental rocks have been met with are almost completely hidden under similar deposits; while their smaller brethren, even in the innermost zone (Lord Howe and Norfolk Islands), are entirely oceanic, so far as their surface rocks are concerned.

It is worthy of note that the festoon upon which are situated

the main axis of New Zealand, the Kermadec Islands, and the Tonga group, is fronted, on its south-eastern face, by the great trough of the 'Penguin Deep,' one of the deepest portions of the ocean floor.

Before leaving the subject of the geological relationships of Australia, it should be mentioned that recent discoveries in Antarctica indicate a very intimate connexion between that dead land and Tasmania. It cannot be doubted that, far away in the geological past, some land connexion existed between the two. The very fascinating temptation to people the islands of the Pacific by way of a now-submerged continent must be resisted. In all probability the separation of Australia from Tasmania and from New Guinea took place within the human period; but the breaking up of the great land to the north and east must have been almost complete long before the advent of man upon the earth.

Few people realize the stupendous changes which have occurred in the climate of Australia during the geological past; and yet we have conclusive proof that at one time the surface of the continent was wrapped in sheets of ice as voluminous as those which now enfold Greenland and Antarctica. At another time, genial, and perhaps semi-tropical, conditions extended into polar regions. Again we see Central Australia, now parched and dry, the home of giant extinct beasts and reptiles, whose aquatic or amphibious habits prove the former existence of extensive lakes and rivers there.

At three distinct periods have glacial conditions held sway in Australia. In South Australia, during the earliest geological era of which fossils exist, intensely cold conditions prevailed; and the rocks produced by the ice-sheets can be recognized nearly up to Lake Eyre. This great ice age was not an absolutely continuous one, but was divided into cold phases separated by interglacial warmer periods, in just the same way as the better known classical Great Ice Age of Europe and America in comparatively recent geological time.

The second great ice age of Australia has left its traces

in every state of the Commonwealth. It occurred in that geological period during which the bulk of our most valuable coal measures were deposited. High continental land existed to the south of Kangaroo Island and to the south-west of Tasmania, and from this centre ice sheets moved northwards over Tasmania, Victoria, and South Australia. Near the border-line between Victoria and New South Wales sea-level was reached, and the ice was launched as icebergs. On their surface these bore loads of rock fragments, collected from the land surface. As they melted these bergs 'calved' and dropped heaps of rock fragments on the sea bottom. Such 'erratics' are numerous in the Hunter and Macleay Valleys of New South Wales, and they occur as far north as the Bowen River in Queensland and Crown Point in Central Australia. Both of these localities are well within the tropics, a fact affording some idea of the severity of the climate.

In Western Australia, while the gathering ground of the ice was a local one, the extent of its action was almost as great as in the east; traces of its presence are met with far within the tropics at the Wooramel River.

The third period during which cold conditions prevailed in Australia was in comparatively recent geological time. On this occasion the extent of the ice-sheets was not so great as in the earlier glacial periods. Only the southern highlands were ice-capped. On the Australian Alps and in Tasmania there are abundant proofs of the action of ice, and, indeed, the scenery there is largely due to ice sculpture. Even more marked was the action of ice in New Zealand at this time. The magnificent 'sounds' of the South Island were gouged out by the glaciers, whose shrunken remnants now occupy the high valleys of the Cordillera.

Glacial periods are not the only climatic changes we have to consider. It is usually held that geological formations in which brilliantly red beds predominate indicate the existence of arid conditions of climate. If this is so, several periods marked by great aridity have been experienced by Australia.

In the northern territory the formations, slightly newer than those of the first ice age in the south, are a conspicuous example. Contemporaneously with the development of the third ice age on the highlands, the central portion of Australia was occupied by lakes of much greater extent than that covered by their modern descendants. This points to a much more copious rainfall. Gigantic turtles and crocodiles lived in the waters, while elephantine marsupials browsed on the rich, succulent vegetation about their shores.

The important subject of submergence and elevation of the land must be passed over with cursory mention, as it would occupy volumes to consider it in detail. The occurrence of geological formations, accumulated under sea-water, and containing fossils of marine animals, at heights of hundreds or thousands of feet above sea-level, is conclusive proof of elevation of the land; and this phenomenon is met with practically universally over Australia and New Zealand. In New Guinea we have marine formations of very recent age lifted to heights of many thousands of feet, and twisted and crumpled in the process, thus showing that very great earth movements have occurred quite recently. It is only fair to assume that such movements are still in progress. In New Caledonia, New Hebrides, and Fiji many of the highest points show similar evidence of recent uplift.

On the other hand, the presence below sea-level of formations produced on the land surface proves that subsidence has occurred. The great coal basin of eastern New South Wales reaches a depth of at least 10,000 feet below sea-level under Sydney, and coal is the product of the growth of marshy vegetation on a land surface. All round the east coast of Australia we have conclusive evidence of an extremely recent downward movement of the land.

An extension of the same principle may be made. If we have a terrestrial formation, or an old land surface covered by formations of marine origin, it is obvious that a sinking of the land must have taken place before the deposition of

the marine beds. Examination shows that the surfaces of all the continental lands about and in the Pacific have been in a continual state of see-saw; elevations and subsidences have occurred, not once or twice only, but repeatedly.

The development of coral reefs is a particular case of the effect of earth movement. While the whole of the phenomena of these structures are by no means fully understood, investigators during nearly a century have accumulated a good deal of information. Briefly, the coral polyp (the term 'insect' is absolutely incorrect and misleading) lives only in warm, clear sea water, and cannot exist at a depth of more than from 10 to 20 fathoms at most. We find coral reefs extending to depths of more than 1,000 fathoms, sometimes to much more profound abysses. While, as has been suggested by some, the coral might have grown outwards over a bank of loose rolled blocks broken off the reef face by the waves, borings (notably at Funafuti in the Ellice group) and investigations of upraised reefs seem to show pretty conclusively that the foundations consist of solid coral rock, *not* of a cemented rubble of coral boulders.

This being so, the only possible explanation is that suggested by Darwin half a century ago; namely, that the sea bottom has slowly subsided while the corals have built upwards, keeping pace with the downward movement of their foundations. This theory explains fully and simply the various forms of fringing-reef, barrier-reef, and atoll which are so characteristically met with on the Australian and Papuan coasts and amongst the islands of the Pacific.

At the present day coral reefs are practically limited to tropical regions. In the geological past very similar reefs have been developed, at intervals, far beyond those limits, and even perhaps within the Antarctic circle. Great masses of coral limestone, like those which contain some of the beautiful limestone caverns of Australia, are essentially coral reefs. If the organisms which give rise to them demanded the same conditions of life as do their modern descendants, we have in these ancient reefs evidence of warm periods

complementary in character to the great ice ages described above.

At the present day active volcanoes exist on the Antarctic continent, in New Zealand, Tonga, Samoa, New Hebrides, Solomon Islands, New Britain, and many other groups in the Pacific; but active volcanoes are conspicuous by their absence from the mainland of Australia.

As previously mentioned, many of the Pacific islands, which are not now the scene of active volcanoes, are built up, largely or wholly, of rocks produced by such (e.g. Fiji group); in other words, their volcanoes are extinct. The same applies to the mainland of Australia. In western Victoria and south-eastern South Australia there are evidences of very recent volcanic action, probably extending well within the period of the human occupation of Australia. Volcanoes like Mount Gambier are still almost perfect cones, and in some other instances it is hard to believe that the fires have been extinguished. The remains of volcanic action are met with in almost every formation throughout the whole geological record, right back to the most ancient, and in almost every part of the continent and islands. These extinct volcanoes have played an important part in the production of rich agricultural soils, in the preservation of valuable deposits of gold, tin, and gems ('deep leads'), and in the determination of the physical features of the landscape.

Space does not permit more than an indication of some of the vast stores of wealth hidden in the rocks of these southern lands.

Most notable are the *coal* resources. In eastern Australia and in New Zealand coal measures of great extent and value are developed in several different geological formations. It is worthy of mention that coal is formed, *not* from remains of tropical forests, as is generally believed, but from swampy vegetation (peat), which is most characteristically developed in sub-polar regions. In the western portion of Australia and in New Caledonia limited coal resources exist, while coal is known to occur in New Guinea and Antarctica, but its extent and value are undetermined.

Petroleum is being sought for and obtained in New Zealand and New Guinea.

The *ore deposits* of this part of the world probably constitute its most widely known asset. The Victorian gold-fields, the New Zealand gold-fields, Broken Hill, Mount Morgan, Mount Lyell, Kalgoorlie, and a score of others, attract the envious eyes of the whole world; while the 'poppet-head,' the 'open cut,' and the 'whip' are familiar features over a great part of Australia and New Zealand. The islands have not yielded a great amount of mineral wealth. New Caledonia is the most important source of chromium and nickel in the world; New Guinea has gold and copper resources, and a little mining has been carried on in Fiji; but for the most part the volcanic and coralline formations of the majority of the islands are not favourable to the occurrence of minerals of economic value. Antarctica may well contain another Klondyke; but so far it remains undiscovered.

No country in the world is so extensively supplied with *artesian* and *sub-artesian water* as is Australia; and the exploitation of this gift of Nature is opening up vast areas of the interior formerly believed to be useless desert.

Finally, let me add a few words of explanation. The complex processes which have brought into existence continent and ocean, island, lake, river, and mountain are as active to-day as ever they have been. The history is not complete, but is in the making; and we can watch its processes before our eyes. Perhaps the majority of people believe that the earth, as we see it, is the result of great convulsions of Nature, volcanic eruptions and earthquakes being their favourite agents. This is not the case; it is the quieter forces of Nature, the rain, the sun, the air, and running water, which do the vast bulk of geological work.

A study of these forces and their results in the lands of the Pacific is open to all, and will well repay the time and energy lavished upon it.

CHAPTER III

BIOLOGY

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SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

Endemic biology—Marsden introduces sheep—Botanical explorers—Banks and islands—Forster—Brown—Hooker—French botanists—Later collections—New Zealand—Eucalyptus—Myrtaceae—Proteaceae—Waratah—Leguminosae—Desert pea—Epacrideae—Compositae—Grasses and ferns—Timber—Eucalyptus—Hardwoods—Cabinet timbers—Food—Breadfruit—Coco-nut—'Flax'—Dilo oil—Eucalyptus oil—Fauna—Gould's Birds—Survivals—Platypus—Kangaroo—Echidna—New Zealand—Bird life—Fish—Cuvier—British Museum—*Endeavour*—Reptiles—Food value.

CHAPTER III

BIOLOGY

THE biology of the Pacific, more particularly the southern portion, has always fascinated the scientist. No part of the earth presents such unique forms of life as are to be found in land and sea under the Southern Cross. In the opening of these seas the missionary has been no small factor, having in many cases assisted biological science by collecting and forwarding specimens. These specimens would otherwise have been unrecorded for an indefinite period, if not lost for all time, through the destruction of the original flora as cultivation advanced.

This article will deal only with the endemic biology of the Pacific, the geographical area covered including Australasia and the Pacific Islands. To give an historical sketch and to describe the extra-Pacific side of the subject, would require more space than is available. The history of the domestic animals introduced, the cereals, plants, and forest trees, is too well known to need recapitulation. But it may be mentioned *en passant* that the greatest industry of Australasia —the production of wool—is indebted to a missionary, the Rev. Samuel Marsden. Marsden was the first to undertake the systematic production of fine wools by selection from the coarse-'haired' Cape, Ceylon, and Merino. Authenticated specimens of his original types are on view at the Technological Museum, Sydney. They bear the following words: 'Specimens of the first Australian wool. The Rev. Samuel Marsden commenced sheep breeding for wool in 1796. These specimens were sent to His Excellency Governor King, for his information, with a letter dated Parramatta, August 11.

1804, and illustrate the beginning of the industry in Australia' (see *Hist. Rec.*, vol. v., pp. 413–5).

The researches during the past century have revealed animals, fish, birds, and plants new to science, and in forms that attract attention even to the present day. These investigations are still being prosecuted by enthusiastic workers. The results are found in the publications of various scientific societies and in numerous monographs prepared by specialists. The scientific societies of the various states concerned have played no small part in this revelation of Nature's book. In this review the term century is interpreted in a broad sense. Time and space are indefinite terms in Nature.

A century in the Pacific! What a marvellous vista appears on the mental horizon as the botanist contemplates the beauties of Nature brought to light during the white man's sojourn in these lands and the isles of the sunny south! The first Europeans might well gaze spellbound as they saw the wonderful botanical creations in Australia. This fact is commemorated in the name Botany Bay, bestowed upon the spot where they first landed in New South Wales. On their voyage of circumnavigation their ship put into other ports in the Pacific. But no botanical novelties appealed to them as did those of Botany Bay. Away to the east also, lying in a sea of azure blue in a setting of coral reefs, were several isles which fascinated the early explorers by their luxuriant vegetation; a vegetation so soul-stirring and inspiring, that the impression made is deep and life-long. The call of the islands remains.

The honour of first making known the flora of this part of the world belongs to the buccaneer Dampier, who collected botanical specimens on the north-west coast in 1688. These specimens are now in the Herbarium at Oxford. The next to collect in the Pacific were Banks and Solander, who accompanied Cook in his first voyage round the world. Cook entered Botany Bay in April 1771. Banks and Solander

were so impressed with the variety and novelty of the botanical forms, that Cook as a compliment named the bay after their special study. These two naturalists collected specimens wherever opportunity offered. Their collection formed part of the famous Banksian Herbarium, now in the Natural History Museum, South Kensington, London.

J. R. and G. Forster, noted botanists, accompanied Cook on his second voyage, collecting many specimens in the Pacific. It is recorded that these men, when Cook touched at the New Hebrides, walked across the island of Santo without molestation. Such a feat is remarkable when we remember that through the hostility of the natives the hinterland of these islands is still a closed book. The botanical results of Cook's third voyage are of interest to Australians. It was Dr. Anderson, the surgeon of the ship, who gave the first scientific name to the gum tree, calling it *aromadendrum*, this name giving place to L'Heritier's later name *eucalyptus*. He bestowed this name on the stringy bark of Tasmania (*e. obliqua*), his specimens being collected near the spot where Hobart now stands. Anderson also collected specimens in New Caledonia.

Robert Brown, who visited Australia in 1801, and remained four years, collected botanical material, commencing at King George's Sound and going round the continent. He was an enthusiastic botanist. It is computed that he dispatched, or took with him, over 4,000 species of plants. After him came Allan Cunningham, botanist and explorer. This indefatigable scientist covered thousands of miles in his work of exploration and plant collecting. Arriving in 1816, he died in 1859, aged forty-three. No man travelled greater distances or collected more specimens than Cunningham. Nor did he confine his researches to Australia, for he wrote the *Prodromus Florae Novae-Zealandiae*, as the result of his expedition there. In 1840 the ships *Erebus* and *Terror*, under Captain Ross, brought Dr. Lyall and J. D. Hooker (afterwards Sir J. D. Hooker). The latter died in 1912,

leaving a record of botanical work not exceeded by any other author in the same field. His work *Flora Tasmaniae* will probably be the standard work for all time. During this period others did good work in collecting and describing plants, many of which bear their names, the names being given by subsequent botanists. Amongst the more recent workers in the field of Australian botany, two authors stand out: Bentham and Mueller. The former did yeoman service in publishing his compilations, the *Flora Australiensis*, a work of seven volumes, in 1863–78. This is the *magnum opus* of Australian botanical publications. Baron von Mueller has left his indelible mark on Australian flora in such monumental works as *Eucalyptographia; Iconography of Australian Acacias; Salt Bushes; Myoporinous Plants; Fragmenta Phytographia Australiae,* eleven vols.

From the first settlement of the colony, scientists of other nationalities visited the Pacific in search of botanical trophies. During the French expedition in 1792, under General D'Entrecasteaux, considerable collections of plants were made by M. J. J. Labillardiere in Tasmania and South-Western Australia, the most interesting being published with illustrations in his *Novae-Hollandiae Plantarium*. Leschenault, the distinguished botanist of Baudin's expedition in 1800, collected extensively around the Australian coast. During 1818 and 1819 another French expedition, with Captain Freycinets in charge, made further collections, under the supervision of M. Gaudichaud. In 1838, an Exploring Expedition left the United States of America on a voyage round the world. This expedition visited the more important islands in the Pacific as well as Australia. Botany formed an important part of its work. Its report of the flora is to-day a valuable work of reference. The chief places visited were the Sandwich Islands, Fiji, Tonga, New Zealand, and the neighbourhood of Sydney. Two years earlier Endlicher published *Annalen des Wiener Museums*, being an account of the vegetation of the Polynesian Islands. But in this work the Fijian Islands were

practically a blank. This hiatus was filled by B. Seemann, who, in 1865–73, visited the islands, and published his famous *Flora Vitiensis*. In this work the botany of these islands is investigated systematically and economically.

Mr. G. Barclay, of H.M.S. *Sulphur*, made a collection of Fijian plants in 1840. These were described by Bentham in *The London Journal of Botany*, vol. ii. In 1855 Professor W. H. Harvey of Dublin embarked at Sydney in the missionary ship *John Wesley* for Fiji, collecting specimens in Fiji and Tonga. These specimens, placed in the British Museum and Kew, were described in Seemann's *Flora Vitiensis*. Seemann is the author of *A Botany of the Voyage of H.M.S. 'Herald,'* the result of his collections in the Pacific when he held the position of naturalist to that vessel. H.M.S. *Herald* also carried two fine collectors in Mr. J. McGillivray and Mr. W. Milne, who in 1852 visited Fiji in quest of botanical specimens. Dr. Graefe, a native of Switzerland, also collected in Fiji in 1862; and a few years later Mr. J. G. Veitch of Chelsea visited the group with a view to obtaining plants suitable for cultivation in English gardens. Seemann's *Flora Vitiensis* is the great work on the flora of Fiji. But much yet remains to be done for the interior of these islands.

The first collectors in New Zealand were Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Solander, who accompanied Cook on his first voyage. They obtained nearly 400 flowering plants and ferns, which, with descriptions and illustrations, are now in the British Museum. The Forsters, father and son, who accompanied Cook on his second voyage, also collected; and Mr. Menzies, a collector of flowerless plants, procured many species of ferns, moss, and lichens in the year 1792. A French collector named D'Urville, under Captain Duparrey, assiduously collected plants for European herbaria from 1822 to 1827; and in 1840 M. Raoul, with other French workers, published a beautiful work entitled *Choix des Plantes de la Nouvelle-Zealande*. Sir Joseph D. Hooker visited New Zealand in

1841 with the Antarctic expedition, and botanically explored the Bay of Islands; and a few years later Dr. Stokes of H.M.S. *Acheron* did splendid work. Amongst others who collected, Colenso, Dr. Sinclair, J. Haest, J. T. Bidwill, Dr. Munro, Knight, Mittern, W. T. L. Travers, and Dr. L. Lindsay must not be overlooked. In 1867 there appeared the first monograph, under the title of *A Handbook of the New Zealand Flora*, by J. D. Hooker. This book embodied the results of Hooker's work and that of those already named. This remained the standard work until 1906, when *A Manual of New Zealand Flora*, from the pen of T. F. Cheeseman, appeared. Of the other island groups it is not possible to give the history, owing to the difficulty of collecting the information, scattered as it is through the scientific literature of the world.

The botany of the Pacific is now in fairly good systematic order. Naturally a flora extending over so great an area and enjoying so long a period of isolation presents distinct features, the anomalous forms being conspicuous. Thus we have a continental flora as applied to Australia, an insular flora for the islands, and an intrusive flora styled the Indo-Malayan. The Australian flora stands alone in its singularity of vegetation. The eucalyptus is the most salient feature. This group of trees extends through the continent, giving feature to the landscape. With the exception of a few outliers the genus is practically endemic. It belongs to the natural order of plants known as the *myrtaceae*, a family distributed over the geographical area covered by this article. The distinguishing generic character of the eucalyptus is the covering of the organs of reproduction by a calyptra or operculum. Hence the generic name, *eu*, well, and *kalypto*, I cover. Nearly 300 species have been described during the last one hundred years, and much labour has been bestowed upon them. The leaves, which are of two forms, lanceolate and cordate, yield an essential oil in varying qualities and

constituents in the different species. These organs with the fruit, a capsule, are used in their systematic classification, although a cortical one is excellent for grouping, as it divides them into natural classes, as iron bark, stringy bark, box bark, smooth bark, peppermint bark, woollybutt, blackbutt, &c.

Closely allied to the eucalyptus is the apple-tree (*angophora*), which practically differs from its congener only in the absence of an operculum. The genus *melaleuca*, commonly called the tea-tree, has far more species in Australia than in any other country. These trees have a wide range, and their presence invariably indicates swamp or flooded land. Other genera of the *myrtaceae* typically Australian are: *verticordia*, with its small, elegant flowers and aromatic leaves; *calythri*, with thirty-six species distributed over the continent; *thryptomene, micromyrtus, agonis, kunzea, callistenon*, a showy shrub, *beaufortia, syncarpia*, or turpentine, as it is commonly called, and *backhousia*. The following genera are extra-Australian: *baeckia*, which extends to New Caledonia and the Indian Archipelago; *leptospermum* in Australia, New Zealand, and the Indian Archipelago; *melaleuca*, found in New Caledonia, has the largest number of species next to the eucalyptus; *tristania* (brush box) in New Caledonia and the Indian Archipelago; while *metrosideros myrtus, eugenia*, and *barrington* are common to the Pacific Islands and the north-eastern coast of Australia. *Rhodomyrtus* occurs in the Indian Islands; and *myrtus* is common to the tropics and temperate zones.

Another prominent, yet typical Australian natural order is the *proteaceae*, which differs considerably in character from the *myrtaceae*. Whilst the latter is distributed in the temperate zone and in the tropics, the former shows no dispersal in those directions. It has some eleven genera in South Africa, a point which may help in tracing the geographical centre of origin of these orders. This family, which numbers some of the smallest shrubs, such as *symphyonema*, includes also some of the largest trees. Representatives of this order

are known under such local names as geebungs (*persoonias*), honeysuckles (*banksia*), spider flowers (*grevilleas*), and native pear (*xylomelium*). They are distinguished by their remarkable and showy flowers, and in the case of trees by the pronounced medullary rays, which give a beautiful figure when cut on the quarter. Not least among the proteaceous plants is the waratah (*telopea speciosissima*). 'The most magnificent plant which the prolific soil of New Holland affords is, by common assent both of Europeans and natives, the waratah' (Smith, *Bot. New Holl.*, 1789). Of Australian flowers this is the most gorgeous and beautiful. For decorative purposes it has no equal.

The native order of next importance is the *leguminosae*, as widely distributed in Australia and the Pacific as the *myrtaceae*. The genus *acacia* has by far the largest number of species. These are commonly known as wattles, a genus probably more widely distributed than any other. In Australia there are more than 300, and in South Africa above 100. The genera common to Australia and the South Sea Islands are crotalaria, indigofera, zephrosia, desmodium, glycine, canavalia, mucum, erythrina, phaseolus, vigna, abrus, sophora, caesalpinia, cassia, entada, dalbergia, derris, and pargannua. Clianthus and swainsonia occur in New Zealand and in Australia; whilst canavalia and sophora occur throughout the region. In this order the smallest plants and the tallest trees are found. The black bean (*castanospermum australe*) and some of the wattles assume tree form. The remainder are composed of shrubs, often with showy, and other yellow coloured flowers, climbers, creepers, and a native wistaria. Sturt's desert pea is restricted to the western half of Australia. This pea is a small shrub, particularly showy coloured, the flowers being unique for a leguminous plant. The standard keel and wings are crimson, with a purple black disc at the base. The pea was discovered by Dampier in 1688.

The natural order *epacrideae* is next in importance amongst Australian plants. This order contains nearly 300 species as

against 600 in the *myrtaceae*, and more than 1,000 in the *leguminosae*, the most numerous of all. Its flowers are characteristic of the Australian bush, being showy though small. A few of the species only attain small tree form, the remainder being shrubs from 1 foot to 12 feet high. The plants of the genus epacris are familiar under the name of native fuchsia. The genera extends to Australia, and has representatives in New Zealand, New Caledonia, and the Antarctic, while one species is recorded from South America. Next in rank in the number of species is the *compositae*, to which the European sunflower belongs. This is one of the most numerous known. The buttercup family (*ranunculaceae*) is common to Australia, Fiji, New Zealand, and most of the islands of the Pacific. Here also will be found representatives of the natural orders given below. Grasses and ferns are also widely distributed. These probably number in their flora about 200 natural orders, 1,500 genera, and not less than 10,000 species of plants. Some of the islands have characteristic species as genera. For example, Norfolk Island has its endemic species of pine (*araucaria excelsa*), Lord Howe Island its world-famed palms (*kentia* spp.), New Zealand its kauri (*agathis australis*).

One hundred years' development has proved that one of the world's supplies of timber is to be found throughout the Pacific. For hardwoods Australia has no compeer; and this fact is recognized in the timber trade in every part of the world. At the first, however, a low estimate was put on the industrial value of hardwood. In *White's Journal* (1789) it is said: 'The timber of this country is very unfit for the purpose of building. . . . It is the worst wood that any country or climate ever produced.' Several of the more important islands, such as Fiji, Samoa, and Tonga, have some fine specimens of hard and soft woods. New Zealand also is well favoured in its arboreal vegetation.

The eucalyptus timbers are now world-famed for their

hardness and durability. They are particularly well suited for constructional work and for bridges, wharfs, piers, sleepers, carriage building, wood blocks, and many other purposes. Their economics are so great and so much appreciated that in the United States of America, not less than 100,000,000 trees have been planted from seed obtained in Australia. The South African authorities are also extensively planting the eucalyptus, and South America is following their example. The hardest and most durable of the eucalyptus is the ironbark. But other groups, such as stringybark, blackbutt, box, and tallow-wood give timbers scarcely less durable. The lightest in weight is the ash, with varying colour, including tints of red, brown, and yellow. The best commercial eucalyptus timber is the ironbark, tallow-wood, spotted gum, blue gum, grey gum, ash, box, stringybark, and blackbutt. The eucalypts of Australia by no means exhaust the list of hardwoods. In New Guinea there is the kusi kusi, a timber proof against the teredo, and quite as hard and heavy as ironbark.

The hardwoods of Australia (non-eucalypts) include some fine timbers; for instance, the teak (*flindersia australis*), ironwood (*geijera muelleri*), brush box (*tristania conferta*), brush ironbark (*bridelia exaltata*), silky oak (*grevillea robusta*), she oak (*casuarina* spp.), long jack (*flindersia* spp.), red ash (*alphitonia excelsa*), beefwood (*grevillea striata*), myall (*acacia pendula*), eumung (*acacia salicina*), gidgea (*acacia cambagei*), N. S. Wales maple (*villaresia moorei*), scrub hickory (*penteceras australis*), and mararie (*weinmannia lachnocarpa*). Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa also have fine hardwoods, such as sesi, sacan, sagali, bau, dravu, yasi, tumana, tavola, hoka, and dawa. In Samoa there are olasina, taputsi, tabi, masama, toa, ala, filimoto, asiva, ifilete, island teak (*afzelia bijuga*), alaa, and puabulu. The principal New Zealand hardwoods are puriri, maire-ranui, and rata. New Guinea is particularly rich in timber. Little is known concerning their technology, but ebony and kusi kusi may be mentioned for their hardness.

It is doubtful if any other country is so rich in cabinet timbers as Australia. Many of these timbers are to be found in churches, banks, commercial and private houses, where they are used as furniture or for decoration. The principal timbers are: blue fig (*elaeocarpus grandis*), black bean (*castanospermum australe*), scrub hickory (*penteceras australis*), blackwood (*acacia melanoxylon*), white cedar (*melia azedarach*), coachwood (*ceratopetalum apetalum*), rosewood (*dysoxylon fraserianum*), N. S. Wales mountain-ash or Tasmanian oak (*e. delegatensis*), red bean (*d. muelleri*), jarrah (*e. marginata*), red cedar (*cedrela toona*, Roxb.), spotted gum (*e. maculata*), Queensland maple (*flindersia chatawaiana*), blue gum (*eucalyptus saligna*), hoop pine (*araucaria cunninghamii*), silky oak (*orites excelsa*), red myrtle (*fagus cunninghamii*), and Queensland kauri (*agathis robusta*). There are also valuable cabinet timbers in Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, and New Zealand, the following being the most important in New Zealand: kauri, totara, rimu, kahikatea, silver beech, rewarewa, and kawaka.

The advent of the white races to the Pacific brought the exploitation of natural resources for food. Science and enterprise have turned many vegetable products to commercial use. The vegetable kingdom was the mainstay of the aborigine. The bread fruit (*artocarpus incisa*), which Dampier first made known to Europeans, was found in abundance in the Ladrone Islands in 1697. Bligh's attempt to introduce this article of diet into the West Indies from Tahiti is well known. The bread fruit is now generally cultivated throughout the Pacific, and forms a considerable portion of the food supply of the native races. The banana (*musa textilis*) is also in demand as a food amongst Europeans. Its cultivation is carried on in a systematic manner. Thousands of acres in these fertile islands of the Pacific are given to its propagation. The export trade is increasing so rapidly that ships of special design are now

employed. The greater portion of the land in Fiji is cleared for sugar-cane raising. The suitability of these islands to grow tropical plants and their productiveness are now fully demonstrated. Tapioca, taro, and pawpaw are indigenous products.

Of the native vegetable products in the Pacific Isles the coco-nut (*cocos nucifera*) is by far the greatest. The uses to which this tree and its different parts are put are many. It is the most valuable of all the trees in the islands, for every part can be converted to commercial use. The demand for copra, the dried flesh of the nut, is so great, that the market quotation in London is £30 per ton. Extensive areas are now placed under coco-nut cultivation in Tonga, the Solomon Islands, Samoa, Fiji, and the minor islands. The coco-nut is used principally in the manufacture of soap. But a more recent utilization is for the making of butter, much in demand in Germany, where it is preferred to animal butter, as there is no danger of tubercular infection. The odour is removed by a patent process. The yam, a tuber, forms one of the principal food supplies of the natives. There is also another aspect of the agricultural question of great importance. This is found in the suitability of the soil for choice exotic plants which contribute to man's sustenance. These include fruits, berries (coffee), leaves (tea), fibre plants, rubber, and other economic plants.

When in New Zealand and Norfolk Island, Cook was impressed by the commercial value of the New Zealand 'flax' (which is not flax) as a fibre plant. When the first expedition came to Australia, instructions were given to procure and to cultivate plants for fibre for textile manufactures. This step was advocated by J. M. Matra (*Hist. Rec.*, N.S.W., pp. 2 and 707) when the expedition was being prepared. The first attempts to utilize this fibre did not meet with the success anticipated. It is, however, now of great commercial value in New Zealand. The suitability of the islands to grow fibre

plants has been demonstrated beyond doubt. The discovery of the kauri gum as a valuable source of resin for varnish has also been a source of revenue to New Zealand. In Australia grass tree gum (*xanthorhea hastilis*), which is a true resin, is in demand in European countries. References are made to this substance by the earliest historians of Australian flora. Sandarach, from the pines (*callitris*), is also valuable for varnish making.

Dilo oil (*calophyllum inophyllum*), the fixed oil of the nut of this tree, is common throughout the Pacific Islands, and is one of the most valuable oils. It is used largely for domestic purposes, and as a liniment in rheumatism and bruises. There are several kinds of seeds yet to be exploited for their expressed oils, such as candle nut (*aleurites triloba*), &c. The oil of the coco-nut is also an expressed oil. For essential oils we turn to Australia, as few essential oils are produced in the islands. New Caledonia exports a volatile oil from a tea-tree (*melaleuca viridiflora*), under the name of naioli oil; but so far in essential oil-making very little research has been done in these islands. Australia may be said to be the home of native essential oil-producing plants. It is doubtful if any other country is so rich in volatile oil-producing plants. This fact was early demonstrated. White, the surgeon of the First Fleet, states in his *Voyages:* 'The name of peppermint tree has been given to this plant by Mr. White on account of the very great resemblance between the essential oil drawn from its leaves and that obtained from the peppermint (*mentha piperita*) which grows in England. This oil was found by Mr. White to be much more efficacious in removing all cholicky complaints than that of the English peppermint, which he attributed to its being less pungent and more aromatic. A quart of the oil has been sent by him to Mr. Wilson.'

It thus appears that eucalyptus oil was the first natural product exported to England. But nothing further was done

to investigate the properties of this oil for well over half a century, when specimens were exhibited at the International Exhibition in 1851. Interest was then gradually developed in this product as a medicinal oil, until it was placed on the British Pharmacopoeia with a specified test. For medicinal purposes it must contain over 50 per cent. eucalyptol, the principal medicinal constituent, and have a specific gravity of ·91. Within the last twenty years much research has taken place on eucalyptus oil, and the knowledge of its various constituents and their application in medicine and commerce is considerably extended. The constituents discovered in eucalyptus oils may be seen from the following list—

Eucalyptol	Oxides.
Eudesomol	
Geraniol	Alcohols.
Methyl alcohol	
Ethyl alcohol	
Isobutyl alcohol	
Amyl alcohol	
Aromadendral	Aldehydes.
Citral	
Citronellal	
Butaldehyde	
Valeraldehyde	
Piperitone (peppermint constituent)	Ketone.
Geranyl acetate	Esters.
Amyl eudesmate	
Valeric acid ester	
Acetic acid ester	
Acetic acid (free)	Acid.
Aromadendrine	Sesquiterpene.
Pipene (both dextro- and laevo-rotatory)	Terpenes.
Phellandrene	
Cymene	Alkyl-benzene.

The two most prominent commercial constituents of this list are eucalyptol and phellandrene, the former being the

necessary constituent in oil to comply with the requirements. Phellandrene oils not being saleable for medicinal purposes, other use had to be found for them. Within the last five years it has been discovered that this particular oil can be successfully used for mineral separation by the flotation process, with yields from 84 to 90 per cent. concentrates. This discovery has led to a revolution in the mineral extraction processes and eucalyptus oil industries. The millions of tons of tailings at Broken Hill are being treated by this process in procuring silver, lead, and zinc from these dumps. As phellandrene can also be used for the treatment of gold and copper, its demand in the near future will be world-wide. Even now large orders are placed by various mines, and the future of this eucalyptus product is assured. Citral, obtained from the leaves of *e. staigeriana,* is a valuable product, as ionone, one of the bases of the artificial perfume of violets, is obtained from it. Citronellal, which is obtained from *e. citriodora,* should prove a strong rival to the citronellal obtained from the lemon grass of Ceylon, as the yield is much greater. Geraniol is that important constituent in the otto of roses. Oil containing this constituent and citral are the highest priced eucalyptus oils. The pinene oils are similar to those of France and America. Thus for the future Australia has a vast source of turpentine in its gum-trees. Several of the known constituents of eucalyptus oil have not even yet been commercially investigated.

The history of research on the fauna does not make such good reading as that of botany. The zoologist did his work in a spasmodic and fragmentary manner. The collections made by Banks and Solander may be regarded as the foundation of the Pacific flora. But nothing apparently was done to publish descriptions of the material collected, notwithstanding its valuable nature. In *Parkinson's Journal* it is stated 'that Banks and Solander have discovered in the course of their adventures' (Cook's first voyage) 'many

thousand species of plants hitherto unknown. . . . They have also described a great variety of birds and beasts hitherto unknown . . . 300 new species of fishes . . . 100 species of new shells, and a great number of curious insects . . . and corals; also other marine animals.'

In the account of Phillip's *Voyage to Botany Bay*, published in 1789, a number of mammals, birds, fish, and reptiles from New Holland are illustrated and described; and in *White's Voyages,* published six months later, similar ground is covered. In 1793 Dr. Shaw described and figured zoological specimens from New Holland. Other workers, both English and foreign, entered this field of investigation, and the results of their work are scattered through the scientific literature of the dates concerned. The epoch-making period of the fauna is found when John Gould visited Australia at his own expense in the late thirties, and made a collection of mammals and birds. The latter numbered 600 species and 1,800 specimens, with a full complement of the eggs of more than 300 species. Gould's *Birds* is to-day the finest monograph on the subject, and separate copies are valued at £700 or more. Unfortunately monographs of this type have been few, and some of the main groups of the fauna still remain unmonographed. There have, however, been some splendid workers in limited fields of the fauna since Gould's time, including the Macleays, Meyricks, Masters, McCoy, Waterhouse, and Dr. G. Bennett.

In this wonderland, the first visitors were struck by the strange forms of animal life. Since then the geological age of the islands in the South Pacific has been largely determined, and the fauna has been identified as a survival from geographical times. Hence its antiquity, which differentiates it morphologically, physiologically, and historically from that found in other parts of the world. The same applies to the flora. It is thus easily understood why the opening up of the Pacific has been a scientific revelation in biological research.

The first to open this book to Europeans was Dampier, who, in 1688, records having seen a kangaroo, or wallaby, native dogs, birds, and a species of lizard now known as shingle-back. Within the last century other naturalists came upon the scene, and soon after the colonies were founded, much information was obtained concerning the strange fauna of Australia and the islands of the South Seas. What appealed to these early naturalists was the dissimilarity of the animals and birds from anything in their own country. For example: the marsupial carried its young in a pouch, and instead of walking, moved by leaps and bounds. It was discovered later that its lower jaw had a double movement, vertical and horizontal, quite unique in the animal world. Again, there was the platypus, with its duck-bill and web-feet, one of the few representatives of the animal kingdom which can be classed as oviparous. Black swans and wingless birds, with other zoological phenomena, made a list of novelties sufficient to arrest the attention of students of this science. These forms produced material for much research both in the southern world and in Europe. Expedition after expedition visited the southern seas in quest of specimens of this remarkable fauna. Besides these archaic survivals, investigation has shown the presence of representatives or congeners of families of animals found to-day in other parts of the globe, such as the dingo, rat, and flying fox, proving that in the fauna of the Pacific there are ancient and comparatively recent forms of animal life.

The mammals, so largely represented in other parts of the world, are here almost limited to the marsupials, of which one other family only is known to exist in America. There is one division of mammals, the monotremes, the lowest of its class, endemic to Australia. Of the marsupials, the kangaroo is typical of the Australian fauna, the family being divided into several varieties, such as the grey kangaroo, red kangaroo, wallaroo, wallaby, pademelon, kangaroo rat, tree kangaroo, and others. They range in height from 6 feet

to less than a foot, each being distinguished by some specific difference. Besides the kangaroo family, the life history of other closely allied marsupials has received much study from the systematists. A few of these unique animals biologically investigated may be enumerated. One of the most peculiar is the native bear, so called by Europeans, but named *kaola* by the autochthonous inhabitants of Australia. This short, heavy, serious-looking animal, with large head and scarcely any tail, lives almost entirely on eucalyptus leaves, and is probably the only animal exclusively restricted to this diet. The Australian opossums are commonly thought to live exclusively on gum leaves; but this is not so. Like the *kaola* they are of arboreal habit, preferring the gum-tree. They are also nocturnal, similar to the flying squirrel of the Australian bush. The wombat, like the *kaola,* is thick-set in body, but differs from it by living in burrows made by its short, powerful limbs, used also in searching for roots, which form its principal food. The wombat is endemic to Australia and Tasmania.

There are also carnivorous marsupials surviving in Australia, the largest being the Tasmanian tiger or wolf, about the size of a sheep-dog. The Tasmanian devil, though smaller, is equally vicious and destructive to domestic and small animals, like the tiger with flocks. The native cat and the banded ant-eater, representatives of this class, are found on the mainland. The flying fox, the bat, the rat, mice, and the dingo or native dog, the *bête noire* of the pastoralist, are also worthy of note.

Of all animals none created greater interest in scientific circles than the duck-bill platypus and the echidna. They are the most remarkable of the Australian mammals, possessing organs which ally them with mammals and with reptiles. Though suckling their young like members of the mammalia class, they have no teats as teats are generally understood. As a substitute there is a space perforated with pores through which the milk passes. Then, again, they differ from

mammals in that they lay eggs, thus resembling reptiles or birds. These two animals have no parallel in the realm of biology so far as present knowledge goes. Their mode of life differs. The platypus is found in the neighbourhood of water, the mouth of the burrow being below the water-line, where it deposits its two eggs. The coat of the platypus may be described as a fur of high value. Being of a soft nature it can be made into various articles of apparel. The form, structure, and functions of the various parts of the platypus make interesting reading. The same remarks apply in lesser degree to the echidna or spiny ant-eater, characterized by its numerous strong spines and long snout. It possesses a long, protrusive tongue to catch the ants which form its regular diet. It has powerful claws, with which it burrows with great rapidity. Owing to its nocturnal habits it is thought to be rare, though it may be fairly numerous.

The fauna of New Zealand is characterized by paucity of mammals, reptiles, amphibia, fresh-water fish, and insect fauna. Distinctive orders, such as marsupials and monotremes, characteristic of Australia, are entirely absent. So also are the extra-Australian families, such as tortoises, crocodiles, and snakes. Of the fauna the birds are the most peculiar and the most numerous. The New Zealand kiwi possesses many strange features. It is quite wingless, the body being covered with long, narrow feathers, while the beak is long and curved. Till recently a genus of large birds existed, since named the moa. The bones on exhibition show the moa to have been much larger than the ostrich.

The first naturalists were struck by the gorgeous plumage and novelty of bird-life in the various countries. They were particularly impressed by the cockatoos of Australia, the birds of paradise of New Guinea, and the kiwi of New Zealand. The lyre bird, the emu, and the cassowary were but little less appreciated, as they, too, were remarkable and

interesting. Probably the first bird to be figured was the Australian cassowary, a plate appearing in *The Voyage* of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay. But the greatest of all curiosities was that *rara avis* of the ancients, the black swan. The emus and their closely allied congeners, the cassowaries, are the largest birds in Australia. They measure several feet in height, and have heavy bodies and rudimentary wings, which deprive them of the power of flight. The male lyre bird, an endemic *avis,* is famous for its tail, resembling the musical instrument after which it is named. The bird of paradise, world-famed for its beauty of colouring, has a geographical range extending over New Guinea and the neighbouring islands. Its Australian representatives are found in the bower bird, the rifle bird, the regent bird, and others.

Amongst the native fauna of Australia, the cockatoo is a feature of the bush. The broad-tailed parroquets, including the rosellas, are like the brush-tongued lories found in the Malay Archipelago. The most numerous class in the bush is the honey-eater, which varies in size and form, from the little, slender-billed blood bird to the comparatively large leather-head and soldier bird. The king-fisher, so widely distributed over the world, has the 'laughing jackass' of Australia as the giant of its class. The numerous species of pigeons are of equal geographical range, the finest of the race being the New Guinea goura, a large and beautiful bird. The scrub turkey buries its eggs in decomposing vegetable matter collected by itself, the incubation being caused by the heat of decomposition. Mention only of the 'more-porks' and magpies, characteristic of Australian bird-life, must close an all too brief account of a remarkable fauna.

The first record of Australian fish dates from Cook's first voyage. In his private log (April 29, 1770) Cook says: 'At 3 p.m. anchored in 7 fathom water in a place which I called Sting-ray Harbour,' his reason for the name being 'the

great quantity of these sort of fish found in this place.' Fish of this species, weighing 300 lb., were captured and eaten. Little is known concerning the fish collected on this first voyage. The zoological work suffered, as the scientists of the expedition were pre-eminently botanists. The first Australian fish scientifically described were collected on this voyage. In the year 1788 Bonnaterre published a work in which the ' wobbegong shark ' was described under the name of *squalus maculatus*. White, the surgeon of the first fleet, took a keen interest in biology, and spent much time in collecting. In his *Voyages* several fish are illustrated with skill. This work, with *Phillip's Voyage*, laid the foundation of a systematic study of Australian biology in general and of fish in particular.

Several expeditions set out between Phillip's time and the year 1828, when Cuvier, that famous student of ichthyology, with his pupil Valenciennes, commenced his work on the fishes of the globe. The work of Cuvier and Valenciennes occupied twenty-one years, from 1828 till 1849. It embodied descriptions of all the fish recorded from Australian waters, and was therefore the most important work on Australian fish up to date. The next work of importance was the British Museum catalogue of fishes, under the editorship of Dr. Gunther, the greatest ichthyologist of modern times. This work of eight volumes occupied eleven years in compilation, and gave scientific descriptions of all the Australian fish discovered. Not confined to Australia, the investigations embraced all seas. This work is the classic work on fish. In 1881 the Hon. William Macleay published his descriptive catalogue of Australian fish, wherein he added many species not included in the British Museum catalogue. Many new species have since been added to the already long list of Australian fish.

Containing one-tenth of the known fish of the world, Australia and the Pacific possess a rich fish fauna. There are indications that when these waters have been thoroughly

investigated, the list will be considerably increased. In this connexion the Commonwealth trawler, the *Endeavour*, is doing very valuable work. Commissioned in 1909 to explore the waters surrounding the Australian coastline, she has gathered much information as to the haunts of the principal edible fish, and many new fish have been discovered. Interest in the fish fauna does not end here, for there are fish bearing a close relationship to those existing in very ancient geological periods. The most interesting in this connexion is the Port Jackson shark (*heterodontus phillipi*), whose ancestors date back to the Devonian period. Another is the Queensland lung fish (*neoceratodus forsteri*), one of the three existing fish which has the power of breathing both by means of gills and well-developed lungs. It can live out of water for considerable periods.

The first glimpse of the piscine fauna of New Zealand is due to Dr. Johann Reinhold Forster, who accompanied Cook on his second voyage, and visited New Zealand in 1773, and again in 1774. Since those times scientists and others have given much attention to New Zealand fish, the value of which was early recognized. In the development of the New Zealand fisheries, the names of John Munro and Mr. McLeod will long be remembered. Mr. McLeod's opinion of the value of this industry may be gathered from his words: 'I was engaged for seventeen years in the North American fisheries, but I find that New Zealand possesses better fishing-grounds than either America or Newfoundland.'

The reptilian fauna is more largely represented in Australia than in the islands. Some of the most venomous snakes are found in Australia, the most deadly being the death adder. Lizards are numerous. Two species of crocodiles occur, one inhabiting the mouths of rivers, and a smaller fresh-water species. There are three indigenous genera of the order of reptiles, fresh-water tortoises, turtles, and marine tortoises. There is one specimen of the vermes fauna worthy of mention,

the giant earth-worm of Gippsland. These worms, which are 6 feet long and more than an inch in diameter, are the largest known worms. The insect fauna is extensive, and offers a splendid field for research. Much yet remains to be investigated and classified.

The indigenous fauna of the Pacific lacks commercial possibilities; and the history of the settler during the last one hundred years shows little benefit from these animals. In the larger mammals, the marsupials, for instance, the flesh is not appreciated, though the hides are prized as yielding a fine, light, durable leather. The early settlers found the flesh of the emu and cassowary edible, but it is rarely eaten now. The wild turkey is eaten in some districts. The whale, found in these waters and ranked as an animal, has from the first been a source of revenue through its valuable oil. This industry is still carried on.

The fish fauna is much more valuable, for here are to be found some of the finest eating fish in the world. The fresh-water Murray cod has probably no equal as a table fish. It is noted for its size, specimens sometimes weighing 150 lb. Amongst salt-water fish, the finest edible fish is the snapper, which grows to a large size. Specimens have been caught weighing 40 lb. The flesh is choice eating. Amongst other first-class edible fish are the squire, red bream, mullet, black bream, common flathead, jew fish, king fish, whiting, trevally, tailer, red-rock cod, garfish, and perch. It is strange that the first recorded edible fish, the sting-ray, should have fallen in favour as time passed. It is now rarely eaten by the white population, but it must not be thought that it is useless as a food. The large fins or flappers, which are often cooked, are of good flavour and jelly-like consistency. On the economic side the bays and estuaries of Australia have been practically unexplored. The results of the trawler *Endeavour* indicate that they would richly reward enterprise in working. The average consumption of fish in New South

Wales alone for some years has amounted approximately to 10,000,000 lb. The consumption is confined largely to snapper, sea mullet, black bream, and common flathead from salt water, and the Murray cod from the fresh waters of the Murray and its tributaries. These fish are confined solely to the waters of Australia or the adjacent islands.

It will be seen what a magnificent field the workers in biology have in the South Pacific. The results of their labours, so far, are apparent. This page in Nature's book is no less remarkable than that of other portions of the globe.

CHAPTER IV

LANGUAGES

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SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

Limited area—Polynesian—Melanesian—Papuan—Micronesian—Ray—Distribution—Characteristics—Linguistic summary—Pygmies—Altered nomenclature—Tentative opinions—Conclusions—Languages in Mission districts—Types—Tonga—Samoa—Fiji—New Britain—Papua—Character and customs—Evidence of barbarism—Unrecordable words—Polite language—Grammar—Adequate.

CHAPTER IV

LANGUAGES

It is impossible to consider, within the limits of a short sketch, the many and varied subjects involved in the study of the linguistics of the different native peoples who inhabit Australia, the Pacific Islands, and the large island of New Guinea. Such a study would involve the consideration of the grammatical structure of the respective languages, their affinities, relationship, and differences; the production of a comparative grammar, and the analysis of a large number of vocabularies. It would also be necessary to discuss, at length, the vexed question of the respective races; to decide whether they are indigines or immigrants; and, in either case, to show how they are related to other peoples; if immigrants, how they reached their present destination, and from what country they originally came.

The extensive literature on these subjects shows, not only many of the questions involved, but also makes clear the fact that our knowledge is still limited on some essential details. There are yet many difficulties to be overcome before we arrive at positive conclusions. I propose to give a simple, popular account of the languages spoken by the respective peoples in the Pacific and in New Guinea; to supply some information given by their vocabularies with respect to the character of the people; and to show the capacity of their languages for expressing the great truths of Christianity and the teachings of modern culture, as shown by the changed lives of the people, and their continued advance in civilization and knowledge.

The languages of the Southern Pacific area are now

generally described as Australian, Polynesian, Melanesian, Papuan, and Micronesian. The Polynesian languages are spoken in New Zealand, Samoa, Tonga, Sandwich Islands, Marquesas, Tahiti, and in several other smaller groups, some of which (as part of Uea or Uvea in the Loyalty Islands, Futuna in the New Hebrides, Ontong Java, Sikyana, or Stewarts group, Feads group, Tikopia, Mae, Bellona, and Rennell Islands) are situated amongst, or in close proximity to, peoples who speak purely Melanesian languages.

The Melanesian languages include those spoken in the New Hebrides, Banks, Santa Cruz, and Solomon groups; New Britain and all the Bismarck Archipel, and many parts of New Guinea. In some of these groups, however, there are a few districts, such as Negone in the Loyalty Islands, Vella Lavella and Savo in the Solomons, Baining, and probably other districts in New Britain, and Rossel Island in South-Eastern New Guinea, where the language is considered to be Papuan, or related to some still older language, and not Melanesian. The Papuan languages have recently been separated by Mr. Sidney H. Ray from those of Melanesia. They are now generally recognized as being non-Melanesian and distinct from all the island languages, with the possible exception of those mentioned above. With regard to Vella Lavella, Mr. Ray, in a recent letter to me, says that a vocabulary and grammar notes sent to him by the Rev. R. C. Nicholson conclusively prove the non-Melanesian character of the language. The Micronesian languages are spoken in the Gilberts, Marshall, Caroline, and other groups, generally known as the Line Islands.

In *Linguistics*, the third volume (Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition of Torres Straits), Mr. Ray bears ample testimony to his great industry in the collection of the numerous grammars and vocabularies contained in the book; to his knowledge in classifying the respective languages, and to the correctness of the opinions he has expressed from the study of them. In discussing the classification of these

languages Mr. Ray says: 'The languages of British New Guinea, which are here termed Papuan, show great variety, both in grammatical structure and vocabulary. They fall into several very distinct groups which have no common grammar or vocabulary; whilst the differences in phraseology, formative particles, and words, render the languages mutually unintelligible. Though in some respects similar to the Australian languages, there is no definite indication of affinity with them either in grammar or vocabulary. Many of the Papuan languages have somewhat complicated grammars, and this renders them difficult to acquire. They are by no means accurately known; though in most cases enough has now been ascertained to show their complete separation from the Melanesian.

'The characteristics of the Papuan languages may be summed up as follows:

'(1) In the individual languages the Roots of Words and the Particles are distinct, and the Pronouns have no Common Origin.

'(2) Possessive Pronouns are formed by suffixing a Particle to the Personal Pronouns.

'(3) The Cases of Nouns are formed by Postpositions. There are no Prepositions.

'(4) The Subject of a Transitive Verb is usually in the Instrumental Case.

'(5) Distinct Numerals are in use usually only for "one" and "two," rarely for "three." Higher numbers are remembered by using parts of the body as tallies.

'(6) The Verb is complicated. Modifications of Tense, Person, and Number are expressed by Suffixes. The Suffixes are sometimes used in conjunction with Prefixes.

'The Melanesian languages of British New Guinea are closely related to the languages spoken in the Melanesian Islands. They are, in every essential feature, members of the same linguistic family as that found prevailing in the Solomon Islands, Banks Island, New Hebrides, and Fiji.

They have the same structure as the island languages, a similar numeral system, similar variations in phonology, and the vocabulary is full of common words. Though the areas occupied by the speakers of the languages are often geographically separated, words and grammar are usually identical. The speakers of these languages, by tradition, appearance, and customs, appear to be immigrants of the New Guinea mainland.

'The characteristics of the Melanesian languages of New Guinea may be summed up as follows:

'(1) Pronouns are of Common Origin, and many words are plainly seen to be the same as those of the island languages. When one New Guinea language differs from another, the differences are such as are also found in the islands.

'(2) To indicate Possession, Personal Pronouns are suffixed to the name of the thing possessed; or a special Noun, with the suffixed Pronoun, indicates the nature of the Possession.

'(3) The equivalents of Case in Nouns are made by Prepositions.

'(4) The action of the Verb upon an object is indicated by a change in the termination, or by means of a Suffix.

'(5) Numbers, at least as far as five, are counted. Though counting is performed on the fingers, other parts of the body are not used as tallies.

'(6) The Verb is simple. Modifications of Tense, Person, and Number, are expressed by preceding Particles.

'The *Melanesian* languages of New Guinea differ from the *Polynesian*. The following is a summary of the chief points of difference:

'(1) Words which are current Melanesian occur in New Guinea, but do not occur in the Polynesian languages.

'(2) Of words common to Melanesian and Polynesian languages, the New Guinea languages have preserved fuller and less changed forms than the Polynesian.

'(3) The New Guinea Noun follows the Melanesian use in suffixing Pronouns to Nouns. In Polynesia only a few words take these Suffixes.

'(4) The proper use of the Verbal or Transitive Suffixes is retained in New Guinea; but in Polynesia these have been transformed into the (so-called) passive endings.

'The view here taken of the Polynesian and Melanesian languages is that they are related in grammar and vocabulary. The Polynesian is regarded as a late form of a Melanesian language' (Report of Cambridge Expedition, *Linguistics*, pp. 287 *seq.*).

In discussing the geographical distribution of the Papuan and Melanesian languages of British New Guinea Mr. Ray says:

'Papuan languages appear to be spoken throughout the known portions of British territory, except in certain river valleys on the south-east coast, in the islands and adjacent mainland at the east end of the possession, and on a long stretch of coast on the north-east shore of the eastern peninsula.

'From the Netherlands-British boundary at the Bensbach River to Cape Possession, about half-way between the Biaru River and Hall Sound on the eastern shore of the Papuan Gulf, there is apparently no break in the succession of Papuan forms of speech. The valley of the St. Joseph (Paimumu or Angabunga) River is, however, occupied by the speakers of Melanesian languages; and others have occupied the lower portion of the Vanapa River, and thence spread along the coast eastward. In many villages in this region both Papuan and Melanesian dialects are spoken. On the hills inland, over the mountain ranges, and down the river valleys to the other (north) side of the island, all the languages are Papuan. Another important group of Melanesian languages is spoken in the basin of the Kemp-Welch (Wanigela) River, and on the adjacent coast. Beyond Keakaro Bay, the coast languages are again Papuan as far

as Orangerie Bay; but beyond this, all the south coast and islands far to the east are held by Melanesian speakers, with the solitary (and perhaps doubtful) exceptions of Rossel Island and Tagula at the eastern end of the Louisiade Archipelago. These doubtful languages carry on the Papuan languages to the northern part of the Solomon group, where they finally become merged in the Melanesian.

'Returning along the north shore of the East Peninsula of New Guinea, the coast from Milne Bay to Cape Nelson, the adjacent Dentrecasteaux group (probably), and the more distant Trobriands are occupied by Melanesian speakers. From Cape Nelson northwards, no Melanesian languages again appear, until Cape Cretin is reached in German territory' (*Linguistics,* Report of Cambridge Expedition, p. 290).

What is now definitely proved, is the existence of a Papuan (or non-Melanesian) language in British New Guinea. For this discovery the credit is due to Mr. Ray's valuable labours. It seems also to be proved that the Papuan languages are more archaic than those of Melanesia or Polynesia; but the recent discoveries of a race of pygmies in Netherlands, German and British New Guinea, make it probable that a still earlier language, spoken by the original inhabitants of New Guinea, may be proved to exist, when the language of these pygmy races is investigated. At present nothing is known of it; but Mr. Ray, in considering the divergences in grammar which appear in some of the island languages, says that they '*may* be survivals of former non-Melanesian languages.' He states that there is 'no trace of a similarity between these divergences and Papuan forms' (*Linguistics,* p. 521). This fact makes the knowledge of the languages spoken by the pygmy races still more desirable and interesting.

The following General Linguistic Summary, given by Mr. Ray in his valuable Report, will be of service, giving in condensed form the opinions which he then held as formed from the mass of evidence collected:

'(1) The Western language of Torres Straits is Australian.

'(2) The Eastern language of the Straits is morphologically related to the Papuan of New Guinea.

'(3) There is no genealogical connexion between the two languages of the Straits.

'(4) There is no evidence of an African, Andaman, Papuan, or Malay connexion with the Australian languages. There are reasons for regarding the Australian as in a similar morphological stage to the Dravidian; but there is no genealogical relationship proved.

'(5) The Papuan languages are distinct from the Melanesian. They are in some respects similar to the Australian; but their exact positions are not yet proved.

'(6) Languages of the Papuan type are found in German New Guinea. There is no direct evidence of their existence in Netherlands New Guinea.

'(7) There is insufficient evidence to connect the Papuan with the Andaman or Halmahern languages.

'(8) In the Northern Melanesian Islands a few languages are found which have Papuan characteristics.

'(9) Differences of grammar and vocabulary, which appear in other island languages, appear to be remains of an archaic Melanesian speech. There is no grammatical evidence to connect them with the Papuan; but they show the Papuan diversity of vocabulary.

'(10) The Melanesian languages of New Guinea, and those of the islands, are closely (genealogically) related in grammar and vocabulary.

'(11) The Melanesian languages of New Guinea and the islands, stand in the position with regard to the Polynesian. Both the former represent an older and fuller form of speech, of which the Polynesian is a later and more simplified descendant' (*Linguistics*, Report of Cambridge Expedition, p. 528).

Mr. Ray uses 'morphological' as implying similar gram-

matical formation; 'genealogical' as implying community of origin.

The following facts, however, must be remembered. Since the above summary was written, a race of pygmies has been discovered in Netherlands New Guinea, by an expedition organized by the British Ornithological Union, conducted by Mr. A. F. R. Wollaston (*Pygmies and Papuans,* Smith, Elder & Co., London). Mr. Williamson has also described some tribes in the interior of British New Guinea which were not previously described (*The Mafulu Mountain People of British New Guinea*); and Sir Francis Winter described, in 1903, some dwarf people in British New Guinea near Cape Nelson, the measurements of the men being only 4 feet 3 inches. The languages of these people have not, I think, been examined, and it is quite possible that when this is done they may be found to throw some light upon, if not to explain clearly, the differences which exist in some of the Papuan grammars, and those also in the Melanesian districts of Nengone, Savo, Baining, New Britain, and their connexion, or otherwise, with Australia.

It is of the utmost importance to note that, owing to Mr. Ray's discovery of a Papuan language in New Guinea which is quite distinct from that of the Melanesians in New Guinea and the island groups, the nomenclature of these languages must be altered. This distinction must always be borne in mind when consulting the earlier writers on this subject. It was, for instance, generally accepted that the languages of Melanesia and New Guinea were of the same family, and this was indifferently called Papuan, Melanesian, or Western Polynesian. I myself contributed a paper to the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1887, in which I designated the Samoans as Eastern Polynesians, and the New Britain people as Western Polynesians or Papuans. The correct title, in view of later information, should have been Melanesians and Polynesians. In this article the word Polynesian applies to the Samoan and cognate languages;

Melanesian to the languages spoken in Fiji, the Western Pacific groups, and portions of New Guinea; and Papuan to those languages spoken in New Guinea and in some of the Eastern islands in Torres Straits which are non-Melanesian. The language spoken by the recently discovered pygmies is not yet known.

The fact that in Australia, New Guinea, and the large island groups in the Pacific, there are a number of people speaking languages which present fundamental differences in grammatical construction, and a most bewildering number of vocabularies, naturally suggests the inquiry as to which of those languages may be considered to be the most archaic, and the most representative of the languages spoken by the original inhabitants of the respective countries. It also suggests the inquiry as to the original habitat of the respective peoples, more especially with regard to those considered to be immigrants, and not indigenes. These are important questions, on which varied opinions are held. It would be futile to attempt any adequate consideration of them in the space allotted. I have, in a previous work (*Melanesians and Polynesians,* Macmillan & Co., London, pp. 14 *seq.*, 369 *seq.*), given the opinions which I had formed at that time. These have now to be presented in a somewhat different form, owing to the discovery, previously mentioned, of a distinct Papuan language in New Guinea, and that of the pygmies in some parts of the same country, whose language will probably be found to be more archaic than that of the Papuans.

It would not be wise, with our present knowledge, to write dogmatically on this difficult subject. I venture to submit the following opinions which I now hold:

(1) That the original inhabitants of New Guinea and of most of the Western Pacific groups were a Negrito people, who occupied New Guinea and all the different groups in the Western Pacific as far west as Borneo, probably extending upon the mainland on the side of Siam, the Malacca Penin-

sula, and, perhaps, as far as Burmah. This large district may probably have formed part of a great continent at some remote period.

(2) That the original home of these peoples was in India; probably in the valley of the Ganges, which was then, as were other parts of India, occupied by a people quite distinct from the Aryan or Indo-Germanic race, which subsequently entered India, and subjugated or dislodged, to a considerable extent, the people whom they found there. This opinion was held by Mr. J. R. Logan (*Ethnology of the Indo-Pacific Islands*, p. 1; *Journ. Indian Archipelago*, 1852–3, pp. 34, 37, 54), and I think it is correct.

(3) That the languages spoken by them do not belong to the Indo-European, but to some non-Aryan family; and that these have from time to time been much modified by admixture with forms of speech brought in by repeated immigrations from Aryan-speaking races on the mainland of India. The characteristics of the non-Aryan family are all, however, strongly marked in New Guinea, Melanesia, and Polynesia at the present time. None of the languages spoken by these people can be considered inflexional, which is one of the distinguishing features of the Indo-European family. All the languages with which I am acquainted in the Pacific are more or less agglutinative. They all preserve the characteristic non-Aryan features that the root is never obscured, that there are very few, if any, irregular forms, and that there is often a great divergence of dialects. It has always, I think, been found a great difficulty by those who advocate the Caucasian origin of these peoples, that whilst the Indo-European languages are often strongly inflexional, there are few, if any, evidences of an inflexional language in any of the Melanesian or Polynesian languages.

(4) That the pygmies of New Guinea are the oldest representatives of the original race in the districts now under consideration.

(5) That successive immigrants from the mainland of India

settled in Indonesia, and from there spread, by way of the island groups, to New Guinea; that these immigrants, mixing with the original inhabitants, formed what are now known as the Papuan-speaking peoples, who reside in New Guinea, and in some isolated islands or districts in the Melanesian area.

(6) That the language of these immigrants was again modified in New Guinea, and probably elsewhere, by further admixture with the original Negrito races.

(7) That the peoples remaining in Indonesia were still further affected, during a long period of time, by large numbers of immigrants from the mainland of India or Indo-China, who, mixing freely with them, gradually introduced a distinct vocabulary into the language, and also caused radical changes in its grammatical construction.

(8) That this admixture constituted what is now known as the Melanesian race.

(9) That this Melanesian race, in turn, overflowed from its home in Indonesia, and in large numbers gradually peopled certain parts of New Guinea and the Western Pacific groups; and either drove out, exterminated, or assimilated the Papuan peoples residing in those particular districts, with the exception of those living in some isolated communities, previously mentioned, such as Baining in New Britain; Vella Lavella and Savo in the Solomon group; Rossel Islands in SE. New Guinea; and probably in some other places, the languages of which have not yet been examined. There appears to be little or no doubt that the Melanesian-speaking peoples in German New Guinea, and those settled in British New Guinea on nearly all the coastline from near Cape Nelson on the NE. coast to Cape Possession on the eastern side of the Gulf of Papua, in the south and south-west part of the island, and also those residing on all the SE. island groups, with the exception of Rossel Island and portions of Sud Est Island, are immigrants from Indonesia, by way of the island groups; and

that they arrived in New Guinea at a date long subsequent to that on which the Papuan-speaking peoples effected a settlement there.

(10) That these immigrations must have taken place in very remote periods is, I think, proved by the fact that, unlike the Polynesians, neither the Papuans nor the Melanesians have any traditions of these voyages. This, however, may in some degree be accounted for by the fact that they had no great chiefs, and no system of tribal government, which made the preservation of antecedent laws and usages necessary; nor had they reached that stage of culture which, as in the case of the Polynesians, caused the institution of a special class of men, whose duty it was to preserve the traditions and laws of past generations by which they were governed.

(11) That the Melanesian peoples remaining in Indonesia after these emigrations were, during a long period, still affected by successive immigrations from the western groups of India, who mixed with, and were assimilated by them. This admixture modified, and in some degree changed, the language, colour, and customs of the people.

(12) That this mixed race were the inhabitants of Indonesia prior to the Malay irruption, and constituted what are now known as the Polynesian peoples.

(13) That many of these people were finally driven out of Indonesia by the continued encroachment of Malay and other immigrants; and that these expelled races migrated eastward, and probably settled in the first instance in Manua in the Samoan group, to which place nearly all Polynesian traditions point as being that from which the subsequent dispersions to the different islands in the Eastern Pacific took place.

If the foregoing suppositions are correct it is assumed:

(*a*) That the languages spoken by the pygmies in New Guinea will be found to be the most archaic; and they will probably be found to have a closer connexion with the

Australian languages than has yet been traced as existing between the Australian and Papuan languages.

(*b*) That the Papuan peoples were immigrants from Indonesia; and that the languages now spoken by them were affected by admixture with those which were spoken by the pygmy people, with whom they were brought into close contact.

(*c*) That the Melanesians were also from Indonesia; but that their emigration took place at a time long subsequent to that of the Papuans, and when they had been much more affected by intercourse and admixture with other immigrants than the Papuans had been at the time when the latter first settled in New Guinea and the Western Pacific groups.

(*d*) That the ancestors of the Polynesians were the people who remained in Indonesia after the successive emigrations of those that are now known as the Papuan and Melanesian peoples; and that, during the long period in which they remained there, they had been still more affected by successive immigrations of races from the western groups, who mixed with them, and so changed in some degree their language, colour, and customs.

(*e*) That these people were finally driven out of Indonesia by the continued encroachments of Malay and other immigrants; that they settled first in Samoa, from there were dispersed to the different eastern islands of the Pacific, and formed what is now known as the Polynesian peoples.

The languages used in all our mission districts are either Polynesian or Melanesian. We have no mission amongst the Papuan-speaking peoples, unless it should be found that the natives of Vella Lavella in the Solomon Islands, whose language is certainly non-Melanesian, the natives of Sud Est and Rossel Island in New Guinea, and the people of the Baining district in New Britain, speak a Papuan language.

The Maori, Samoan, and Tongan may be taken as types of Polynesian; and the languages of Fiji, New Britain, New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands as typical of the Melanesian

family. The Samoan and Tongan resemble each other in grammatical construction, but with many differences in their vocabularies, and some perplexing differences in meaning. For example, a word which in Tongan has a good meaning, has an obscene meaning in Samoan; the word *malanga* means a sermon in Tongan, the same word in Samoan means a journey, or a party of travellers. The word *lauga*, a sermon in Samoan, means a grumbling or murmurs in Tongan. Some of these words form dangerous traps, into which any one with a superficial knowledge of the two languages may easily fall.

The first grammar and dictionary of the Tongan language is found in that wonderful book, Mariner's *Natives of the Tonga Islands*. Mariner was a sailor on board the *Port Prince*, a whale-ship and privateer captured at Haabai, in December 1806. Most of the crew were killed; but Mariner and a few others were spared. Mariner lived about four years amongst the natives, and then escaped on a passing vessel. After his arrival in England he gave an account of his experiences to Dr. Martin, who fortunately preserved it. Mariner also dictated a grammar and vocabulary, which, apart from the old style of spelling, was wonderfully correct. The Rev. Stephen Rabone used this book as the basis of a Tongan dictionary; but he added many words, modernized the spelling, and so improved it as to make it practically a new book. The missionary printing-press in Vavau, under the careful and skilful management of the Rev. John Hobbs, printed many portions of the Scriptures and Scripture lessons, and also the first booklets printed in the Fijian and Samoan languages by the Methodist Church. In the course of years, succeeding missionaries completed the translation of the Bible into the Tongan language. This was afterwards revised, or rather re-translated, by the Rev. Dr. Moulton, who, during a long course of years, also gave to the Tongans an extensive literature, comprising, among many other books, an up-to-date arithmetic, a geography, and a History of the

World. Dr. Moulton's literary work for Tonga was continued to the last days of his life. He left a legacy of his love for Tonga which is of incalculable value.

In Samoa the principal work of translation has been done by the missionaries of the London Missionary Society, who gave to the people one of the best translations of the Bible ever made into any of the island languages. The Rev. George Pratt published an excellent grammar and dictionary of the Samoan language, which has always been regarded as a standard work by all students of South Sea languages. It has been issued in at least three editions, the last being revised and added to by the Rev. J. E. Newell.

In Fiji the grammar and dictionary of the Rev. David Hazlewood has always occupied a high position, and is still accepted as the first, and one of the most valuable contributions to the linguistics of the Melanesian groups. The translation of the Bible, begun by John Hunt and the early missionaries, has long been completed, and a revision, the last work of the Rev. Frederick Langham, D.D., is to-day the highly-valued treasure of the people of Fiji. The Rev. James Calvert and other missionaries have given literature of great value to the Fijians. The Mission Press, under the superintendency of the Rev. A. J. Small, furnishes them with a monthly *Gospel Messenger,* which is eagerly read by the people. The New Testament in Rotuman, translated by the Rev. William Fletcher, B.A., was practically the first exposition of that curious language.

In New Britain, the language of Duke of York Island was first reduced to a written form by the writer, who also published a grammar in that language; and, in conjunction with the Rev. B. Danks, a dictionary of the same. Some lesson-books were also published by him, and the Gospel of St. Mark, the first translation of any portion of the Bible into any of the New Britain dialects. On the main island the Rev. B. Danks printed and published some Scripture lessons and booklets, and with the Rev. I. Rooney translated the

Gospel of St. Matthew into the Duke of York language. The Rev. R. H. Rickard published a very valuable grammar and dictionary of the New Britain language, which is now being revised and added to by the Rev. H. Fellmann. Mr. Rickard also translated portions of the New Testament. These were afterwards completed by Mr. Fellmann and other missionaries. The New Britain people have long rejoiced in the possession of that treasure.

In British New Guinea, or Papua, as it is now called, the Rev. S. B. Fellows compiled a grammar and vocabulary of the Panaiet and the Kiriwina dialects, and also some Scripture lessons. The Rev. M. K. Gilmour translated the Gospel of St. Mark into the Kiriwina language. But the bulk of the literary work of that district has been done by the Rev. Dr. Bromilow, who translated the whole of the New Testament into the Dobuan language, and also published some lesson-books and a comparative vocabulary of the English, Fijian, Dobuan, and Samoan languages, the latter language being contributed by the writer. From the Solomon Islands, our latest mission field, we have, as yet, only a book of hymns, catechism, and Scripture lessons in the Ruviana language. This has been prepared by the Rev. J. F. Goldie. Other works are in preparation. This does not claim to be, in any sense, a complete description of the work done by the missionaries. Nor does it give the names of all those who have taken part in the great work of translation. It can only be regarded as proof that the missionaries have done great service in giving to the peoples amongst whom they have laboured the priceless blessing of the best of all literatures.

With regard to the evidence of language as to the character and customs of a people, I give the following extracts from the late Rev. Dr. Fison's introduction to his little known but valuable and interesting book, *Tales from Old Fiji*. Dr. Fison, in describing the grace and dignity of a Fijian chief, showing how easily strangers and visitors might have been, and indeed were, misled in judging the character of the

people prior to the introduction of Christianity, thus writes: 'Let us call up a few old Fijian words, and hear their evidence as to what might formerly be found beneath this pleasing exterior, before the introduction of the white man's *lotu*, as Christianity is called. From out of a numerous class of words which, innocent in themselves, once possessed an evil secondary meaning, take the word *vaka-sombu*, which meant "the act of lowering," or "that by which a thing is lowered down."

'Thus the act of putting bananas into a pit, so that they might ferment and become *mandrai*, or Fijian bread, was described by this word; but the *vaka-sombu-ninduru*, literally, the "lowerers of the post," were men killed when the corner-posts of a heathen temple, or a great chief's house, were lowered into the holes dug for them. The god in whose honour the temple was being erected, or the chief whose house was building, would be dishonoured if no human life were taken when the posts were set up; and it used to be no uncommon occurrence for a living man to be placed standing in each post-hole, and there buried alive by the side of the post, the hole being filled up and the earth rammed down over him. But a few years ago there were houses in Fiji, on whose floor the babe and its mother slept and little children played, while within hand-reach underground grim skeletons stood embracing the corner-posts with their fleshless arms. It is even probable that there are houses of this description still standing at the present day. At the root of this horrible practice we may doubtless recognize the once widespread superstition that the sacrifice of a human victim, when a foundation was being laid, propitiated the gods and secured the stability of the building.

'When the house-timber was cut and ready for hauling from the forest, then also men were slain, who were called *yara-ninduru*, or "draggers of the post"; the setting up of the first pair of rafters was celebrated by a cannibal feast, whose victims were called *lalawa-ni-sa*, or "rafter tiers"; and

when the building was finished other unfortunate wretches were killed and eaten. These were known as *vaka-voti-voti*, a word whose etymology I am unable to explain. *Thotho*, a reduplication of *tho* (grass), means the dried grass which was thickly strewn on house-floors and covered with mats. But this word had a fearful secondary meaning: for the *thotho* of a chief's grave were the women who were strangled, their bodies being laid on the bottom of the grave for the dead chief to lie upon, and their souls being supposed to accompany him to *Bulu*, or the Spirit-land, and to wait upon him there. More than twenty women have thus been sacrificed on the death of a great chief as the "*thotho*" of his grave.

'*Lango* was a word innocent enough in its primary signification, but with a horrible subaudition. It meant the short logs placed in rows on the ground when a large canoe was either dragged into the water or hauled ashore, the canoe sliding over them more easily than it would over the bare ground. But the "rollers" of a new war-canoe were bodies of men killed for the occasion. So also *vaka-nduri* was a word signifying "that which raises to an erect position," or "sets on end"; and *vaka-mbale* was "that which lowers" a thing which was set on end. But the *vaka-nduri-ni-vana*, or "raisers of the mast," were men killed when the mast of a new war-canoe was first set on end; and the *vara-mbale* were victims slain when the mast was first lowered and unshipped. Another word, *vaka-tala*, was also used with this meaning; and it would be considered ominous of evil if the mast were lowered before the *vaka-mbale* or *vaka-tala* had been provided. It may be well to explain that these masts worked on a pivot at the foot, being lowered down and unshipped when the canoe was laid up, and raised again when she was made ready for sea. When a chief presented a new canoe to his friends, which was often done for political ends, the recipients were bound to pay him a visit as soon as possible, bringing with them a dead body laid upon the deck. This

was called the *vaka-ndrandra*, or "stainer with blood," and the deck was then said to be "washed."

'Among the windward islands of Fiji two sorts of turtle were spoken of: *vonu-leka-leka*, or "short turtle," and *vonu balavu*, or "long turtle." Of these the former referred to the real turtle, but the latter to the dead body of a man which was to be eaten. Among the leeward islands a like distinction prevailed, *vuaka* (pig) being substituted for *vonu* (turtle), and *vuaka balavu* (long pig) bore the meaning which the windward islanders attached to *vonu balavu*, and which laughed off, as it were, the revolting practice of cannibalism with scarcely less revolting jest. *Manu-manu-ni-latha*, literally "bird of the sail," was another word of this class, for it once meant a child, suspended aloft by one foot or hand from the end of the gaff when the canoes returned from a successful raid upon the enemy. In the olden times canoes frequently came into Bau with these "birds of the sail" dangling in the air, and swinging to and fro as the canoe rolled or the great sail flapped.

'*Taumbe-vandra*, literally a "necklace of the screwpine" (whose leaves, growing in tufts out of the ends of its short branchlets, have a mop-like appearance), was a dead body whose head had been smashed in by repeated club-strokes. This *taumbe-vandra* worthily matched the well-known Tahitian *tiputa ta'ata*, or "man-cloak," which meant the body of a slain enemy beaten out flat, and worn cloakwise in the day of battle. *Boto-walai*, literally "a trussed frog," but in actual use once denoting "a man baked whole," was a word of this class. It had been easy, especially if we had extended our researches into the region of filth, as well as into that of cruelty, to multiply examples of these *mots* or *double entente*, which, striving as they did to hide the loathsomeness of the practices they implied, show us, perhaps, the workings of conscience in the Fijian, and convict him of a knowledge that those practices were evil; but the most fearfully significant words of this class are so shocking in their horror, and so

revolting in their filth, that it is impossible to quote them. . . . The language was full of words having reference to the taking of human life, but not one of them was a term of reproach. *Ravu-sembe* was "a man who went forth single-handed to kill"; *ngandro* was a club wherewith somebody had been slain; *donatha* meant "to kill one in the prime of life"; *bati-kandi* was a man who crept into a house in the dead of night and killed one of the sleeping housefolk.

Vaka-matea, ravu, mokuta, yavita, rumbi-laka, sakuta, samuta, lamba, all these words—words of one and the same dialect—meant "to kill," but not one of them had the faintest tone of reprobation in it. There was no word in the language which answered to our "murder"; no word which called up a feeling of abhorrence. . . . *Koroi, koli, visa, wangka* were four titles of honour given to shedders of blood, and are here set down in an ascending series. "Koroi" was prefixed to the name of a man who had taken a life. "Koli" was the slayer of ten, "visa" of twenty, "wangka" of thirty; and a few years ago there was living at Bau a powerful chief of the Lasakau tribe, whose admiring countrymen, in order to give him the honour which was his due, had to combine three of these titles, and to call him "Koli-visa-wangka." . . .

'Though the Fijian language was especially rich in words of cruelty, but few of them find their way even into the dictionary, for nearly all of them were steeped in such horrible filth that they could not be recorded. Most of them expressed different modes of torture, especially those used in the punishment of women, and set forth practices so dreadful and so unutterably revolting, that if a writer had dared pollute his pages with their stain, he would have been branded as a liar, and execrated as a filthy wretch. From the two or three words of this class which are clean enough to be quoted, some idea may be formed of the horror of those which must of necessity be concealed. *Thulang-gungguna* was to pin a man to the ground by thrusting spears, or sharp-pointed stakes, through the fleshy parts of his body; but it was

usually employed to express the hiding of a dead body under water, it being prevented from rising to the surface by means of forked sticks thrust into the mud over the arms and legs. This was done when a man had been murdered, in order that all distinctive marks, involving recognition, might the sooner be effaced. It was also done when a *bokola*, or "dead body for eating," had been stolen, and it was necessary to wait for a convenient opportunity of cooking and devouring it without discovery.

'*Vaka-totogana* was a horrible word, which formerly meant to torture an enemy by cutting off some portion of his body (preferably the tongue, but sometimes the nose or ears), roasting and eating it before his eyes, taunting him the while. But of this enough. . . . *Kunata* meant to strangle a human being; and *buluta-mbulabula* to bury alive. Widows were killed to accompany their dead husbands; and, generally speaking, they were, as in India, at least ostensibly willing to be sacrificed, for it was a disgrace to a woman to show the slightest unwillingness to be strangled when her lord and master died. The words used to indicate a woman who survived her husband were terms of contemptuous reproach. . . . *Nothata* and *vaka-ndraunikau-taka* are words meaning "to produce disease by witchcraft." *Nothata,* literally "to place evil upon," is to infect the dress of an enemy by means of sorcery. An end of the *malo,* or waist-clout, if the victim be a man, or of the *liku,* or waist-fringe, if it be a woman, is thus infected; and, unless a counterspell be used, certain death is said to befall the wearer.

'*Vaka-ndraunikau-taka* is to bewitch by tying up in a bundle with certain leaves ("draunikau") hairs from the head of the man who is to be done to death, a shred of his clothing, leavings of his food, or other things belonging to him. The bundle may then be cooked or buried, or simply hung up in the forest, and death by wasting disease is supposed to be the result. Sometimes the "draunikau" only are thrust beneath the doorstep, or into the thatch of the victim's house;

but this is not considered to be as efficacious as the former method' (*Tales from Old Fiji,* London, 1904).

The other island languages could all produce many words describing cannibalism, war, slaughter, treachery, deceit, and words similar in meaning to those given by Dr. Fison; but it is not possible in this article to give a list of them. It is far more pleasant to record the fact that both the Melanesian and Polynesian languages contain many words which afford abundant evidence that the people recognized the possession of other and higher feelings than those of enmity towards others; and that they have words which show that the distinction between right and wrong, according to their standard, was clear. They knew that certain actions ought not to be done, even if they were of temporary advantage to the individual; and that there was some value and praise due to the man who performed some meritorious act, even at great personal loss or suffering.

I believe, as already stated, that the Papuan, Melanesian, and Polynesian languages are from one common stock, and that they were all successively affected by admixture with the languages of Aryan-speaking people, during long periods of time, in a greater or lesser degree. The Polynesians, who emigrated from Indonesia at a comparatively recent date, show most the effect of this admixture in their language and customs; whilst the Papuans, who were the earliest emigrants, show it least. There are some instances of the use of polite or court language in Melanesia; but these are not common. I have given the following examples in a previous work.

'On Duke of York Island the ordinary words for farewell are *wan ma* (you go); but the polite term is *un turu* (stand up). Another form of farewell, used in the evening, is to say *un ruk* (you enter) the house; that is, they use the opposite term, and say, you enter, instead of go, or farewell. The latter term it is not polite to use at night. *Mat* is the ordinary term for death. The polite words *tapula* (to be blind), *tadoko* (to be bound up), *waturu,* literally meaning to

cause to stand up, is the polite term for stating that the man (especially a wounded man) is near death. *Walanguru* is the name of a tree, the leaves of which are eaten with some food, or with human flesh; and in speaking of a man who has had a narrow escape from death they say that he has escaped from the *walanguru*. A *kum na tum liklik*, literally, a number of, or small children, is the polite term used for wife; and the use of the plural instead of the singular number in this instance is another mark of respect. They say, for instance, *a kum na tum liklik awai diat:* "your wives, where are they?" instead of "where is your wife?"' (*Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 374). These words, however, were seldom used in Melanesia; but in Samoa especially, and in all the Polynesian languages, the use of the polite or court language is general, and the knowledge and use of it is essential in ordinary conversation. The following extract will show that the underlying principle in the use of this language is that a man must not praise himself or assert his own position, or boast of his own accomplishments. The polite or respectful word must be used when addressing others, but the ordinary word must be used by a man speaking about himself, his thoughts or his actions.

'The ordinary words for "come" are *anganga mai,* or *sau;* the polite terms to chiefs in the order of their rank would be *maliu mai, susu mai, afio mai.* To sit is *nofo;* the polite words are *alala, falafalanai.* To eat is *ai;* the polite terms are *tausami, taumafa, taute.* To die is *mate* or *pe* (of animals), *oti* (of men); the polite terms are *maliu* (gone), *folau* (gone on a voyage), *fale-lauasi, ngasolo ao, masaesaelelangi, taapeape-papa,* and a number of others. To be sick is *mai;* the polite terms are *ngasengase, faataga, pulupulusi.* Anger is *ita;* the polite term is *toasa.* House is *fale;* the term for a chief's house is *maota.* To sleep is *moe;* the polite term is *tofa* or *toa. Ua mapu mai,* literally, you are rested, is a polite salutation to a man returning from fishing. *Ua matu* (you are dry), or *faamalu* (you are cool), would be the polite saluta-

tion to a person returning from bathing; in reply he would simply say *taele,* the ordinary term for bathing' (*Melanesians and Polynesians,* p. 381).

These are samples only of the complimentary terms which are used every day in the intercourse of the people. The grammar of all these languages is a complex one, more especially with regard to the pronouns and their specific relations to the object affected. In most, if not in all, the Melanesian groups the pronouns have four numbers, viz. singular, dual, trial, and plural; but in Polynesia the trial has in many instances taken the place of the plural, and is always used as such. The pronouns in all the numbers except the singular are inclusive of the persons addressed, or exclusive of them. There are also special pronouns which are used only in connexion with food or drink. They had no written grammar, but the grammatical construction of their language was well known by the people, and I have never known a native make a mistake in grammar. Both the Melanesian and Polynesian languages are deficient in abstract terms; and a metaphor or simile would have to be used in translating such a sentence as 'Prevention is better than cure.' The Fijian is perhaps the strongest and the most expressive of the Melanesian languages, especially in its transitive terminations, which have still retained their force and meaning. The Polynesian transitives have in many cases become merely a form of the passive; but a number of them still retain their original force, more especially those which affect the instrument rather than the object. These are, I think, also presumptive evidence of identity of origin.

It would be quite erroneous for any one to think of these languages as being either poor in vocabularies or imperfect in their grammatical construction. After two editions of the Samoan Dictionary had been published, the Rev. G. Pratt obtained 500 new words from a MS. which I forwarded to him; and this after being engaged forty years in the compilation of the dictionary. A man can express his best thoughts

and much of his knowledge to these peoples in their own language. The history of our missions proves that the languages of the islanders of the Pacific groups, and of those on the mainland of New Guinea, are quite adequate for the work of conveying to the minds and hearts of the people the great truths contained in that best of all books, in which the will of God is revealed unto men, and that they are sufficient also for most of the purposes and knowledge of our advanced civilization.

PART II

SOCIOLOGICAL

CHAPTER I

THE MAORI OF NEW ZEALAND

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SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

Origin of Maoris—Physique—Survival of fittest—Industrious—Cruel—Treacherous—Polite—*Tapu*—Spirit world—Tohungas—Mythology—First white visitors—Marsden—C.M.S.—Industrial work—Selwyn—Leigh—Whangaroa—Turner and Hobbs—Withdrawal—Reoccupation—Roman Catholics—Friction—Educational work—Beginnings of government—Proclamation of chiefs—Annexation—Treaty of Waitangi—Peaceful outlook—Rebellion—Natives cheated—Tactlessness—Maori independence declared—Ten years' war—Hauhau—Present numbers—Politics—Education—Industry—Future.

CHAPTER I

THE MAORI OF NEW ZEALAND

A CENTURY ago the Maoris held undisputed possession of New Zealand. The date of their arrival has been the subject of much conjecture and discussion; but there is a fairly general agreement that it does not extend farther back than 550 years. Tradition makes Hawaiki their original home; but what island group the name Hawaiki denotes cannot be decided with certainty. That it was one of the many groups in the Eastern Pacific seems plain; but there is no safe clue to identify any place from which the ancestors of the Maoris set out upon the hazardous voyage to New Zealand. A recent writer claims Samoa as the traditional Hawaiki; but why Samoa? If Samoa were their ancient home, the question is but carried farther back, and we find ourselves asking: 'Whence came that Polynesian race which has taken possession of the great island groups of the Eastern Pacific?' Their racial characteristics, language, customs, and mythology prove they come from common stock. Their resemblance to the older Malay type is plain. From their traditions and certain resemblances plainly marked to those who spend considerable time among them, we seem to see a great Malay invasion of the Eastern Pacific, which overcame and obliterated an earlier and inferior race, except in Fiji, where the size of the country and the inaccessible mountains enabled the original population to defend themselves against invaders. In the course of time, the wide ocean barriers which separate the island groups of the Pacific led to the isolation of sections of the newcomers, and resulted in variations of speech and habit similar to those found among the Papuans of the West.

The Western Polynesians are physically fine specimens of humanity. Tall, exceeding well proportioned, and possessing a strong physiognomy, they differ greatly from the negrito population of Melanesia. Not in physique only are they superior, but also in mental power; and though, as we may reasonably expect, the long-continued isolation of the Polynesians caused an arrest of their mental development, they have no lack of brain. Under the stimulus of European civilization they are able to stride forward, and cover, in a few years, the progress which it took our forefathers centuries to attain.

The Maoris share with the Hawaians the honour of being at the head of the Polynesian nations. It is not difficult to account for this on the ground of natural selection and the survival of the fittest. Only the bravest and best of the tribes would face the hardships and dangers of the voyage from Hawaiki to far away New Zealand. Once there, the conditions of life, which were harder than in the old home, would have a tendency to stiffen and improve the breed. If Hawaiki were a tropical land, then the ancestors of the Maoris lived that kind of life which, as it calls for a minimum of exertion and foresight, tends rather to enervate than invigorate. Perpetual sunshine, rich soil which grows with little prompting all manner of vegetables and fruits, shores laved by warm seas swarming with edible creatures:—such lands make life too easy to afford the discipline necessary for the development of the best manhood.

Not so in the new land to which the Maoris came. Truly they had found a wonderful country, yet not a country which lets men live without exertion. There real seasons alternate; the geniality of summer is followed by the rigour of winter, during which no food grows. One of the first lessons the Maoris had to learn in their new home was foresight, if they would not starve in the cold months. In their tropical home the Maoris enjoyed the security of the reef-girt lagoons, in which they could fish with ease. If they wished

to venture outside the reefs, they had only to choose their weather to be sure of an easy and safe voyage. But the new land enjoys the honour of possessing one of the stormiest coasts in the world, which makes sea travelling always more or less difficult and perilous, and forbids liberties such as may be taken with impunity in the tropics. Such a coast demands skill and courage in the mariner. The original Hawaiki was probably a circumscribed land; but in New Zealand the Maoris found a country of great distances and wide expanses, of magnificent physical features and of gorgeous scenery. The change, therefore, from Hawaiki to New Zealand could not fail to have a marked beneficial influence on the Maoris themselves, and contribute to their pre-eminence over other sections of the race.

If we remember that we are speaking of natives of the South Seas and not of Europeans, it may be claimed that the Maoris were an industrious people. They built good houses; they executed elaborate carvings with rude stone tools, needing great skill and patience; they wove splendid mats and rugs; they hewed great canoes capable of holding large numbers of persons, and sailed them with marvellous skill; they understood the art of fortification; they took pride in working the hard green stone into weapons and ornaments. Above all, they were a warlike people who enjoyed fighting, and were bold in planning and executing expeditions to places far distant.

It must be added that if the Maoris were at the head of the Polynesian race physically and mentally, they held a place all their own in finding diabolical pleasure in shedding blood. They knew no pity for age or sex. Though capable, when the mood took them, of heroic action, they fathomed the deepest abysses of cannibalism. Their passion for blood was monstrous in its abnormality; and the wonder is that they had not perished by mutual extermination before European settlement began. They were cannibals when Tasman visited New Zealand in 1642; they were cannibals when Cook came,

nearly a century and a half later; and they still practised the revolting custom when Europeans began to settle in the country. To drink the warm blood of the conscious victim was an exquisite form of revenge; to capture a family, kill and eat the children under the eyes of the parents, who afterwards perished in the same way; to gouge out the eyes of a captured foe before killing him: such were ordinary incidents in old Maori life.

In 1813 the Maoris had not been included within the sphere of Christian Missions; nor, except for the occasional visit of a passing ship or the arrival of escapees from Botany Bay, had they held much intercourse with white people. They had, however, already well earned notoriety for treachery, as the crews of several ships learned to their cost. They attempted to trap Tasman, and plotted against Cook. In 1809 the Whangaroa natives captured the ship *Boyd* and massacred the crew; in 1818 the American brig *Agnes* met with a similar fate at Tokomaru Bay.

But their ordinary behaviour suggested nothing of the savage. Their demeanour and speech were quiet and polite; their manner gentle and unassuming. They carried themselves with a natural dignity and grace which charmed strangers. A few visited Sydney even in those distant days, and won golden opinions by their courteous conduct. When the great Ngapuki chief Hongi visited England in 1820, the Rev. Samuel Leigh entertained him, and to make him feel at ease, slept for some weeks beside him on the floor. He accompanied him during his visits to distinguished people, whom Hongi's gentlemanly behaviour greatly delighted. Even Leigh imagined that the chief's savage nature had been tamed by contact with civilized people. How completely he was mistaken he discovered not a year later, on their return to New Zealand, when the gentlemanly Hongi collected a huge war party, sailed against the Thames natives, shot their chief, gouged out the dying man's eyes, and drank his warm blood. Before returning to Hokianga, Hongi's warriors slew

1,000 people. No beast of prey ever killed with the savage glee of the polite Maori.

Their moral and social life was in keeping with their savage nature. In that sphere of activity which lies within the prohibitions of the Mosaic Decalogue, the Maoris stood outside the law. Chastity among the unmarried was unknown; and though married men expected fidelity to the marital bond from their wives, they recognized no obligations to observe it themselves. Lying and stealing caused no shame; like all uncivilized races, to lie well had almost become a necessity. But, as if to compensate for the absence of a moral code, they had raised the custom of *tapu* to a higher place in their social life than the provisions of the Decalogue have attained in ours. The Maori might murder, steal, lie, and commit shocking acts of immorality; but break through the *tapu* never! As one of the early missionaries said: 'What caste is in India, *tapu* was in New Zealand; it held unlimited sway over the mind, and compelled obedience to its requirements.' *Tapu* was associated with religious superstition. To violate *tapu* was to incur the displeasure of the spirits, against whom the Maoris were powerless. The *tapu* had its uses. It supplied an element of law to an otherwise lawless society. While it was no safeguard of a man's person or property to say: 'Thou shalt not kill,' and 'Thou shalt not steal'; to make either of them *tapu* was to make them absolutely safe. The custom, exercised mostly by the chiefs, was used to maintain their power and dignity. When applied to their persons it made them sacrosanct, and neither themselves nor their belongings must be so much as touched by others. Commoners occasionally used the *tapu;* but in their case it was not widely observed. In the judgement of the early missionaries, the custom of *tapu* was, on the whole, beneficial. In the absence of law and in view of the fierce character of the people, it formed no bad substitute for government, and made some approach to an organized society.

The Maoris had a wide belief in the existence of a spirit world. Like all Polynesians, they were thorough-going animists, and believed that spirits lived in everything. There were spirits of the sky, of the air, of the forest, of the water, of the soil; the rocks held spirits, and so did birds and fish. Their priests, or tohungas, were able to summon spirits to their aid; and when thus inspired their bodies were subject to strange convulsions. They spoke in short, enigmatic sentences, reminding one of the adroit prognostications of the priests of Delphi or of Amnon. If we are careful not to read into Maori minds our own conceptions of Deity, it may be said that the Maoris believed in gods, but they were not benevolent or good. Of a hereafter they had extremely vague notions; of future retribution none whatever.

Like other Polynesian tribes they had an influential hierarchy, which possessed well-understood rights and privileges, and guarded them as jealously as do hierarchies in more civilized lands. The tohungas ranked as chiefs; they alone could absolve from the obligations of the *tapu;* their persons were sacred; they practised witchcraft, interpreted dreams and omens, and presented offerings to gods. Not the least important function of the tohunga was the preservation and transmission of the legends and traditions of the race. The Maoris were greatly dominated by superstition; witchcraft they dreaded. The failure of an expedition, a bad harvest, an unprofitable fishing excursion, personal sickness and death, were all attributed to the evil spells cast by enemies. They possessed one peculiarity of the Polynesians that has excited considerable astonishment in the minds of Europeans; that is, the power to fix the hour of their death. The dying Maori announces to his friends that he will pass away at midnight or sunrise; when the moment arrives he loosens his moorings and slips away.

Maori mythology would require a volume. It may be classified under two heads: ancient mythology, which the

Maoris share with other Polynesian tribes; modern mythology, which deals with the discovery and settlement of New Zealand. The former was probably brought from the original home of the race, and is noteworthy as dealing with a time before matter began. It begins with that beyond which there is no going. It commences with nothing, yet produced something and brought forth something more. In other words, the ancient Maori mythologist anticipates even the existence of Spirit, and makes pure thought the origin of the universe. There were six periods in the work of creation: Thought, Night or Darkness, Light, Creation of Sun and Moon, Creation of Land, and Formation of Gods and Men —a Maori first chapter of Genesis. Modern mythology treats of the origin and development of the chief families, and reminds one of Hellenic genealogies in giving their ancestors semi-divine origin.

It was the province of the priests or tohungas to preserve and pass on to their sons the elaborate and picturesque mythology of the Maoris. They took great pride in this, and fiercely resented the intrusion of outsiders into their domain. Sir George Grey and others have committed many native myths and legends to writing; but through the disorganization of the old Maori life much has been irrecoverably lost. The young Maori takes scarcely any interest in the traditions of his race; the language in which the tohunga of a century ago repeated them has become as unintelligible to the Maori of to-day as the language of Chaucer to a modern English school-boy.

An Egyptian darkness rested on New Zealand in 1813; a darkness which the first white arrivals in the country did nothing to remove. The whaling ships and stray cargo-hunting vessels, which found the harbours of the North Island safe and pleasant to winter in, were, as a rule, manned by men more intent upon the gratification of lust than upon civilization. They too often afforded exhibitions of lewdness

and drunkenness, which dispelled whatever suggestion of divinity may have been associated with white skins and big vessels. Such as risked the danger of the heavy *merè* or stone club and settled down among the natives, becoming *Pakeha-Maoris,* quickly approximated to the savage life around them. They assisted their hosts in war, and by the possession of firearms often turned the scale in their favour; while from the critical nature of their own situation they could not, even if they wished, restrain the ferocity of the natives. But if the night of 1813 was dark, day was at hand. Even at that date plans had been laid which were destined to inaugurate a new era for the Maori race. Space permits only a brief and inadequate sketch of the work of the missionary societies which undertook to evangelize New Zealand.

To the Rev. Samuel Marsden, Senior Chaplain of the Anglican Church in New South Wales, belongs the honour of designing and executing the first plan for taming the savage Maori. Between Sydney and the north of New Zealand a trade in timber had sprung up—the existence and value of the splendid kauri forests were becoming known—and a number of Maoris of chiefly families had been bold enough to cross the Tasman Sea, to see the white man's land. Marsden made their acquaintance, and became greatly interested in them and their land. Impressed by their quick intelligence and ready power of observation, he invited them to his house at Parramatta, and began to learn their language. The splendid capabilities of his brown-skinned guests, so great a contrast to the Australian black, brought home to his alert mind the waste of life their savage ways involved. He became anxious that an effort should be made to save so fine a people.

Marsden's urgent appeals induced the Church Missionary Society to send missionaries, under the guidance of Marsden himself. Though he did not settle in the country, he became its pioneer missionary and the founder of the Anglican

Mission. At the Bay of Islands, on Christmas Day, 1814, he preached the first sermon heard by a Maori audience, from Luke ii. 10, 'Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people.' He could not have chosen a more appropriate text, nor one more pregnant with hope. The life of Marsden is so well known as to demand only a passing word. The part he played in the early history of New Zealand alone entitles him to undying fame. His interest in the Maori Mission ended only with life. Between 1814 and 1837 he visited New Zealand seven times, the last visit being paid in his seventy-second year. He died the same year. His last words were 'New Zealand,' showing how dear was the land for which he had done so much.

Marsden's plan for converting the Maori was first to civilize him by teaching useful handicrafts, and thus make civilization smooth the path for evangelization. It was on his recommendation that the first missionaries sent out by the C.M.S. were mechanics, who were to teach their fierce flock the advantages of useful arts. The plan failed, as might have been expected; it attempted conversion from without, instead of from within. It was soon given up, and direct evangelization began. But the first lay missionaries, Messrs. King and Hall, did useful work. They took great pains to teach the natives to saw kauri logs into planks, to weave rope out of the splendid flax which everywhere abounded, to raise European crops, and convert wheat into flour and bread. Better still was their educational work. A school opened at Rangihoua was soon filled with eager scholars, both Maori and half-caste. On one of his early visits Marsden succeeded in purchasing, for forty-eight axes, 13,000 acres of land at Kerikeri, Hokianga, for the establishment of a large school. Meantime, the indefatigable chaplain kept a seminary for Maori young men in his house at Parramatta. The limits of space prevent us following in detail the tempting story of those early days. Marsden's efforts and achievements would

fill a volume. He acquired marvellous influence over the Maoris. During his later visits they would sit and gaze for hours at his kindly face. He was allowed to make journeys through their country that few dare attempt. He was rewarded by seeing the Anglican Mission firmly established and the citadel of native heathenism weakened to its fall. At the time of his death in 1837, he had the joy of seeing the first complete copy of the New Testament in the Maori tongue.

The Anglican Mission was conducted with great energy. After the industrial mission gave place to direct evangelization, a number of missionaries arrived, who afterwards filled important places in the early life of New Zealand. The brothers Henry and William Williams were ideal missionaries, and there were many such. In no part of the world has the C.M.S. been represented by finer men. One name must be mentioned, George Augustus Selwyn, the first Bishop of New Zealand. Selwyn was thirty-three when consecrated to his high office. By a mistake in the Letters Patent, his diocese was made to extend to latitude 33° North, instead of South, which gave him ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the whole of Melanesia, even including Japan. Selwyn would not have the mistake rectified, as it enabled him to commence missionary work in the countless islands of Melanesia, of which he thus became pioneer bishop. It is difficult to imagine a better choice for a missionary bishop than Selwyn. He possessed a keen and cultured mind, an apostolic zeal, and an athletic frame; a combination eminently fitting him to guide the destinies of his Church in a new country. At home on land or sea, undaunted by perils of the deep or the difficulties of roadless travel, he did the work of half a dozen ordinary men. He has been justly termed the father of the Church of England in New Zealand. He gave thirty-four years, the best of his life, to the country.

To the Rev. Samuel Leigh belongs the honour of in-

augurating the Wesleyan Methodist Mission to the Maoris, though the door was really opened by Samuel Marsden, who in early life was connected with Methodism. Marsden knew Leigh in Sydney, and conceived for him great admiration and affection. His arduous labours there broke down his health, and at the invitation of Marsden he sailed in the brig *Active* for New Zealand. Of the terrible scenes Leigh witnessed in the Bay of Islands, where he landed, and of his resolve to dedicate himself to the cause of the Maoris, full account is given in his *Life*. His visit to England, his appeal to the Missionary Society and its refusal because of debt, his appeal to the Methodist people and their wonderful response in goods on a scale so ample that they maintained the new mission for five years, are also told. The Conference of 1821 formally sanctioned the mission, and appointed Leigh to be its pioneer. With his newly-wedded wife, he reached his sphere in February 1822, to be welcomed with such warmth by the Maoris that the skin was rubbed off his nose by their salutations.

At the time of Leigh's arrival the Anglican Mission was firmly established round the Bay of Islands, and the Wesleyan missionary had to seek a sphere further afield. To find the right place needed great care and considerable time; and it is a further proof of the brotherliness of the Anglican lay missionaries that Mr. Hall shared his home with Mr. and Mrs. Leigh for sixteen months, until the station was selected. Weighing the claims of several places, it was decided to begin at Whangaroa. That place supplied the necessary conditions. It was wicked enough, as was proved by the capture of the *Boyd* and the massacre of her crew; it possessed a good harbour; and it lay outside the sphere of the Anglican Mission. Mr. and Mrs. Leigh reached Whangaroa in June 1822. A site for a station was chosen up the Kaeo river, in a sequestered valley among hills and mountains, then densely covered with kauri forests, and close to a native village or kainga. Mr. Leigh doubled the price

asked for the land by the native owners; and thus the Methodist Church acquired its first site in New Zealand. In accordance with instructions it was named Wesleydale.

The erection of a dwelling began without delay; and as it proceeded the missionary made many discoveries concerning the character of his flock. He knew that they were hardened cannibals; and he was now taught by many disagreeable incidents that they were unscrupulous thieves. They stole the cooking food, together with the pots and pans. They appropriated the clothes hung out to dry. A tool left for a minute unguarded disappeared as by magic. They prowled round the house, squatted in doorways, and having noticed the hours when meals were eaten, invited themselves to the table, leaving little for their hosts. Their demands were insatiable, extending even to the bed of the missionary; and when their requests were refused, they flew into paroxysms of rage which made them capable of any outrage. Mr. and Mrs. Leigh had frequent opportunities of staring death in the eyes during those days; but the brave pair held on, until the strain proved too great, and Leigh's health utterly broke down. There was no hope of its restoration so long as he remained at Whangaroa. The mission house was not waterproof, and the subtropical rains soaked the bed of the fever-stricken missionary. It was plain that he must leave the country or die. But help arrived in the persons of the Revs. Nathaniel Turner and John Hobbs. They had just reached New Zealand, and were ignorant of the people and the language. It would have been an inestimable advantage could Leigh have remained to guide them during their novitiate period, but his health forbade. He left New Zealand in November 1823, never to return. Though Leigh's actual residence in the country was less than two years, he had made a great impression on the Maoris, and prepared the way for others.

Messrs. Turner and Hobbs bravely grappled with the difficult situation at Wesleydale. They were both men of

the right type, capable in head and hands. If success were possible, they were the men to succeed. But the formidable Hongi came on the scene. His love of fighting kept the entire north in a ferment. Wars and alarms were incessant, and at length Hongi made a successful descent on Whangaroa. In the general havoc the mission station, where Leigh had toiled so heroically, was destroyed. The lives of the missionaries were saved; but they had to seek shelter with the Anglican missionaries at Hokianga, and abandon Wesleydale, which became a desolation. The only object to remind them of the past was the clay chimney which Leigh had built. The temporary abandonment of Whangaroa has generally been regarded as a mistake; but we are too far removed from and too little acquainted with the circumstances of the case to pass judgement on the action of men whose subsequent careers showed that they lacked neither courage nor discretion. Suffice to say that the temporary abandonment of Wesleydale was approved by the Anglican missionaries. There seems, indeed, to have been no other course open.

But the Missionary Executive was not daunted by the failure of the Whangaroa Mission. Within six months of the return of Turner and Hobbs to Sydney, a second campaign was planned. As Mr. Turner was too ill to take part, the task fell to Messrs. Hobbs and Stack. They fixed on Hokianga, and ultimately established their station at Mangungu, on the southern bank of the river. Mangungu became the permanent home of the Wesleyan mission in Hokianga from 1828 until the changed conditions of recent years made its occupation unnecessary. From its second founding the mission went steadily forward. As missionaries were sent, the mission took up fresh ground. Wesleydale was reoccupied, and in a few years a chain of Methodist stations stretched from Hokianga down the west coast to Wellington. There were also stations at Cloudy Bay and at Waikouaiti; the former in the northern, the latter in the southern end of the Middle Island. The missionaries of the Wesleyan Society

suffer nothing in comparison with those of the C.M.S.; they were nearly all men of high character and great ability, and exercised a powerful influence over the Maori people.

Between the two Protestant Missions there existed an unwritten understanding, honourable to both, that so far as tribal conditions allowed, the Anglican Mission should occupy the east coast, and the Wesleyan the west. This understanding, which referred mainly to the North Island, prevented that friction which must have arisen had one mission felt at liberty to encroach on the other's sphere. In the early years the friendliest feeling existed between the Anglican and Wesleyan missionaries. The difficulty and magnitude of their tasks outweighed ecclesiastical and personal considerations.

The history of the Roman Catholic Mission is difficult to write, owing to the absence of material. It is not the policy of the Roman Church to admit the public to its confidence. It publishes no annual reports, issues no balance sheets or statistical tables. To its synods and assemblies reporters are not admitted, and great reserve marks the information given to the press. It is not our business to criticize this policy. We mention it to explain the paucity of information available.

The Roman Mission began with the arrival of Bishop Pompallier on January 10, 1838; that is to say, twenty-four years later than the Anglican, and sixteen years later than the Wesleyan Missions. The pioneering work was done. In 1829 Marsden expressed the opinion that, owing to the great progress of the two Protestant Missions, every part of New Zealand was open to missionary work. There were, at the time, thousands of natives not reached by the missionaries, and great expanses of country not trodden by their feet; yet Bishop Pompallier began his work in Hokianga, where the two Protestant Societies had covered all the ground. The Wesleyan missionaries were most concerned by what they considered the Bishop's intrusion. They were annoyed by

the invasion and the method of attack. The teaching and practices of the Roman Church are so antagonistic to Evangelical Protestantism, that for both to work on the same ground without friction is impossible.

On his first arrival in Hokianga, Bishop Pompallier was accompanied by one priest, Father Servant; others followed ere long, and the mission was extended, but again on ground already occupied. The Bishop himself crossed from Hokianga to the Bay of Islands, where the head quarters of the Anglican Mission were situated. As other priests arrived, Whangaroa became the object of their attention. The old station at Wesleydale was then for the second time the home of a Wesleyan missionary. At each place the priests claimed to make many converts. The Bishop combined healing powers with spiritual functions, and his priests placed to his credit cures little short of miraculous. These cures were used to impress the Maoris with the superior advantages of the Roman Church. The policy of the priests added greatly to the difficulty of the situation, and much bitter feeling resulted. One cannot but regret that the minds of natives, just emerging from barbarism, should be confused by the introduction of old-world controversies.

Only the societies above mentioned took up work among the Maoris in the early period. The Reformed Church of Scotland, through the Rev. J. Duncan, began operations much later, too late to have much influence on the natives as a whole. Since the war the Maoris have been the object of attention from many religious bodies. The Baptist Church and the Salvation Army began missions. The 'Brethren' have felt concern for their brown-skinned relations; and the Mormons are now seeking to shed upon the unfortunate Maoris the light which first dawned on Utah.

The critics of missions usually overlook the great services they render to native races in connexion with education. No non-Christian nation maintains a national system of popular

schools; not many possess a literature; and of uncivilized tribes, none are found whose language exists in written form. A long list of native languages by Christian missionaries could be made if reduced to writing. To them the world owes its knowledge of the habits and customs of more than one vanished nation. Had they done nothing more, Christian missions have contributed immensely to our knowledge of the earth and its people. In New Zealand the missionaries were the first to organize a system of education. They recognized that though much could be accomplished by personal labour, more could be done by the printed book, especially if that book were the Bible. Two things were necessary. A Maori literature must be compiled, and the Maoris must be taught to read. The missionaries began their educational work immediately on arrival. Marsden's lay missionaries opened a school, which was soon crowded. The Kerikeri block was bought for work on a larger scale. As the mission grew, every station possessed a school. There was no age-limit. To read was to enter a new world; to write brought a new sense of power. The mission schools held several sessions every day; one for grizzled, tattooed warriors, eager to read the *Paipero Tapu* (Holy Book) which had arrived from England; another for women, who were not allowed to attend with their lords and masters; and a third for young children. To obtain the highest results large boarding-schools were opened, for it was found that the scholars did best when removed from the distractions and interruptions of village life. The training was comprehensive; industrial, social, hygienic, moral, religious, and everything else calculated to uplift the native race. Another class of schools aimed at the equipment of young men and women to act as village pastors and teachers. All these schools were carried on at the expense of the missions. The first school sites were bought from the natives; later grants of land were made by the Government of the newly-founded colony. Between 1825 and 1850 the missions accomplished a vast educational work.

The missionaries taught in the training colleges, and also engaged white school-masters and mistresses. From the farthest north to the remote south the Maoris were offered free education.

For the first forty years of the nineteenth century New Zealand remained outside the pale of the British Empire. The roaming white men who reached its shores considered themselves beyond the reach of all European law, and behaved accordingly. Their conduct depended more on expediency than law and order; nor would it be difficult to quote instances of outrage by white men on Maoris, which go far to excuse outrages by the latter. In November 1814 the Governor of New South Wales issued a proclamation which, after stating that commanders and seamen touching at New Zealand were in the habit of offering insults and injury to the natives, laid down rules for the prevention of further outrages. But it was easy to issue a proclamation. The difficulty was to enforce it in a country 1,200 miles over-sea without British institutions or machinery.

A more important step was taken in 1823, when the Imperial Parliament passed an Act extending to British subjects in New Zealand the jurisdiction of the Courts of Justice in New South Wales. This Act was supplemented by another in 1828. The intention of the Act was good; the problem was to catch offenders; and the lawlessness of roving white men still continued. The Takou outrage, in which Captain Stewart, master of the brig *Elizabeth,* acted a shameful part, impelled Governor Bourke in 1832 to appoint Mr. James Busby Resident Commissioner in New Zealand. The appointment was a failure. Mr. Busby, though an excellent man, was not suited to the position, and he was hampered by instructions which prevented the exercise of any real power of control. Mr. Busby's helplessness to enforce authority led the quick-witted Maoris to describe him as a man-of-war without guns.

In 1835 a ridiculous person, styled Baron De Thierry, claimed the sovereignty of New Zealand, and expressed his intention of setting up his kingdom there. In reply to this absurd claim Mr. Busby convened a meeting of chiefs at Waitangi, famed a few years later in connexion with the Treaty of Waitangi, and they agreed to issue a proclamation declaring their independence. The proclamation stated that all sovereign power and authority within the territories of the United Tribes of New Zealand resided entirely and exclusively in the respective chiefs; that every autumn the chiefs should meet in congress at Waitangi for the purpose of passing laws, for the dispensation of justice, the preservation of peace and good order, and the regulation of trade, &c. Though the voice in this proclamation was Maori, the hand was Mr. Busby's. That the chiefs were willing to sign the declaration was a great step forward. In 1837 another important move was made. A petition was addressed to the King, William IV, signed by missionaries, traders, settlers, and others, praying him to extend to New Zealand the blessings of British government. In their petition the monstrous claim of Baron De Thierry was referred to. No doubt the possibilities looming behind that cloud added point to their prayer.

Meanwhile, European settlement grew rapidly; large so-called purchases of Maori land were made, and the time was ripe for the establishment of government. New South Wales was too far away, and its Governors were too little acquainted with the country. New Zealand needed its own administrator, possessing adequate authority and means of enforcing it. In January 1840 Captain William Hobson, R.N., proclaimed New Zealand a dependency of the British Crown under Sir George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales. In May the following year it became a separate colony, with Captain Hobson as Governor.

In the negotiations culminating in the British annexation of New Zealand, the Maoris had borne no part; their own

proclamation of independence, prompted and framed by a former British Resident, was, in their minds, valid. In what light would they view the assertion of British sovereignty? Captain Hobson felt that prompt action was necessary. Four days after his arrival he convened the chiefs at Waitangi. A large number attended, together with the most influential Europeans in the Bay of Islands. The Governor laid the matter of annexation before them, the Rev. Henry Williams interpreted, and the chiefs were invited to express their opinions. From twenty to thirty spoke, half a dozen strongly opposing annexation, prompted, so Hobson thought, by the French priests. At one time the Governor feared a hostile vote. At the critical moment two chiefs of Hokianga, Waka Nene and Patuone, arrived. In eloquent and persuasive speech, Waka Nene addressed the meeting. His influence and force of argument brushed away opposition, and the meeting adjourned to give the chiefs time to reflect. Next morning they communicated to the Governor their wish to sign a treaty, accepting, under certain conditions, the sovereignty of Queen Victoria over New Zealand. On February 6, 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by forty-six head chiefs in the presence of 500 of lesser rank. The treaty was hastily made. It was just as well. Delay would have given designing white men time to spread sinister reports. There were some not of British blood, who had no wish to see the Union Jack hoisted in New Zealand. Trouble and bloodshed would have followed refusal to accept annexation, but the ultimate result would have been the same. British government was bound to come; the longer it was deferred the more difficult became the problems awaiting solution.

It should be noted that the Treaty of Waitangi was made by the chiefs who occupied the Bay of Islands and contiguous districts only. They could not claim to represent the more numerous tribes of the south. That the latter ultimately acquiesced in the treaty was largely owing to the influence of the missionaries, who bore an active part in the negotiations.

The Treaty of Waitangi is the Magna Charta of the Maoris. It guarantees them full, exclusive, and undisputed possession of their lands, estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties so long as they wish to retain them; while it concedes to the Crown the exclusive right of pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors wish to alienate; in consideration of which the Crown guarantees the Maoris royal protection, and imparts to them the rights and privileges of British subjects.

Before dealing with the catastrophe which shook to pieces the fabric reared with such devotion by able hands, we may take a general survey of Maoriland as it appeared in 1850. Thirty years had witnessed a great change, and the savage Maori of 1820 was becoming merely a memory. North of Auckland the great tribe known as Ngapuhi had been won over to Christianity. In every fair-sized *kainga* there was a church with resident native preachers, and non-worshipping Maoris were the exception. Large numbers were enrolled as members of one or other of the missionary Churches, and the entire tribe welcomed the new order. The bad old days had passed. Confidence and peace prevailed where distrust and war had reigned. The condition which Marsden and Leigh found had gone like a nightmare.

South of Auckland the same happy change was in progress. The noble tribe of the Ngatimaniapoto was won. Missionaries lived at Manakau, Waingaroa, Aotea, Kawhia, and inland on the banks of the Waipa. The Anglican missionaries on the east and the Wesleyan on the west occupied strategic points from which they were able to reach the tribes of the North Island. The battle seemed won. The letters of the missionaries to the home societies rang with praises of Maori converts, whose zeal and fidelity seemed a reproduction of Apostolic times. The sounds of war were dying, a new generation was rising, trained in mission schools, and every year added to the strength and permanence of the new order. The Maori Mission became one of the glories of the

Christian Church. Its triumphs were proclaimed on scores of English platforms. The conversion of Maoriland was a modern miracle, a nation won as in a day. The seed sown with tears had produced a magnificent harvest, gathered with greater joy because the reapers were also the sowers. One generation sufficed to produce this change.

Then a cloud gathered and broke into a storm of war. Like the tropical cyclone, which in a few hours transforms a smiling landscape into desolation, this war-storm swept away in a few months the work of thirty years. The harvest song broke off midway, and in its place was heard the discordant tumult of fratricidal strife. With breaking hearts the missionaries were driven from their stations, in most cases never to return. When the storm was over there were left tribes broken by defeat, embittered by a sense of failure, and smarting under the sweeping confiscation of land, the penalty of rebellion.

The decade from 1860 to 1870 forms the saddest and most humiliating page in the history of British colonization in New Zealand. The story reveals great folly, criminal want of tact, and not a little wickedness. Were it possible to get to bedrock in the history of the wars Britain has waged against aboriginal populations, the chief causes would be found to be: Failure of the white race to understand the habit of mind and the point of view of the coloured man; the interference of interested people who saw in the conflict means of personal enrichment; and the tactlessness of persons in official positions. The war between the Maoris and the British was not a sudden outbreak; it was the harvest of half a century of sowing. The first white men to visit New Zealand soon dispelled the halo of superiority with which civilization invested them. They were shocked by the cannibalism of the Maoris; but in chastity they sank to the level of the natives themselves. Captain Cook takes no pains to conceal the licence allowed to his crew during their visits

on shore. The whaling crews who came later were no better; and the escapees from the convict settlements of Australia were too familiar with vice to shun it in New Zealand.

Most of the white traders thought little of defrauding the Maoris. Masters of ships robbed them of their wages, or sailed away without paying for the native produce they professed to buy. In the purchase of land the white man grossly deceived and cheated them. Hundreds of thousands of acres were claimed as duly bought for a few axes, blankets, or muskets, in total disregard of Maori land laws, and often in ignorance of the owners. Until the advent of settled government, 'land sharking' was carried on to a frightful extent. In 1840 Governor Hobson issued a statement showing that from 1815 to 1840 an area of 45,000,000 acres, one half of the entire country, was claimed to have been bought by white men. In 1839 the New Zealand Company professed to buy the whole South Island, 20,000,000 acres, from seven chiefs for £200 cash and an inconsiderable annual payment for life. Yet these chiefs owned only a small portion of the island, and had not power to alienate even their own tribal land. Had that claim been admitted, it would have dispossessed all the Maoris of the South Island. Only the firmness of Governor Hobson saved New Zealand from being locked up by a few unscrupulous speculators. How scandalous these claims were, appears from the fact that when sifted by a competent tribunal, the so-called purchase of 20,000,000 acres was cut down to 100,000 acres. This is surpassed only by an American company, which claimed so much land in another British South Sea possession that it exceeded the total area of the islands, and included many miles of ocean!

In these nefarious land purchases lay the root of the Maori rebellion. Though the Government rejected such a large number, enough were retained to cause the Maoris uneasiness. Evil-minded mischief-makers also infused distrust into the natives, telling them that the white people were deter-

mined to possess their country and make them slaves. At the same time it must be admitted that English officials often displayed criminal tactlessness and impatience in their dealings with the Maoris. If their commands were not immediately obeyed, force was used, blood was shed, and out of what, at the most, would have been awkward incidents, quarrels grew, resulting in savage outrages and loss of life. It is almost certain that the massacre at Wairau in 1843, which cost the lives of over twenty Europeans, and the outbreak in 1844 by Hone Heke at the Bay of Islands, which became a war, could have been prevented by tact and patience. In every part of the world the imperious pride of Europeans has prevented them from becoming acquainted with native habits of thought. The result has been seen in torrents of blood.

As white settlement advanced in New Zealand, every inducement was offered to the Maoris to sell land. For some years they sold freely, until a few of the older and wiser heads became alarmed. Land was sometimes bought from persons who did not own it, or whose ownership was disputed, and the real owners resisted possession. An incident of that kind led to war in the district of Taranaki. Everywhere the natives were filled with fear and distrust as their lands passed to the possession of the ever-increasing white settlers. Then two ideas emerged: (1) to form a Maori Land League pledged not to sell more land, and to prevent its sale by natives who had not joined the league, and (2) to elect a Maori king. The latter idea grew from the disappearance of *tapu*. Christianity was fatal to *tapu*, so closely allied to heathenism. The chief's power lay in the *tapu*, and as it passed away his power and prestige passed also.

Tapu could not be restored; but the election of a king might weld the tribes into homogeneity, with a monarchy and nobility at their head. At a great meeting of Maoris in 1858 at Ngaruawahia, where the rivers Waipa and Waikato have their junction, Te Wherowhero, chief of the Ngatimaniapoto,

was chosen king, under the title of Potatau. Decisions were also made which revealed the fear existing in Maori minds. The king was empowered to make laws for the Maoris, to create offices, and to appoint officers. More ominous still was the decision that the Maori should no longer be subject to the white man's laws; that no roads should be made through Maori country; and that no Maori should be amenable to the white man's tribunals. The Land League and the kingship amounted to a declaration of rebellion. Those who formed the Land League were within their rights in refusing to sell their own land; but when they prevented non-members from selling, they were certain to collide with the Government. And when they attempted to make their special territory an *imperium in imperio*, they were repudiating the authority of the British Crown. The gauntlet was thrown down; the march of events compelled the Government to accept the challenge, and the gathered storm burst.

Hostilities began in 1859 at Taranaki, where the chief Wiremu Kingi resisted the Government taking possession of land sold by Te Teira, which he had no right to sell. From Taranaki the war spread over the North Island as far as Auckland. It was a bitter struggle. There were no pitched battles, the Maoris making war in guerilla fashion, and many savage acts were done. Families and isolated settlers were ruthlessly murdered. There were old scores to settle, which added to the fierceness of the fight. The Maoris showed both sides of their character: its heroism, as when they sent food to hungry British soldiers; its ferocity, as when they slaughtered helpless women and children. Two missionaries were murdered, Messrs. Volkner and Whiteley. It required 10,000 British soldiers, led by experienced generals, beside colonial auxiliaries, to overcome the natives. Beginning in 1859, the last Maori pah fell in 1870, although long ere that the Maoris knew their cause was hopeless. They withdrew in sullen dejection, and for nearly ten years refused intercourse with Europeans. They locked up the

interior of the North Island against European settlement, until Rewi, a great chief of the Ngatimaniapoto and the hero of more than one sturdy defence, visited Auckland in 1879, where he received an enthusiastic public welcome. The advent of a new generation has brought complete resumption of friendly relations; the completion of the Trunk Railway has opened up millions of acres of land, much of which the Government has acquired; and changing circumstances have made another struggle between the two races impossible. His Majesty George V has now no subjects more loyal than the Maoris of New Zealand.

The war clouded the bright prospect of 1850. The missionaries exerted themselves to persuade their flock from entering upon the disastrous struggle, sacrificing their popularity and risking their lives. After hostilities began they held to their posts until compelled to leave. From the majority of natives, even when in arms, they had nothing to fear; but there was danger from the baser sort. Because they dreaded the stigma of slaying their ministers, the chiefs told them to leave, as they could no longer guarantee their safety. The Ngapuhi tribe in the north of Auckland fortunately kept out of the strife, and turned a deaf ear to solicitations from the south. But throughout the hostile area the native Church suffered wreck. Very few of the abandoned mission stations could be re-occupied, owing to the removal of the people. While the war was in progress the Hauhau superstition spread among the tribes. It has been well described as an 'amazing farrago of nonsense and wild improbabilities,' a combination of scraps of the Old Testament and the follies of a crazy mind. It was originated by a half-mad Maori, and was the more readily adopted in that it offered a substitute for the religion of the white men, with whom the Maoris were at war. Efforts to reconvert the native race have been greatly hindered by Hauhauism. It is slowly dying. Two chiefs, Te Whiti and Tohu, sought to revive it, with temporary success, but when they died it again languished. The danger now is that

the native race may lapse into stolid indifference to all religion.

It was thought that the Maoris were decreasing in number; but with the break-up of their isolation it became possible to take a census. The census of 1901, 1906, and 1911 show that they are increasing, the increase being given as over 6,000 for the decade. Possibly the returns of 1901 were not as complete as those of 1911; but the general opinion now is that the race is holding its own, and with the spread of enlightenment, there is every reason for its increase. Greater cleanliness, proper sanitation of houses and villages, and more systematic modes of living may be expected to bear fruit in increased virility and reduced mortality. The Maoris now number 50,000 (including half-castes). They enjoy full political rights and privileges. For native electoral purposes, New Zealand is divided into four districts, Northern, Southern, Eastern, and Western, each of which elects a Maori member of the Dominion Parliament. The Maori members receive the same honorarium as Europeans, and are under no restriction in speaking and voting. The election is by manhood suffrage. Every adult may vote without restriction. A few of the most eminent chiefs have been made members of the Upper Chamber. The Maoris are well able to appreciate and greatly value their political privileges.

In the districts affected by the rebellion, the schools and colleges attached to the missions were completely wrecked, and nothing could be done to restore them during the long isolation that followed. Among the Northern Maoris and in the South Island the schools remained open, but several generations of the children of the disaffected tribes grew up without education. At the present time, however, through the combined efforts of the Government and the religious bodies, free education is within reach of nearly every native child. Primary schools for Maoris are included in the Dominion educational system. Good buildings are erected

on sites convenient to the *kaingas,* and European teachers are employed. It is a *sine qua non* that all tuition must be imparted in the English language. The curriculum includes English, arithmetic, handwork, Nature study, morals, singing, and physical culture.

In many schools woodwork is taught, and the girls learn plain cooking and practical dressmaking. A scheme of cottage gardening as a branch of handwork is in operation. In most schools some form of elementary handwork is taken with success. At the end of 1911 there were 104 native primary schools in charge of European teachers. There are also nine boarding-schools conducted by various religious denominations, supported partly by Government, and partly by endowments, and five purely mission schools. At several of the boarding-schools, which correspond to the ordinary English secondary schools, the Government provides 150 scholarships, or free places, for Maori pupils. Of these 128 were current in 1911. The senior free places take the form of industrial scholarships, by which a Maori boy may receive a sum, not exceeding £40, in the course of the first three years when he is learning a trade. As a result of the prominence given to industrial training, a number of native youths have been apprenticed to trades, saddlery, blacksmithing, engineering, building, and farming. A beginning has been made in training Maori girls for the important vocation of nursing. Several have already qualified for registration, and are now working among their own people, under the Public Health Department. In many places Maori children attend the ordinary public school, mingling freely and on equal terms with European children. As the settlement of the country proceeds, purely Maori schools will cease to exist, and the children of both races will be merged in the public schools. Already several Maoris, not perhaps full-blooded, have passed through the university, and are practising medicine or law. Thus it will be seen that the Dominion has adopted a wise and liberal policy towards the Maoris;

a policy which will bear rich fruit in transforming them into enlightened and wealth-producing members of the community.

The Maoris untouched by the rebellion have settled down to habits of industry and independence. As labourers, stalwart and muscular, expert with axe and spade, they rendered great service to the early settlers in subduing the virgin wilderness, clearing the heavy bush, and draining the great swamps. They shared with white men the toil of cutting and hauling the huge kauri logs which grew on every hand, and they early learnt the profit to be made from kauri gum. With the falling off in timber and gum, they began to cultivate their lands, practising both agriculture and dairying. Of late years the industrial movement has become general. The wiser heads of the tribes recognize that the surest way to retain their lands is by cultivation, and they are becoming cultivators. In Hawke's Bay they are pastoralists; in the Wairarapa they add cropping to sheep-breeding; in Taranaki they have turned to dairy farming. The communal system is dying before the healthy growth of individualism; provident habits are ousting the old hand-to-mouth mode of living; and it is not at all uncommon to find Maoris who appreciate, as keenly as any white man, the comfort of a credit balance at the bank. A not uncommon sight is the Maori employer riding to market or fair in buggy or motor-car, while his hired white labourer drives the cattle or sheep. That this picture is not overdrawn the following figures prove. The stock owned by Maoris in 1911 comprised 48,222 horses, 61,300 cattle, 486,922 sheep, and 33,290 pigs.

What does the future hold for the Maoris? They are increasing in number; they possess nearly 5,000,000 acres of land; they are drawing nearer to European civilization. They will survive, but how? There is but one answer. They will become assimilated and absorbed in the general popula-

tion of the Dominion, and so help to form a fresh type of colonial. Claimed to be an offshoot of the Caucasian race, they share a common stock with Europeans. No such gap exists between the brown and white man as between the black and white. It needs only a few generations of intermarriage to obliterate distinctive Maori characteristics. The means now employed to educate the Maoris, and to form in them habits of industry and providence, will hasten their assimilation into the general population. The fusion is already in progress, and as the present educational policy diminishes the disparity between the two races, the pace will be accelerated. In that happy way will be solved the native question of New Zealand.

CHAPTER II

THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINE

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SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

Early contempt of black man—Barrington—A hybrid—Melanesian—Antiquity—Social organization—Food and climate—Character—Sex—Tribal classification—Lineage—Social rank—Totem—Magic—Religion—Supernatural—Reincarnation—Pastime—Corrobberie—Hunting—Methodist Mission—Other efforts—Reasons of failure—Government and Churches—Results—Untouched majority—Distribution of work—Prospects.

CHAPTER II

THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINE

THE Australian native is a picturesque personality, and furnishes a wide and vastly interesting study from the points of view of the scientist and moralist. He is to-day, so to speak, the most valuable product in the human market for scientific purposes; for he may fairly claim to be the most primitive living representative of prehistoric man among the surviving tribes. From the beginning of colonial settlement and expansion he has been the subject of speculation; and later on of serious study. Those who accompanied the first fleet gravely discussed the blackfellow's rank in the brute creation. From the social point of view, he was placed so low in the scale of the human as to be incapable of mateship with the more civilized species of the *genus homo*. Generally speaking, he was regarded as one controlled by merely animal instincts, his possession of a soul being a moot point.

The hastily formed but erroneous opinions of those first days were not without good excuse. An almost immeasurable gulf of degree lay between the white and the black. On the one hand was the finished specimen of the human, the product of countless generations of civilization; on the other hand the creature who, in thought and habit, dated back to the type which prevailed in pre-glacial days. Such a disparity is immense; but, after all, it is a difference in degree and not of kind. Owing to the prevalence of the inaccurate and low views held by the early Australians in regard to their aboriginal brother, it is not to be wondered that the blacks were cruelly used by private and unlicensed authority, as well as being treated with unpardonable neglect by the Government.

These, however, were pre-Darwin days. The theory of the fundamental kinship and persistency through all change between 'all the forms of human life' had not been propounded a century ago. There was no anthropological outlook. The coloured races were regarded as mere savages, and used as beasts of burden where possible. The Australian native was placed at once upon the lowest rung of the human ladder in relation to intelligence and social life. He was treated by the settlers with little more respect than was shown to the marsupial. He was practically denied the right to live. He was a vagrant. The very horses sniffed the wind contemptuously when it revealed his presence. Like the dingo, he was a disturber and ravisher of the flocks and herds. There were many exceptions to this attitude, it is true. There were those, even in the beginning of settlement, who viewed him as a man and a brother, with a body to be cared for and a soul to be saved. But these only proved the rule of contemptuous treatment, which at times reached the point of extermination. To 'pot a black' was an achievement which called for congratulation. To have caught the 'nigger' on the outskirts of a mob of cattle or in the vicinity of a sheep-fold was justification enough for the hardy pioneers, who viewed him as 'vermin' to an equal degree with the dingo. 'Murder'! It were, indeed, a gross exaggeration to attach such a name to so light and trifling a thing.

While frankly admitting that the aboriginal was often treated with unpardonable contumely, that little effort was made to civilize and uplift him in the early days of settlement, it must be borne in mind, in common fairness, that the progenitors of the Commonwealth came out with no mission. They were animated by no lofty motive. Neither humanity nor patriotism stirred them to the point of expatriation. There is humour of a grim kind in the couplet of Barrington's prologue to the first colonial play, having relation to the type of men who first pitched the tents of settlement in Australia:

True patriots all, for be it understood,
We left our country for our country's good.

The compulsory exodus of England's undesirables bore hardly, in its incidence, upon the original holders of the land. The absence of humanitarianism from the system of treatment meted out to the white prisoners gave small colour to any hope that the blacks would be treated with compassionate consideration. While on the other hand, the convicts, whose sensibilities, where possessed, had been blunted after transportation, could not be expected to exhibit much tenderness towards those who, in popular esteem, ranked but little above the primaeval types of fauna peculiar to Australia.

Among the earliest observers of this primitive race was George Barrington, already referred to. While expiating his offences on these shores he gave some time to the study of the manners, customs, and religion of the natives. His description, allowing for minor variations, due principally to climate, is an accurate portrait of the blackfellow under savage conditions: 'The men in general are from 5 feet 6 to 5 feet 9 inches high; are rather slender, but straight and well made. The women are not so tall, rather lustier, but are mostly well made. Their colour is of a brownish black, of a coffee cast, but many of the women are as light as a mulatto. Now and then you may find some of both sexes with pretty tolerable features, but broad noses, wide mouths, and thick lips are most generally met with; their countenances are not the most prepossessing, and what renders them less so is that they are abominably filthy. They know no such ceremony as washing themselves, and their skin is mostly smeared with the fat of such animals as they kill, and afterwards covered with every sort of dirt. Sand from the beach, and ashes from their fires, all adhere to their filthy skin, which never comes off, except when accident or the want of food obliges them to go into the water. Some of the men wear a bone or piece of wood through the septum of the nose, which, by raising the opposite sides of the nose, dilates the

nostril, and spreads the lower part very much. Many of them want two front teeth on the right side of the upper jaw, and I have seen several of the women who have lost the two first joints of the little finger of their left hand, a circumstance which I have never been able to discover the meaning of. The men's beards are short and curly, like the hair of their heads. They all go entirely naked.'

This portraiture, while true as it relates to the general appearance of the Australian native, reveals severe limitations of knowledge. Barrington, in common with other observers of those early times, while curious to know what the bodily mutilations stood for, failed to see that they were but outward and visible signs of inward and social, if not spiritual, principles. In a word, they were unable to penetrate the social organization of the blackfellow, perhaps the most complex of any race, whether ancient or modern. This same complexity makes the Australian black a study of infinite interest to the modern anthropologist. The growth of the science of anthropology has at least one great merit, that of throttling race prejudice. No investigator in the jungle of social organizations can successfully explore and bring the hidden things to light who does not unveil himself from racial prejudices, which, while they are natural, are fatal to impartial research. This freedom has marked the splendid work of the observers for the past thirty or forty years. The Australian records of observations from the anthropological, ethnological, and linguistic points of approach constitute a bibliography of no mean dimensions.

First and foremost, who is the Australian aborigine? Is the man whom we have dispossessed of his hunting-ground, salving our consciences with the dole of a blanket per annum, the true autochthone of Australia? If not, who is? On this question observers are divided; but the theory that the black is a hybrid is a growing one. It is stated by Mathew and others with great force that the ancestors of the now extinct aboriginals of Tasmania were the original inhabitants of

Australia. These were curly-pated, short, black people, congeners of the Papuans and the Melanesians. These Tasmanians, however, being absolutely separated from the higher races, made virtually no advance in culture. In those far-off days Tasmania formed a part of the mainland of Australia, or at any rate was more easily accessible from it than in historic times, and was peopled with the Australian race. Owing to the formation or enlargement of Bass Strait by the surface depressions which took place, Tasmania and its inhabitants were cut off from the mainland, and the latter so remained until the advent of the whites.

It has been clearly shown by Ling Roth, Tylor, and others that the marooned Tasmanians differed in many important details from the modern Australian blackfellow. After a careful collecting and sifting of the mass of data on the question of relation, Ling Roth (with whom Dr. Howitt agrees) comes to the conclusion that there is a relationship between the Tasmanians and the Andaman Islanders, thereby establishing a racial affinity with the Melanesians. 'To which of the great divisions of the human family may this Australian stock belong on which the Tasmanian scion is grafted?' asks the late Dr. A. W. Howitt. This is a problem of great magnitude. The theory advanced by Keane, and more particularly by Mathew, is that a superior race, akin, perhaps, to the Dravidians of India or the Toalas of the Celebes, though not necessarily derived from one of these lands, migrated to Australia from the north-east in those times of the geologic past when there was far more land between Asia and Australia than now exists. These newcomers differed in many details from the original inhabitants. Whereas the latter were frizzly-haired and black in complexion, the former were straight-haired and lighter in colour. The theory is that they advanced along the line of least resistance, that is, the coastal line. In process of time they absorbed or exterminated the lowlier, earlier inhabitants, until they finally occupied the continent from its circumference to its centre.

Dr. Howitt, on the other hand, joins forces with Flower and Lydekker, who suggest that the original stock of the Australians is 'a low form of Caucasian Melanochroi,' a race anterior even to the Dravidians, and from which they, too, may have been derived. This theory, the learned doctor is free to admit, demands 'a vast antiquity' for the Tasmanians, and 'a very long period of at least prehistoric time' for the Australian. But whatever the differences in detail between scientists, they agree in concluding that the native Australian of historic times is not the pure aborigine, but a mixture of Tasmanian and other elements, which fusion is indicated by certain physical affinities. The fact that the modern Australians comprise two primary classes is taken by Mathew as a support to the hybrid theory. The natives, he says, recognize this, and designate themselves by names which indicate a contrast of colour. The darker complexion is called the Crow, the lighter the Eaglehawk. The Crow class, therefore, would represent the Tasmanian strain; while the Eaglehawk would indicate the so-called Dravidians.

The social organization of this most interesting people, brought to light by patient observation and research, is so vast and complicated that it can only be lightly touched on in this article. The family and other class organization common to all the tribes betray an order of intelligence and subtle distinction not usually attributed to the mental powers of these primitives. The question asked by every anthropologist is: 'How do their forms of social organization come into being? If I were called upon to exhibit the chief determinants of human life as a simple chain of causes and effects . . . I should do it thus: Working backwards, I should say that culture depends upon social organization; social organization on numbers; numbers on food; and the food on invention. Here both ends of the series are represented by spiritual factors: namely, culture at the one end, and invention at the other. Amongst the intermediate links, food and numbers may be reckoned as physical factors' (*Anthropology*, A. R.

Marett). In this way Marett makes social organization something half-way between a spiritual and physical manifestation. Let us see how it works out in the case of the Australian.

There is probably no country in the wide world where food is more plentiful and easier to obtain than in Australia. Before its occupation by white settlement the island continent swarmed with marsupials. While herbivorous animals were so plentiful, the carnivora, on the other hand, were a negligible quantity. Two or three species of the cat tribe (which are not true felines) and a dog, which in all likelihood 'came over' with the conquerors of the indigenes, were found. Beyond these no large or dangerous varieties of beasts exist. There was nothing in Nature or in animal life to keep down the natural increases of herbivorous animals. When we come to feathered game, we find that Australia is richer in variety than any other equal portion of the globe. All species of the bird creation are edible to the blacks. Then the rivers and streams are well stocked with fish, and the same applies to the littoral. The jungles and forests abound with edible fruits, roots, and tubers, while the ground is thick with creatures of the reptilian and insectivorous orders, all of which figure on the aboriginal menu. All this, taken together with the character of the climate, makes living on a generous scale, with the greatest variety of foods, to be possible at the irreducible minimum of exertion. The influence of this environment on character hardly needs pointing out.

Spencer and Gillen, in their monumental work, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, depict the native as a kindly disposed and easy-going individual. He is not vindictively inclined, nor is he warlike in his tendencies. This may be taken as a broad generalization of the aboriginal, and is practically endorsed by all observers who have a working knowledge of him. He has not been compelled to fight for an existence or work hard for a living; at least not for innumerable centuries. There has been no call to labour, to fight, or to invent. This arrest of development is most

striking. There has been nothing in his life, it would seem, to quicken the sense of responsibility, save wherein the tribal rites and ceremonies exhibit the sense of communal obligation.

One might be inclined to think that a race of people, living practically under the same conditions as those which prevailed in the palaeolithic age, would manifest what might be regarded as looseness of living, judged by our moral standards. Yet we find that the greatest emphasis is laid upon sex, both ceremonially and socially. Although on certain ceremonial and social occasions a degree of promiscuity is allowed, the matrimonial aspect of their social organization is severe, and carries with it heavy penalties. Each distinct tribe is split into two phratries or brotherhoods, which intermarry, yet neither of which may marry within itself. 'This fundamental law,' says Howitt, 'of communal division underlies and runs through all the more developed systems of four or eight subclasses, and even shows traces of its former existence in tribes in which the class system has become decadent and the local organization has taken place and assumed control of marriage.' The whole question of social and individual nomenclature is complicated. Both Spencer and Gillen and Dr. Roth, labouring independently of one another, have worked out elaborate tables, with a view of making these complexities intelligible.

At the outset it must be remembered that every aboriginal is related or connected, in one way or another, not only with all the members of his own tribe, but also with others, scores of miles away who may be actually unknown to him. Now, in the tribal classes or groups there is this wonderful organization, comprising 'three principles: exogamy (marrying out), lineage, and totemism.' All these come in when the question of marriage crops up. The old, loose idea of the whites was that when a marriageable buck wanted a wife he seized his club and bowled over the first girl that took his fancy, and bore her to his gunyah, his lawful prey by right of capture. Such an act would have been no more tolerated by the tribes

in their primaeval condition than it would be in English society of the present day. In most of the tribes the penalty for such an act is death. The twofold tribal classification, with its sub-sections, then, is the foundation principle upon which the structure of aboriginal society is raised. It is absolutely necessary to the preservation and endurance of the race.

Lineage is the principle of reckoning along one or other of the two lines, the father's line or the mother's. The observers are all agreed that descent with the Australian native is reckoned, with very few exceptions, along the mother's line. Some few of the central tribes, which count descent in the paternal line, form the exception. Dr. Roth says of the two classes in the Pitta-Pitta tribe: 'These two groups are exogamous; but the offspring follows the mother always. Thus, no matter what its sex, the child of an Ootaroo mother becomes an Ootaroo, while that of a Pakoota mother becomes a Pakoota' (*Ethnological Studies*). Mathew, who is a keen observer, says that the child's class was, as far as his observations went, invariably determined by the mother's class. Why this should be characteristic of the primitive tribes the world over, has long been a puzzling question. Professor Lofthouse, in his *Ethics and the Family*, says: 'Often, in spite of the existence of the marriage groups, or perhaps because of them, the actual fatherhood of a child would be dubious. The physical bond is undeniably stronger between the child and mother than between child and father. These elements in the social experience of the tribe would naturally lead to a matriarchal rather than a patriarchal reckoning of descent.'

It is quite conceivable that in the primal days of this race, as of all primitives, life was so 'simple' as to be unregulated. The evolution of the marriage relations, family life, and subsequent tribal organization may be predicated of them on the principle that seems to run through life in all its forms. Advance is from the simple to the complex; from an ultimate particle to a star or a man. But at the same time it must

be remembered that there were outstanding men even among the most primitive peoples. The variations shown in the various tribes are largely due to men of outstanding personality, who not only had initiative, but also strength of character to break down a custom or originate a new one. Professor Baldwin Spencer, in his recent ethnological investigations into some of the native tribes of the Northern Territory, made the following remarks on the question of the classificatory systems: 'The contrast between him (a particular native) and the other old men from whom I was attempting at the same time to get information on the organization of the tribes was most striking, and *made me feel more than ever convinced that matters such as the organization of the tribe into intermarrying groups could very well be the result of the deliberate thinking out of a scheme on the part of certain members of the tribe more highly gifted than the common run.*'

In regard to marriage ceremonies there was no prescribed form, yet it was none the less a recognized fact. In marrying without consent or by capture, the amorous lover ran the risk of losing his wife or losing his life in combat. Sad to say, the mother-in-law is viewed even more suspiciously in savage life than she is among cultured peoples. Customs forbade the mother-in-law and son-in-law to look at one another. If a man saw his wife's mother approaching, he instantly turned his back upon her to avoid seeing her; one of them would invariably cover the head with a skin. There are degrees of social rank which in many tribes are scrupulously observed, and from which there is no escape. When a child attains a certain age he (or she) undergoes a ceremony which leaves its marks upon the body. This entitles the acolyte to a particular social rank or status in the tribe. As life progresses, other and higher ranks or degrees are conferred with much ceremony and in the strictest privacy. The rites of initiation vary; but all the tribes confer a less or greater number of degrees, most of which are accompanied by mutilation of a part of the body. Dr. Roth, in his close observations

of the north-western tribes of Queensland, found four social stages, some of which could only be taken after a long interval of years.

The Australian native is a profound believer in the supernormal. This is indicated in his use of '*taboo*,' 'totem,' and 'magic.' Every native belongs by birth to a totem or natural object. Individuals are grouped according to their totem. In most tribes the totems regulate the marriages of the tribes; there are some, however, in which they bear no such relation. 'The whole past history of the tribe,' says Spencer and Gillen, 'may be said to be bound up with the totemic ceremonies, each of which is concerned with the doings of certain mythical ancestors who are supposed to have lived in the dim past, to which the natives give the name of "Alcheringa."' These Alcheringa ancestors are represented as carrying about sacred stones. The stones bear the name of 'Churinga,' an equivalent to 'Bull-roarer.' The theory is that when the body died some natural object came into existence to mark the spot where the decease was accomplished. The spirit of the departed one was embodied in the Churinga. 'It is this idea of spirit individuals associated with Churinga, and resident in certain definite spots, that lies at the root of the present totemic system of the Arunta tribe.' This, with considerable variation in some tribes, is common throughout the race. The practices and beliefs in it are more or less religious, in some cases assuming a sacramental cast.

Every tribe has its 'medicine man,' or magician. These fellows do not confine themselves to healing. Their practices vary largely. They may be 'rain-makers' or 'mediums.' Their magic may be beneficent or malevolent. Some of them are bards, and, after the manner of the classic magicians, compose love charms; or their enchantments may be with the object of procuring the death of an enemy. A common method is 'pointing.' The pointer may be a stick, stone, or bone, which is imbued with power from the magician. Pointing this instrument at his victim, uttering the while deep

and dreadful curses, the evil magic is transmitted to this person, who immediately begins to sicken, and ultimately dies, unless the evil effects be countervailed by some other medicine-man, through the use of beneficent magic. This imposition is believed in, more or less, by the magic-workers. With the uninitiated the belief is profound, and is part and parcel of their daily life, influencing the commonest acts.

The relation of magic to religion is a most interesting one. The Australian aborigine furnishes an object lesson, and has been so used by investigators of this comparative study. Both Andrew Lang and J. G. Frazer have studied it largely in the light of the blackfellow's beliefs and practices. Frazer holds that religion is the outcome of despair in the efficacy of magic; and as Australians are firm believers in magic, and universally practise it, he comes to the conclusion that they have not attained to the degree of culture which makes it easy to discard magic for religion. Marett only partly supports this view. He places them together as belonging to the X region of experience; the region of mental twilight. 'Magic,' he says, 'includes all bad ways, and religion all good ways, of dealing with the super-normal—bad and good, of course, not as we may happen to judge them, but as the society concerned judges them.'

It is extremely hard to draw the line between magic and religion in a study of the primitive races. If we accept Frazer's definition, we must conclude that the Australian native is destitute of religion. But against that there are many evidences which prove the contrary. He must be regarded as a being with spiritual conceptions. These conceptions have become, in course of time, crystallized in customs and rites that relate to the supernatural and are symbolic in their character. His religious conceptions, in all probability, have suffered an arrest which has caused him in this respect to remain at a prehistoric stage. He is not destitute of religion in the absolute sense. Indeed, he is far from that. For, however vague and occult, there are

abundant traces of the religious instinct and spiritual conceptions in the totemic beliefs, and in the practice of witchcraft and magic. The blackfellow has a belief in the unseen and eternal. There is to him a spiritual universe. There are unseen 'powers' to be feared because of the influence they are able to exert over the individual.

In his investigations among the Kabi and Wakki people Mathew says: 'These tribes possessed the elementary contents of religion. They acknowledge the existence of supernatural beings who had power to render assistance or to inflict injury. They spoke of them with reverence. They also believed in the continued existence of the ngurthura, or "shades," of human beings after death. These ngurthura could occasionally be seen with smiling faces as they floated away among the foliage at night, and peered down upon their quondam fellow mortals. One of their conceptions was that of a great supernatural being who was nameless. He was referred to only with bated breath as Ngunda, i.e. He, like the "That," the supreme âtman of the Brahmas. This spirit was vast and wonderful.' This belief is more or less held in common by all the tribes. While it is hardly possible to find any evidences of propitiation in the numerous rites, there are some which might be termed acts of conciliation.

Many of the totemic ceremonies indicate that the blacks hold to the sacramental idea of life. The initiation ceremonies by which an individual is admitted into the sacred secrets of the tribe consist of a long series, some of which extend over several months. It is reasonable, therefore, to infer from the foregoing statement of facts that the blackfellow's religion is fixed in certain customs, sacerdotal in character, which obtain with variations throughout the race. These ritualistic and sacerdotal rites represent their faith and their hope. They visualize the unseen. They constitute the source of their confidence. They are what they fall back upon in their hour of need. To the superficial observer these rites are for the most part meaningless and purely materialistic. Their

tendency, like all religious observances, is to become mechanical; as, for instance, church-going. Yet they are not all letter. There is a spiritual significance that is sacramentally expressed.

They have a belief in the hereafter, which is firmly held in connexion with the reincarnation theory. In this the blacks are confirmed Buddhists. The spirit of the departed returns to its totem-centre, to be reincarnated at some time in the future when the right woman appears. If a woman conceives after having been near one of the totem-centres, it is because one of these spirit individuals has entered her body. The child, when born, belongs to that particular totem. Spencer describes a large tree on the Roper River, Northern Territory, that is full of 'spirit children,' who are always on the look-out for the 'right lubra.' In some of the tribes the sexes are believed to alternate at each successive reincarnation.

The Australian native is a confirmed believer in the homely dictum, 'All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy.' Probably no class of people existing is more given to pastime. He is a merry, laughter-loving individual. He is gifted with a strong imagination, which he uses to good purpose in his story recitals. Dr. Roth has paid more attention than any other observer to the recreations of the natives. He found the Queensland tribes to be fertile in the amusements employed to beguile the tedium of camp life. Utterly ignorant of the barest rudiments of literature, they are at the same time adepts in the art of story-telling. Highly spiced and fanciful stories many of them are. The realism of these children of Nature would shock their civilized and conventional brothers. Their legends and fairy-tales are compounded of truth and fiction, which deal largely with the origins of things. The element of mischief enters into many of their games. Some of them are of a disputative character. Then there are games of skill, which are played with their weapons of warfare. The children have many impish games.

They are wonderfully imitative, and love to 'take off' their seniors in these mimetic games.

The corrobberie is their best-known pastime. It may be described as an action song, and is almost invariably played at night-time, for it needs the firelight to give the right colouring to this fantastic and weird display. The bucks pride themselves on their decorations of pigments and feathers. The lubras constitute the orchestra, the music of which is runic in character. The theme varies. The chase, love, war, marriage, and other things common to their domestic life are enacted in this primitive fashion. Action songs of acknowledged ability and interest travel round the continent. This means that the words, for the most part, are unintelligible, for the simple reason that there is no common language, the native tongue being split into innumerable dialects. The only thing that is common in the way of communication is the gesture language. Natives from tribes far asunder are able to converse by the use of these ideagrams. Thus a corrobberie, which is a gesture play, will be intelligible even when enacted in an unknown tongue.

Nothing has been said of the art of the native in his search for food. Space will not permit details on this important and, to the native mind, supreme question. The men take great delight in hunting, and are superb trackers of game. They have many ingenious devices for the capture of both land and water animals. The women are adept in searching for edible roots and tubers, and have many ways of preparing both flesh and vegetables. Being a non-cultivator, the native is of necessity a nomad. He changes camp according to the condition of the food supply. Although a nomad, each tribe has its district, with defined boundaries. This is sub-divided according to the classes and sub-classes of the tribe.

From the beginning of white settlement attempts have been made from time to time to civilize the blacks and bring them under the restraints of the Christian religion. The records, for the most part, have been those of failure. As early as

the year 1815 the Rev. Samuel Leigh, in his report to the British Methodist Missionary Committee on the work of the Government Institution for native children, started during the previous year, said: 'If the Methodist Conference should think it right to send a zealous, holy, patient, and persevering missionary, to be devoted entirely to the native tribes, I have no doubt but he would be gladly received and well supported by the inhabitants of the colony.'

It was not, however, until 1821 that the Rev. William Walker arrived in Sydney for the purpose of starting a Methodist Mission to the blacks. An institution was founded in the vicinity of Parramatta. This continued with small encouragement until 1824, when it was abandoned. A little later work was begun among the tribes of the Wellington Valley; but, owing to difficulties connected with the work, the agent was withdrawn and sent on a tour of inspection to Twofold Bay. As the result of his investigations and report, negotiations were carried on between the district secretary and the Governor for a suitable grant of land. These, however, ended in failure. Nothing further was done to promote the work until 1836, when the Rev. Joseph Orton visited Port Phillip, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Batman, with a view of initiating further work among the aborigines. It was not until 1840 that an earnest, organized attempt was made. A block of land, 64,000 acres in extent, was appropriated by the Governor for the use of the mission. Under the zealous superintendence of Mr. Tuckfield, portions of the Scriptures, catechism, and hymn-book were translated into the native dialect, and considerable progress was made. Unfortunately, however, this was not maintained, and in 1848 the place was abandoned.

The efforts made by other Churches to promote the condition of the blacks do not seem to have been a whit better in their results. As the years passed, owing largely to the stream of immigration and the advance of settlement, the religious denominations found their hands full in supplying

the spiritual needs of the settlers. Spasmodic attempts were made from time to time to segregate the blacks and bring them under the restraints of religion and civilization. The Murray River and the Gippsland Missions have endured for a number of years; while in New South Wales that 'Grand Old Man,' the late Rev. J. H. Gribble, began a good work among the Riverina natives in 1879, and afterwards in the neighbourhood of Cairns, N.Q.

The question is asked: 'Why all this failure?' The answer is not an easy one. The native is a nomad, for one thing. Then he inevitably follows the line of least resistance regarding work. He has little hunger for knowledge. Worship, in the evangelical sense, is unknown to him. He is keenly susceptible to things which stir the passions. Furthermore, his language is split up into dissimilar dialects. Last, but not least, is the pernicious example of evil-living whites. These are some of the things which make the work of missions exceptionally hard.

With the best of intentions, the older missions were conducted on the wrong plan. To confine these free-roving and forest-loving wild people in barracks is fatal. An 'institution' could have no attraction to the savage. This cage-like existence, with its compulsory drilling in catechisms and other primers, was anything but a heavenly condition to the lads in whose ears were the perpetual calls of the wild. Yet this dwindling race is amenable to Christian influences. Their primitive beliefs in the unseen world of spirits should dispose them to receive the sublime mysteries of the Christian faith. But to do effectual work they must be gathered into communities in suitable locations, and placed under the gentle yet firm control of suitable agents; men who, as the Archbishop of Brisbane recently said at the Church Congress, had, in addition to spiritual enlightenment, 'a knowledge of agriculture and mechanics.'

Good work is being done among the remnants of the blacks in the mother State by an evangelistic agency called 'The

New South Wales Aborigines' Mission;' and a similar society is carrying on work in West Australia; but the best and most effectual work is that which is being done in Queensland. There are two classes of this work: that carried on exclusively by the Government, and that carried on at the several mission stations. At Taroon, Barrambah, and the Torres Strait Islands industrial work of a fairly satisfactory nature is done under direct Government supervision. The weakness of these settlements is the lack of religious teaching. When appearing before the 'South Australian Aboriginals' Commission,' which took evidence in Brisbane in July 1913 on the condition of the work among the aborigines of Queensland, several gentlemen who had expert knowledge gave valuable information. Mr. J. H. Stanley, secretary to the Yarrabah Mission Committee, said: 'The Yarrabah Mission, under the Anglican Church, possessed an area of 130,000 acres of land. This area was splendidly situated, being surrounded on three sides by the sea, and on the fourth by a line of rugged hills. The mission desires that the natives should live a perfectly natural and happy life under the best conditions. A settlement has been created as a centre, and a line of villages was formed. The Mission had allowed the natives to choose their own companions, and live under their own king, and have their own native courts. . . . They had their own farms . . . and contributed 5 per cent. of the produce of the farms to the support of the mission.' Presbyterian and Moravian mission settlements are being administered on similar lines to that of Yarrabah.

The annual report of the Chief Protector of Aboriginals for 1912 contains the following statement from the Rev. N. Hey, superintendent of the Mapoon Mission: 'The number of natives living in houses on the Mapoon settlement is 240. . . . Besides these there are about 150 more who visit the station at intervals to obtain food, medicine, and other benefits, but who are not domesticated. . . . The general conduct and behaviour of the inmates, both juvenile and adult, was excel-

lent; only a few minor cases were brought before the native court, and these were satisfactorily settled. . . . The great feature of the Mapoon Mission is the native farms some miles distant from the head station, and it is my firm conviction that there lies the ultimate solution of the aboriginal problem, provided the mission is allowed to work out this new vista of happiness for the aboriginal without being hindered by outside influences. Fifteen little homesteads have already been established, and they are growing at about the rate of three a year.' These mission natives are all, more or less, under religious influences.

In his evidence before the Aboriginals' Commission already referred to, the Hon. J. G. Appel (Home Secretary, Queensland Government) gave interesting items in relation to the control of the natives in Queensland: 'The aboriginals were always dealt with on aboriginal reserves. These consisted of Government settlements controlled by the department, areas vested in religious missions, and schools where the schoolmaster acted as superintendent. . . . There was no conflict between the Government and the mission authorities in regard to methods. He confessed that up to a certain point the missions' policy was the best. At Barrambah and Taroom the Government was dealing with an old settled district, where the natives had long been accustomed to hang about the towns, certainly not for their betterment; and it would be impossible to keep these men on the reserves. Within the mission stations, which were mostly in the north, conditions were entirely different. There the aboriginals were in their original state. The mission stations took the aboriginals and trained them up to the point at which the Government began. It was by means of the religious instruction given on the mission stations that the aboriginals could be controlled. The aboriginals took the keenest interest in the religious services, and they considered it to be one of the greatest punishments they could receive to be disallowed to attend any of the services' (*Brisbane Courier*, July 4, 1913).

It is significant, and no less sad, after accounting for all the religious agencies at work among the natives, to find that the great bulk of the people are untouched. The total native population of the Commonwealth is a little under 90,000. Of this number not a tenth is being reached by the Churches. The Methodist Church of Australia is not represented by any agent in this work. Her interest in the aborigines would appear to have evaporated, through her failure during the first half of the nineteenth century. While her zeal, enterprise, and daring in missioning the island groups of the Pacific are beyond all praise, and constitute her chief glory, it is her reproach that she has not cast a pitying eye nor stretched a helping hand towards the poor Australian heathen. A missionary Church such as she professes to be and undoubtedly is will not atone for this inexcusable neglect, save by seizing the opportunities now offering, and taking up the work on approved modern lines. Many hearts have been troubled over this neglect during the past few years. It is now regarded as a matter of urgency by all the leading denominations, especially in connexion with the Northern Territory, where the tribes are still, for the most part, in their primaeval condition.

An 'Interdenominational Committee,' sitting in Victoria recently, mapped out the territory, giving a sphere of operations to each principal denomination. The division is recognized by all as a fair one. The Methodist Church, which has for years been ministering to the white population at Port Darwin, and along the railway line to its terminal point at Pine Creek in the interior, has received for its sphere a strip of country 100 miles wide, stretching from the north coast to the southern boundary, and embracing the area where it is at present working. This area contains many tribes, who are for the most part in their original state. Both the late Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Andrew Fisher, and the present Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Joseph Cook, have expressed themselves sympathetically towards this movement

of the Churches. Those taking up this work may reckon on the practical assistance of the Commonwealth Government, whichever party is in power, if they are willing to proceed on approved lines. At the General Conference it was unanimously resolved to 'accept the proposed sphere of such mission as suggested by the Interdenominational Committee in Victoria.' The Conference also authorized the Board of Missions 'to make a special appeal for the funds necessary to establish and carry out the proposed mission among the aborigines.'

The work of evangelizing the tribes will never succeed along the old lines. The greatest wisdom, care, experience, and tact, with infinite patience, must characterize the work if we are to succeed. The people will not be dragooned; but they may be led. They cannot be Anglicized; they assuredly can be Christianized. They must be allowed large liberty within their reserves, and the retention of all their customs that are not degrading or superstitious. Never having worked, in the strict sense of the term, they will have to be taught the holiness of labour. They have a capacity for spiritual discernment, and readily assimilate the simple elements of Christ's teaching. They are not, and never have been, cannibals in the ordinary sense. Their occasional eating of human flesh has to them a sacramental aspect. Their idea is that they become possessed of the virtues of the deceased friend whose flesh they have eaten. They are, by their primitive beliefs, predisposed to receive with meekness the engrafted Word that is able to save their souls. The applied benign and elevating principles of Christianity are able to save our aboriginal brother to the uttermost.

CHAPTER III

THE INDIAN IN FIJI

By CYRIL BAVIN

Indian Mission, Fiji; sometime resident in India

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

An intruder—Indenture system—Origin—Terms—Housing—Women—Remedies—Free Indians—Increase—Relation with Fijians—Success—Love of law-courts—Hanging—East and west—Loss of religion—*Caste*—Methodist Mission—Miss Dudley—Converts—Evangelism—Women—Education—Opportunity—Medical work—Criticism.

CHAPTER III

THE INDIAN IN FIJI

THE advent of the Indian in Fiji marks a new and important era in the history of the Pacific. He comes as a representative of one of the oldest world civilizations, and thrusts himself upon the arena of South Sea Island affairs, social, commercial, and religious, as a force with which we have to reckon. It has been frequently said that the sternest problem facing the Christian Church of Australasia, in regard to this influx of heathenism into Christian Fiji, is: 'How shall we preserve the Christian Fijian from the contaminating influence of this cynical heathen?' We say it is rather: 'How shall we persuade these benighted children of the All-Father to follow Him whose Spirit has wrought such a miraculous change in the life and character of what was once the most degraded and cannibalistic race of men upon the face of the earth?' In order that this problem may be better understood, this article will first give an account of the conditions of life and work under which the Indians of Fiji live; secondly, a brief *résumé* of the work already done by the Methodist Missionary Society of Australasia; and lastly, indicate what has yet to be done if the Methodist Church is to remain faithful to its great mission in the Pacific.

Of the total number of Indians who have immigrated into Fiji during the past thirty-three years, at least 99 per cent. have come under what is known as the indenture system. This is an agreement to serve as labourers for five years upon various plantations; and as this period has a marked effect upon the Indian's character and subsequent life as a 'free' Indian, it is advisable to set forth the nature of this system.

Early in the history of Fiji as a British colony it was found that the supply of unskilled agricultural labour was both inadequate and precarious. Consequently, the ever-energetic European planter turned his eyes towards the seething millions of semi-starved India, from whence had been drawn the hardy sons of toil who had built up the prosperity of many another British Crown colony. The native Fijian would not work; he did not need to work. The conditions of his existence called for no strenuous struggle to wring from a bounteous Nature the bare necessities of his simple life. Sustained work of any kind is repugnant to this easy-going, insouciant child of Nature. Other South Sea Islanders were available in such limited numbers that it was impossible to look to them for a supply of the labourers demanded. Hence it came to pass that the Governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, made arrangements with the Home and Indian Governments for the introduction of labour from India. The correspondence which took place between the Government of India and the Government of Fiji at that time makes interesting reading. One argument used by the latter in favour of Fiji as a suitable field for Indian immigrant labour was as follows: 'The immigrant on his arrival there will not, as some may suppose, find himself thrown among savages; for, owing to the labours of the Wesleyan missionaries who settled there some forty or fifty years ago, schools have been established in nearly all the native towns on the coast, and at least half of the young men and women of the coast tribes can read and write their own language.'

Eventually, the *Leonidas,* the first immigrant ship, arrived at Levuka on May 14, 1879, with 463 souls on board. These were distributed among various employers, although the present system of indenture did not come into vogue until the passing of Ordinance No. 13 of 1882. Since that date some 55,000 Indians have been introduced under the five years' indenture system, and they continue to arrive in the colony at the rate of about 3,000 per annum.

As in other Crown colonies, so in Fiji, these industrious and frugal people have built up the prosperity of the country. In the opinion of those best fitted to judge, a withdrawal of the Indian from Fiji would spell ruin to the planting industry and the country generally. The greatest care is therefore taken to guard their interests. In framing laws to regulate recruiting in India, the transport to Fiji, the life and employment while there, and the return to their native land if they desire, the Government had the benefit of the experience gained in the West Indies and Mauritius. It has therefore been able to avoid many of the errors and abuses which at first accompanied the establishment of the system of Indian indentured immigration to those colonies. Briefly, the system is carried out as follows. The recruiting is done by accredited agents of the Fiji Government, regulated and supervised by European and native officials of the Indian Government. The cost of introduction is about £16, which includes the cost of recruiting, return fares to Fiji, and sundry expenses incurred in landing the labourers on the estates to which they have been allotted. On arrival in the colony all immigrants are subjected to careful medical examination by a Government medical officer. Any 'unfit' are rejected and returned to India. The 'fit' are then allotted to the different planters requiring them, or to the various sugar-mills.

The housing and general treatment of the Indian under indenture are closely and efficiently watched in the interests of the immigrant, watched perhaps more carefully than the recruiting system in India. The head of the Immigration Department in Fiji is styled the Agent-General of Immigration. In order that he may be in a position adequately to protect and represent the interests, political, social, and commercial, of all Indians in the colony, he is given a seat in the Legislative and Executive Councils of the Government. We wish that we could add 'religious' to the category given above. Resident inspectors are stationed in all the large centres of employment to protect the welfare of the Indian,

having power and authority at any time to avail themselves of the assistance of the police and the law courts if necessary. The result of this close supervision is that abuses are comparatively rare. While there have been some unfortunate instances of overseers being guilty of gross breaches of the law in their treatment of the labour committed to their care, it may be confidently stated that such occurrences are becoming rarer every year. The planter of to-day has come to see that by treating his labour with care and consideration he materially furthers, not only their interests, but his own, for both are coincident. The influence and work of the Methodist Mission is one factor in bringing about this result.

The cost of housing, sanitation, and medical attention is borne by the employer; but the standards are prescribed by the Governments of India and Fiji. These standards are immeasurably higher than those under which the masses of India live and multiply; in fact, they compare most favourably with those obtaining in the poorer districts of many civilized countries. That all these measures on behalf of the indentured Indian are, generally speaking, effective, the vital statistics amply prove. The normal death-rates in India, according to the latest Blue-books, are: Bombay 50, Madras 35, Calcutta 28 per 1,000 inhabitants. The mortality rate in Fiji amongst the indentured Indians is shown by the report of the Agent-General of Immigration for 1912 to have been 22·1 per mille. The corresponding figure for these immigrants in the West Indies is approximately 40, while that of British Guiana is 28·8 per mille. These figures tell their own tale.

Work on the plantation is either by 'task' or 'time,' better known beyond the tropics as 'piece' and 'day' work. The ordinary rate of wages for men is one shilling per day; for women ninepence for three-quarters of the same amount of work. A 'task' is specifically laid down as 'that amount of work which an ordinary experienced workman can perform

during six hours continuous work.' New arrivals in the colony are considered 'inexperienced,' and are entitled to full pay for a smaller task than that given to 'experienced' workers. Day work consists of nine hours daily (Monday to Friday inclusive) and five hours on Saturday. The average number daily at work under indenture during 1912 was 8,500 men and 2,930 women. The average daily earnings of the former were 13·32 pence, and of the latter 8·36 pence. The earnings of the women are affected by the cares of motherhood; but it will be noticed that those of the men are 11 per cent. in excess of the normal legal wage.

The life of the 'lines' (the name given to the dwellings of indentured Indians) is far from satisfactory from our viewpoint; but it compares very favourably with the life of those industrial centres in the home lands where working classes are crowded together in dingy tenements. It is a matter for surprise and thankfulness that the life of the 'lines' is not worse, considering the undue proportion of India's criminal classes who emigrate to Fiji. Unfortunately, 99 per cent. of the serious crimes in Fiji are committed by Indians, and the law courts of the colony are kept busy on their account. Murder, assault, rape, robbery, and forgery are chief amongst the list of so-called 'serious crimes.' Offences against indenture laws are not reckoned in this category. The latter have greatly diminished both in number and degree during late years. Ten years ago informations were laid in respect of 26 per cent. of the adult indentured population, as against 9½ per cent. in 1912, and many of the latter were merely for breaches of the sanitary laws.

It has been strongly argued by those who are averse to the indenture system, that the frequency and brutality of murders of women by their husbands or paramours are due to the numerical inequality of men and women brought out from India. Only forty women accompany every 100 men, and the scarcity of women certainly is at the root of a great deal of trouble and crime. It should be remembered, however,

that the murder of an unfaithful wife by her husband is condoned by Indians. This national trait, coupled with the fact that the class of Indian women emigrating to Fiji is of low character, is responsible for the comparatively high rate of capital crime. The report of the Committee appointed in 1909 by the British Government to inquire into emigration from India to the Crown colonies, shows conclusively that the majority of women emigrating under indenture are professional prostitutes; and the experience of Fiji, extending over more than a quarter of a century, fully corroborates that finding. The remedy is plain, but almost impossible to effect. If a better class of women could be induced to emigrate, the condition of things would vastly improve. But no better class would emigrate as single women; hence the difficulty. Some have argued that the remedy is to introduce an equal number of women and men; but it is worth considering whether to increase the proportion of the class of women now coming to Fiji by 60 per cent. would not be to increase the number of murders and cognate crimes in the colony due or traceable to the low character of these women. Preferable by far would it be to insist upon a better class of men, accompanied by their wives, even though it meant a slight increase in the rate of wages.

Perhaps another remedy for the evils existing under this head lies in the abolition of compulsory work for married female immigrants who have children, and who are accompanied by their husbands. Such a proposal would not only meet with the approval of the Government and the missionaries working amongst these people, but would be favoured by every planter who has the welfare of his indentured labour at heart. The planters generally recognize that in nine cases out of ten the troubles which arise on their estates have as their primary cause the scarcity of women; and they are reasonable enough to welcome any sane proposition which has for its object the amelioration of the indentured woman's lot in life.

Much has been said and written with regard to the merits and demerits of this indenture system. Objection has been taken by orators and scribes holding 'White Australia' views, and by peregrinating South Sea Island tourists, professedly because of its abuses; but if their underlying feelings be discovered, it may be found that it is because they regard the presence of the Indian in Fiji as a menace to Australia. No system of the kind can be perfect, especially where white and black races, with their widely divergent ethical codes, come into such close contact; but it is beyond dispute that the system does more good than harm to the class of Indians who have emigrated to Fiji. Abuses there have been, but they are yearly becoming less; and the conditions of life and work amongst this section of the Hindustani population of Fiji are steadily being improved, as the statistics of the Immigration Department clearly show. As the result of his five years' training, the Indian invariably improves mentally, physically, and morally. He is trained usually by experts how best to apply his strength in carrying out modern methods of agriculture, to observe the laws of sanitation, to care for his children, and generally to become a useful member of society.

Nevertheless, the system is not without its faults. It does not provide for the education of the children. Employers provide nurses and nurseries for the infants, but the older children are allowed to run wild in the 'lines.' This is a disgrace, and constitutes the greatest blot upon the system. One or two employers have recognized this, and are making efforts to educate their children; but as a general thing, nothing is being done either by Government or employers to remedy this evil. It is a memorable day in the Indian's life when he receives his free paper. He is now at liberty to go where he pleases, engage in what work he prefers, or return to India if able to pay his passage of £5. If he remain in the country for another five years, he is given a free passage home. By far the larger majority elect to remain, and settle

on selected blocks of land, or engage in their ancestral trade or occupation.

The term 'free Indian' is loosely employed to denote all Indians not under indenture. The 1912 Report gives the estimated 'free' population as 32,482. Of these, 12,801 are returned as 'Fiji-born'; so that we have a little India growing up whose native land is Fiji, and who have no desire to leave. A glance at the statistics will convince the reader that within a few decades Fiji will belong to the Indian. The census returns for the past thirty years are as follows:

Year.	Fijians.	Indians.
1881	114,748	588
1891	105,800	7,468
1901	94,397	17,105
1911	87,000	40,286
1913	87,000 (about)	50,748

With such figures before us it takes little to convince the reader that in another thirty years we shall have a quarter of a million Indians in Fiji. What will this mean to Australia? What will it mean to the Church if it does not bestir itself?

Having passed through his term of apprenticeship, this keen-witted child of the East sets to work to 'use' the good-natured, lazy *kai Viti* for his own subtle ends. There was a time when he looked upon the Fijian as an ignorant dweller in the jungle; hence arose the term *Jangli,* commonly applied by Indians to Fijians. On the other hand, the Fijian scornfully tolerated the miserably weedy *kai Idia* (Indian) as being an object of his sport, albeit a remunerative tenant of his lands. This has all passed away during recent years, and mutual respect is daily increasing. The Fijian is beginning to recognize in the Indian a desirable settler, and sometimes favours him to the disadvantage of the European. The Indian, on the other hand, has learned that it is to his advantage to respect the Fijian, and frequently avails himself of the native's hospitality, and whatever else he can get out of him.

To ensure bona fide settlement, and to prevent rack-renting and the exploitation of his poorer and less sophisticated brother, the Government has enacted that no Indian may hold more than 5 acres of leasehold land. The more enterprising, who fain would become *zamindars* (landlords) if they could, bitterly complain of this; but the Government has thought it advisable to hold them in check, and thereby encourage closer settlement. This constitutes one of the two great grievances which the Indian settler in Fiji has against the administration. The other is in regard to the Indian marriage laws, concerning which the colony has lately taken to itself an unenviable notoriety. The Indian considers that in these two matters he is the subject of class legislation, a veritable *bête noire* in his eyes.

Having secured his little plot of land, he commences in earnest to make money. Thrifty almost to the extent of counting out the number of grains of rice allowed for the two meals a day on which he subsists, he sets to work building a little bush humpy. In this he and his wife (if he has been fortunate enough during his indenture to save sufficient to buy one) make their home until such time as he can afford a more luxuriant abode of old corrugated iron and rough timber. He sows his seed-bed of rice, or plants his little farm with sugar-cane, corn, or bananas. In twelve months he has a crop, the proceeds of which he invests in a cow, or perhaps two; and so he prospers, until, when his five years have come to an end, he has lost all desire to return to the land he left ten years before. Has he not broken his caste? Is not his mother dead? And have not his friends forgotten him? It is useless going now; and thus Fiji becomes the land of his adoption. He soon forgets to call it *pardes* (foreign land).

All over Fiji settlements of this type of Indian are springing up, and they are picking out the eyes of the land. Of the total 'free' Indian population, according to the last census returns, over 40 per cent. are returned as planters

and husbandmen, while 16 per cent. are domestic servants, 8 per cent. are engaged in industrial occupations, 3 per cent. in commercial; the balance are mostly children returned as not employed. Under the heading of 'Industrial Occupations, &c., of Free Indians,' the 1912 Report reveals the fact that over 2,000 licences were issued that year to Indian storekeepers and hawkers. Almost every Fijian village has its Indian store. Think what this means when the simple Fijian villager gets into debt to this wily trader, and what evils eventuate when he feels the sinewy squeeze of this avaricious and persistent dunner!

While all that is said of the industry and keen-wittedness of the Indian is true, yet among the 'free' population it is rather by the latter characteristic than the former that they succeed. The fertility of the soil, the ability to live cheaply, and the congenial climate, all conspire to make the 'free' Indian a much more easy-going individual than his prototype in India. He is not so conspicuous as the Chinaman for great personal exertion; and while land is easily obtainable, and the labour market is so limited, he will continue to live the free-and-easy life which is his wont. Holiday-making, promiscuous visiting, eagerness to sit and gossip, petty squabbling—all these are becoming pronounced evils in the life of the 'free' Indian. But they will disappear with the increase of population; when he finds it harder to live and increasingly difficult to find work or land.

The Indian is essentially litigious; he loves the law courts. He will spent his last farthing on a useless lawsuit from which he cannot possibly gain as much as he is willing to pay the solicitor who pleads for him. He glories in the notoriety, and it provides him with abundant material with which to entertain his friends. He will spend whole days in the court hearing lawyers wrangling over 'points of law,' and if he knows the parties concerned his joy is intense. It matters little to him if the case be in English and he understands not a word; for he watches the facial expressions, the

gestures, the movements of the hands, all of which provide him with sufficient clue to what is going on. After the evening meal, sitting cross-legged on a wooden bench, or squatting on his haunches outside his hut, he will discourse at length to an admiring group of friends upon all he has heard and seen, and the story loses not in the telling.

Unfortunately, he does not confine himself to being a *spectator* in the law courts. All too frequently he is in the dock. There were 1,370 persons (mostly Indians) brought before the magistrates' court by arrest, warrant, or summons for offences during last year; but only forty-five of these (Indians) were sent to the Supreme Court charged with indictable offences. Twenty-seven convictions are recorded, a comparatively low figure. There is a marked decrease in the criminal statistics of the last two years; and although this cannot be directly put to the credit of missionary activity, it is undoubtedly attributable to the new ideals and healthier mental attitude of the Fiji-born and Fiji-naturalized Indian.

There is one blot remaining on the Statute Book, and it is high time it was erased, viz. punishment by hanging for murder. It is now 300 years since Sir Henry Wotton wrote: 'Hanging is the worst use to which a man can be put.' And still the barbaric custom is maintained. If these words were ever true of any one, they are doubly true of the Indian. It may be argued in other countries that capital punishment by hanging is a deterrent to crime; but such an argument is both frivolous and absurd when applied to an Indian infuriated by the faithlessness of his wife. If, then, our only justification for tolerating capital punishment is taken away, wherein lies our excuse for perpetuating a practice diametrically opposed to the teachings of Christianity? The writer's experience of the calm, apathetic indifference to the coming execution on the part of the condemned prisoners, and their testimonies to the effect that the thought of being hung would never deter them from crime, has led him to view this practice as one of the grave mistakes being perpetuated in Fiji.

This is one of the many things that puzzle the Indian's mind when he contemplates his relations with the British Raj. He cannot understand our methods of justice. Nor is he impressed with the grandeur of our character. He is at a loss to understand the practical, materialistic bent of the Western mind, differing as it does so widely from the dreamy mysticism of the East. The disposition and temperament of the two races are so opposed that there is much misunderstanding, one day producing comedy, the next tragedy. The Indian is exceedingly sceptical of our motives, invariably judging us by his own code of ethics, believing that self-interest must lie behind our every action. His dealings with the Englishman, as a rule, only tend to confirm him in his ancient belief that we are an irreligious race of men, given over to money-making and sport, with little real interest in spiritual things. With that sublime inconsistency so characteristic of his race, he fails to recognize that what he calls religion is even more materialistic in its effects upon himself than the absence of religion which he so heartily condemns in the Westerner.

It is usually thought that the Indian is essentially a religious man; that his very eating and drinking, his washing and working, his playing and praying, all are strictly regulated by definitely prescribed rules laid down by his religion. This may be true of the Hindu in India; it is scarcely true of the Hindu in Fiji. Having broken his caste by crossing the ocean, he is fast losing his adherence to his old faith. Nevertheless, he plays at belief, and treats with kindly tolerance the many upstart priests who wander from village to village trading upon his ingrained respect for the name *sadhu* (religious person). Although caste is to a great extent ignored in Fiji, it still leaves an indelible mark upon the Hindu character, even the Fiji-born. It will help the reader to understand our difficulty in presenting the Gospel of Jesus Christ to these people, if he knows what caste really means.

Caste comes from the Portuguese *casta,* meaning a breed, which seems to be a correct rendering of the native idea.

The institution may be thus described: 'That the human race might be multiplied, Brahma the creator caused the Brahmins to proceed from his mouth, the Kshatriyas from his arms, the Vaishyas from his thighs, and the Sudras from his feet. To the Brahmins he assigned the duty of reading the Vedas, of teaching men, of sacrificing, of alluring others to sacrifice, of giving alms if they be rich, and if indigent of receiving gifts. To defend the people, to sacrifice, to give alms, to read the Vedas, to shun the allurements of sensual gratification, these in a few words are the duties of the Kshatriyas. To keep herds of cattle, to bestow largesses, to sacrifice, to read the Vedas, to carry on trade, to lend money at interest, to cultivate land, are prescribed to the Vaishyas. One principal duty the Supreme Ruler assigned to the Sudras, namely, to serve the before-mentioned classes without depreciating their worth.'

When we think of it there is nothing remarkable in this distribution of labour. Some divisions are inevitable when men form themselves into society. Neither is it in the code of Manu alone that this division of labour illustrated from the members of the human body is found. The well-known fable of the Belly and the Members is an instance in point. If the language of St. Paul in 1 Cor. xii. 12–30 be examined closely, a striking resemblance will be found to the language of the Vedas. Is it not possible that some such allegory was present to the mind of the Hindu writer, in which the priest whose lips are to keep knowledge would naturally spring from the head, the class which was to bear the sword from the arms, the mercantile and agricultural body, who are the strength of the community, from the loins, and the servile classes from the feet of the Creator? Perhaps this institution was, in its beginnings, only a figurative way of saying: 'God hath set the members every one of them in the body (politic) as it hath pleased Him.' It is possible that the so-called caste system was originally far from being a curse; but with the growth of the system, the natural propensity of

erring human-kind to 'all seek their own' led to the vicious and prevailing idea in the Hindu mind that each division constitutes a distinct species, thus directly negativing the Christian belief that 'God hath made of one blood all men.'

An educated Indian recently retorted in answer to this charge: 'And do not many of your so-called Christians equally disregard this belief, and the claims of their fellow men?' The answer is: 'Unfortunately they do, but Christianity does not.' Hinduism openly denies it as a part of its religion. It is positively impious in its eyes to assert that all men are fellow creatures; it is an offence against God for a Hindu to love his enemy, or even to love his neighbour as himself. How different, then, must be the work of evangelizing these people from that of winning the simple-minded, uncivilized South Sea Islanders! Yet as a mission we have been attempting it much along the same lines as those employed among the natives. This is unscientific, resulting in the expenditure of much noble effort and hard work for that which, in one sense, is not bread.

From the foregoing the reader has probably a fair idea of the class of people amongst whom the missionary society is working in the Indian Mission in Fiji. Let us now turn to the work itself. How have we addressed ourselves to the task? What has been accomplished? What has yet to be done? It was in 1891, twenty-two years after immigration from India commenced, that the Fiji District Synod sought to induce the New South Wales Conference to undertake the evangelization of the Indian in Fiji. Unfortunately, the voice of the visionary who predicted that in twenty years' time there would be a population of 50,000 Indians in Fiji was either unheard or unheeded. Had the Church grappled with the problem there and then, the position would have been infinitely stronger than it is to-day. Instead of adopting a vigorous policy, the Church satisfied its conscience by sending *one* Indian catechist to meet the spiritual needs of 10,000 widely scattered heathen people! His appointment proved

worse than failure. Six years elapsed before anything further of a definite character was done.

It was not until 1897 that Miss Dudley, the pioneer European missionary to the Indians in Fiji, was sent out. The Methodist Church should be proud to possess such women. Her long career of noble, self-sacrificing labour is worthy of a place among the records of the missionaries whose names are held in sacred reverence by all lovers of missionary heroics. For years Miss Dudley laboured single-handed in Suva, facing and surmounting difficulties innumerable. When the present writer was appointed to the work in 1901, he found a splendid company of Christian young men gathered round Miss Dudley, the fruit of her toil. Since that date, nine ministerial and seven sisters' appointments have been made. Five ministers and six sisters are now on the field. The staff has been pitiably inadequate, considering the stupendous nature of the task set. Men and women have been sent to solitary stations where they have had to come to grips with hoary-headed Hinduism and bigoted Mohammedanism, long before they were fitted for the fight. These brave souls struggled against fearful odds in their attempt to spread the gospel. But they have not been without fruit of their labour.

There has been much forced attention to secondary things. During the earlier history of the mission, it was a common thing to see the missionary with sleeves rolled up, hammer in hand, doing the lion's share of the manual toil in erecting school or mission house. Had these things been done by others, thus leaving the missionary free to do his work, greater efficiency would have resulted. Notwithstanding this, good progress has been made. The advance has been necessarily slow, for the barriers of prejudice are exceedingly strong. In some quarters these have been completely broken down; in others partially so. Of the ninety-six members on the Church roll, over sixty were won from heathenism as the direct result of the work of the mission. These are in no

sense 'Rice-Christians,' as very few of them have entered our employ. From amongst the converts, three have become catechists, five have been appointed teachers in the mission schools, and six lads have entered the training institution. Thirty-eight children have been gathered into the orphanages, all of whom are either orphans or have been signed over by their parents. When we reflect upon the history of those mission fields where faithful servants of God spent half a life-time in strenuous toil before winning a convert, we are gratified at even these small results, and take courage, believing that His Word 'hath still its ancient power.' These statistics may be numerically small; but they represent a body of clean-living, honest souls who are leaven leavening the whole lump.

The means adopted for the spread of the gospel have been evangelistic, educational, and medical. From the commencement, the importance of preaching amongst the people in the 'lines' and villages has received due emphasis. There have been many conversions directly resulting from this work. Where once the gospel message was treated with contumely and scorn, it is with marked deference and even friendliness that the preacher is now received. Recently a missionary was doing his usual monthly itinerary of the indentured Indian 'lines' on the Upper Rewa River. On arrival at one plantation he found that his usual congregation was engaged in the revels of an imitation nautch dance. Seeing that his chances of holding a service were small, he elbowed his way into the middle of the crowd, and asked permission to sing a *bhajan* (hymn). Instead of being violently ejected, as would certainly have been the reply a few years ago, consent was willingly given; and the frenzied crowd halted in its mad amusement while this emissary of the Cross of Christ sang, to the accompaniment of heathen tom-tom and guitar, the old refrain: *Yishu Masih mero pran bachaiya* (Jesus Christ, the Saviour of my soul). Not until the preacher had spent fifteen minutes in expounding the meaning of the

bhajan, following it with the story of the Prodigal Son, did they return to their merry-making. Thus the seed is sown, and who knows how, when, or where it may germinate and bring forth fruit?

Nearly thirty preaching-places have been established where regular evangelistic work is being done. In eleven of these centres school-churches have been built at a total cost of £1,350. Five of these are in connexion with the central stations, while six are situated in 'free' Indian villages. Attached to each of these latter is a catechist's cottage, where the representative of our mission resides. It is our hope, and one object of this plan of work, that these men should become, not only the village teachers, but the villagers' friends and advisers, to whom they may look for help in all the concerns of their life, and who will exercise a healthy moral influence over the whole community. Our gospel has been preached with no uncertain sound, but it must be accompanied by practical demonstrations of Christian love if it is to appeal to the heart and mind of the Indian.

There is one work of grave importance as yet almost untouched, viz. that of carrying the light to the dark and degraded minds of the Indian women of Fiji. Some work in this connexion has been done by consecrated missionary sisters; but the attempt has been altogether inadequate to the great need, owing chiefly to the fact that the exigencies of the work demand a large proportion of the missionary sisters' time being spent in the schools. If we are to address ourselves in earnest to this needy work, it will mean the establishment of an army of itinerant lady missionaries accompanied by reliable Indian biblewomen.

It is a trite saying that the hope of Indian missions is in influencing the minds of the rising generations. 'Give us the children between the ages of five and twelve,' say some, 'and they will never be Hindu or Mohammedan again.' This is undoubtedly true; but WILL THEY BE CHRISTIAN? That is the moot-point; and herein lies one of our gravest difficulties.

We have a unique opportunity to control the secular education of by far the larger proportion of the Indian population of this island of Viti Levu, if we make an immediate and adequate forward move. The Government's new Educational Bill, at present under consideration, provides for assisting vernacular schools; and from the state of the colony's finances it is quite evident that it would prefer to assist a school rather than to found one. If the education of the Indians of Fiji is to wait until there are Government schools in all centres of Indian population, then it seems probable that the present generation will have to be content to view it as one of their hopes for posterity.

There is a movement to make the employer provide education for the children of his indentured labour, which is a good and reasonable thing; but why should he be forced to shoulder his responsibility in this matter, while the Government shirks its own? Why should the children of indentured people have the privilege of education while those of the 'free' Indian are left without? The great need of the country is a vigorous policy for the education of Indians, under Government control. A small poll-tax on all Indians would easily raise sufficient to pay the interest on capital outlay, as well as current expenses. The employer would then shoulder his responsibility by paying his labourers' taxes; but he should not have any responsibility either in the matter of teacher or school-building.

Since the commencement of this mission, school work has been carried on somewhat in a desultory manner. Not until recently has there been any definite and organized effort to avail ourselves of this splendid opportunity to disseminate Christian ideas and sow the seeds of Christian truth in the minds of Fiji's coming population. A careful endeavour is being made to lay a solid foundation upon which to build our educational work. We have discarded the use of such hieroglyphics as the Devanagri and Arabic characters, deeming it altogether illogical to make use of such orthographical

monstrosities in giving an educational system to a race of men born in the twentieth century. If parents so desire, their children may be taught either or both of these characters, which will ultimately prove an inestimable boon to Fiji when it is universally understood and read.

Three boarding-schools for Indian children have been established, in which, together with the orphanage, over fifty children are in residence. This constitutes an excellent sphere of work, as the influence brought to bear upon the children out of school hours tends to lead them towards the end we have in view. Owing to the generosity of friends in Australia and New Zealand, we have been able to take a number of children from the unwholesome atmosphere of the 'lines' and place them in these institutions, the sole condition being that the indentured parent must sign his child over to our guardianship for a term of five years. Much might be said of the extraordinary opportunity which is ours just at this stage in the country's development to follow the example of our Fijian Mission in securing the education of almost the entire population under its control; but sufficient has been indicated to convince the thoughtful reader. Whether it is a right policy on the part of the State to permit this Church control of secular education, is a matter for discussion outside the scope of this article.

It is universally acknowledged that 'medical missions are a noble feature of modern missions. They break down barriers; they attract reluctant and suspicious populations; they open whole regions . . . for they give a practical demonstration of the spirit of Christianity.' For years we have been praying the New South Wales Conference to sanction an appeal for a hospital in connexion with our work among the Indians in Fiji; but nothing has been done. We have two dispensaries at work, and a nurse in charge of one; but our staff being limited, we have not been able to make this necessary work the integrant part of our mission it should be. Medical attention is provided by the employers for all inden-

tured Indians; but the 'free' Indian population is sadly neglected. The Government has provided wards in connexion with the General Colonial Hospital in Suva, capable of accommodating about 100 Indians or less. These are expected to meet the needs of 32,482 people scattered over 7,435 square miles, which, to say the least, is a physical impossibility. It is true that 'free' Indians may be admitted to the plantation hospitals, provided there are beds unoccupied and to spare; but the fee of two shillings per day demanded places this privilege beyond the reach of four-fifths of the 'free' population. Unfortunately, we have the greatest difficulty in persuading Indians to go to these hospitals, preferring as they do to remain in their own villages if we give them medicine. Their unbounded confidence in the simplest remédies is, in the majority of cases, the secret of their cure. Undoubtedly this department of the work is of great value. It is, as the Report of the Edinburgh Conference says, 'everywhere understood as a practical interpretation of the Gospel of Love; it is an invaluable agency wherever there is deep-rooted suspicion or malignant fanaticism to be overcome,' such as in Fiji.

Through the medium of these three agencies we have endeavoured to solve the great problem laid down in the opening paragraph of this article; and the work done forms no inconsiderable part of the glorious achievement of our Church during its first century in the Pacific. It has pleased many ignorant and some prejudiced persons to express the opinion that our efforts towards the great end in view have signally failed, and that our native converts are at once inconsiderable in numbers and despicable both in station and in morals. The persons who disseminate this opinion are commonly Europeans who have resided in Fiji perhaps for a very brief period; and who, being without the desire, have consequently not taken the opportunity of acquainting themselves with the actual state of the mission. European residents in general exhibit too little concern for the souls of

the natives; and with sorrow be it said that only too often is the spread of the gospel hindered by the pernicious habits which the natives all too frequently contract from European intercourse. Nevertheless, there are those who recognize what is being done, and who believe that the Indian Mission in Fiji is not only carrying the Light of the Gospel of Jesus Christ to these wanderers in a far-off land, but is taking an important part in promoting the moral and material interests of the Indian in Fiji.

CHAPTER IV

THE ASIATIC IN AUSTRALIA

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SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

Proximity—Chinese—Character — From Canton—Gold rush — China-town—Fruit-growing—Other Asiatics— Materialistic—Missions—Chinese evangelists—Youngman—China—Other missions—Hostility of whites—Half-castes—Lessening numbers—White Australia —Yellow peril—Japan and Russia—Conscription—Prospects.

CHAPTER IV

THE ASIATIC IN AUSTRALIA

The Asiatic is bound up with the history of Australia. His presence has created many conflicting thoughts and given colour to legislation. The close proximity of the Australian continent to Eastern Asia accounts for this. There was a time, it is thought, when a comparatively narrow passage existed between this land and the East, a passage widened by convulsions through the ages. Be that as it may, the breadth of sea between the most northern point of Australia and the most southern point of Eastern Asia is inconsiderable, and can be crossed in a few days. This brings the two continents within easy hail. It was to be expected that there would be more or less coming and going between the Australian and the Asiatic. Such has been the case almost from the first. Soon after the settlement of Port Jackson there was communication with people living on the other side of the equator, and ultimately with those on the mainland of Asia. Thus there grew up an intimacy which, at times, caused more than embarrassment.

As far as the Indian and other Asiatics are concerned, there has not been any such influx as to cause serious alarm. Afghans have come to make what they could by hawking Indian and other products. So, also, a few Syrians and other representative types. But their coming, while regarded in some quarters with suspicion, has not created a problem. The Afghans generally made their way to the great dry spaces of our hinterland, where they found congenial and remunerative occupation in carrying goods. It was no unusual sight in the back country to see a string of camels in charge of

these Indian visitors carrying anything from bales of wool to sacks of flour or household furniture. In times of drought, the camel has served as the common carrier. With the extension of electrical power and railway construction, the swarthy Asiatic is finding his occupation slipping from him. He and his camel are becoming vanishing quantities. It is only a matter of time when the turbaned head and dark-skinned face of the Indian pedlar or carrier will cease to be a picturesque object on the Australian landscape or the streets of country towns. In the larger centres of population, he long ago discovered he had no chance.

When we speak of the Asiatic in Australia the mind at once singles out the Chinese and the Japanese. Their countries are but a short distance from Australia. Unitedly they contain a population, overwhelming in numbers, possessing characteristic features that cause serious alarm. We have had dealings with the Chinese for many years; we made the acquaintance of the Japanese but yesterday. The Chinese represent a race whose history probably goes farther back than that of any other, and whose numbers are larger by 100,000,000 than that of the second strongest nation in the world! That fact, though appalling, is not the most significant. The Chinese have proved themselves to be a strong, virile people; living through the centuries when other races came and went. They stand to-day a problem and a wonder in the eyes of the world. Every civilized nation is looking anxiously towards the East, wondering what part it is going to play in the history of the human race.

Country and people were comparatively unknown until the other day. Under those Oriental skies, for ages strangers to the world, they were working out their own destiny in their own fashion, crystallizing a national character such as no other nation ever succeeded in doing. The Chinaman, in the opinion of a great traveller and observer, is the nearest approach to the Anglo-Saxon. This view is fully appreciated by those who know the Asiatic best. He sticks at nothing

when once his mind is made up. His perseverance is untiring. His plodding industry and patient determination are not to be excelled; while his outlook and mental grasp are equalled by his success along the lines of industrial and intellectual life. He is a cute, sharp business man, made such by the exigencies of the situation. He has had to subsist by the sharpening of his wits, which he has learned, through many centuries, how best to use. But when that is said, it does not mean that the Chinese business man is nothing but a 'sharper,' without scruples either as to honesty or conscience. There are exceptions to every rule; but the average man of business in China is a dependable man. European merchants know that well; for the universal testimony is that when once a Chinese dealer has given his word, it is the word of honour, and will be stood by at all costs.

These are the men with whom Australians have had to do on their own soil for many years, and with whom perhaps they will yet have more to do. The European and the Asiatic have come together in Australia under interesting circumstances. When gold was discovered in the year 1851, the welcome news soon found its way to South China. A human tide set in towards the land lying under the Southern Cross. The Chinese, with inflamed imagination and the hunger for gold gnawing at their heart-strings, left their homes in shiploads to try their fortunes in the New Gold Hills, which is their name for Australia. It is remarkable that practically all the Chinese who came to Australia are from the province of Kwang Tung, of which Canton is the chief city. A representative of the other provinces is hard to find. The Chinese are clannish, and maybe this is the explanation. The many distinct dialects in the eighteen provinces into which China is divided have had much to do in keeping the people distinct; and the empire being so extensive, those living in one section have had little or nothing to do with those living in another. The barrier of dialect was almost impregnable. While there are varieties of speech even in a province, still those of one

part can understand what is said by those of another. This is a strong bond of union. At the same time, one of the characteristic features of the Chinese in Australia is that men from one part of the Kwang Tung province are, as a rule, to be found in one State, while those of another part are in the majority in another State. This is not hard to understand. For instance, the great bulk of the Chinese in Victoria have come from a part of the province named lying to the south-west of Canton, known as the Four-City district; while the majority of the men in New South Wales and Queensland hail from a place called the Fragrant Hills; and others to the east of Canton, and each of them separated by many miles.

When a European asks a Chinaman where he comes from, the answer invariably is 'Canton.' As a matter of fact, the man may never have been in that city. What he means is that he has come from the province of which Canton is the chief centre, the name of which is familiar to every European. The majority of these new, strange-featured immigrants were from the agricultural classes, with here and there a business man in a small way and a sprinkling of adventurers. The farming classes are amongst the most hard-working and the poorest in China. Existence is mostly one of hand to mouth. It can be understood, therefore, with what intense desire a man would leave his wretched surroundings and go to an adjacent land, with the possibility of making his fortune and returning to live in comparative comfort. Leaving wife and children behind, the men came to Australia in a rushing stream, all eager for gold. In Victoria alone, in the 'sixties, there were not less than 40,000 Chinese. In New South Wales the number was considerably less, while Queensland had less still, and South Australia least of all. Later a few hundreds found their way to Tasmania; and later still a fairly large contingent went to West Australia, where most of them settled in and around the metropolis. The gold-fields were the magnetic places.

On almost every field there would be a 'Chinatown,' a place out of the main centre, where the Chinese lived. A typical 'camp,' as it was called, consisted of a narrow street, on each side of which were ranged the buildings the Chinese love so well, wooden shanties for the most part, serving the purpose of shops, boarding-houses, gaming places, and private residences. There would also be a temple, or joss-house, in which the deities of China were represented and worshipped. Indeed, every camp was a bit of China, with flaring sign-boards on which were engraved the peculiar hieroglyphics of the language; altogether presenting a sight, and emitting sounds, in striking contrast to European modes of life. The opium-den was in evidence and well patronized; while, next to fossicking for gold, the crowd loved to gather round the gaming-table and stake all upon the tools of chance. Weird scenes of ceremony and custom were to be seen in those Chinese camps both day and night when the stream of life was in the flood. The European visitor was taken to China-town to enjoy one of the best forms of entertainment to be had in those times.

For the most part, the Chinese did not work virgin ground so much as treat that which Europeans had forsaken. Out of this the second-comer often did well. Having selected his place, he went to work in his methodical, if clumsy fashion, fixing his cradle in a likely spot; then, shovelling the gritty dirt into it, he would rock the crazy thing with the left hand, while with the right he poured in water with a ladle probably made of a fruit-can. He would then look with hungry eyes for any speck of gold in the bottom of the cradle, or in the dish which was often used. It was a drab sort of life for the voluntary exile, and the only thing that kept him going was the hope of returning to the ancestral home with enough money to make the later days of life easier. A remittance was often sent to China to help the family, whose bread-winner was under other skies. Maybe the wanderer would pay a visit to the homeland, refresh himself amongst his kith

and kin, and return to the New Gold Hills to replenish the exhausted purse.

A considerable number of Chinese, however, sought to make their fortunes in ways other than by digging for gold. In the capitals of the various States many engaged in business pursuits, carrying on trade with Europeans and their own countrymen. Others, again, set up furniture-making establishments, turning out articles which European dealers were glad to get. Little Bourke Street in Melbourne, and Lower George Street in Sydney, are remembered as the great business centres and resorts of Chinese—places with characteristics of their own, and redolent with Oriental flavour. But the agricultural instinct enticed many to engage in market-gardening. Throughout the length and breadth of Australia, where there was sufficient European population to warrant it, the Chinese gardener was to be seen. In nearly every town one of the well-known sights was the Chinese vegetable hawker, with his two baskets suspended on the bamboo stick resting on his shoulders, and going at jog-trot. That man did much for many a household, rendering a service to Australians which has been most grudgingly recognized.

During later years the Chinese discovered that money was to be made under the tropical skies of Queensland by growing and exporting fruit to the south. Thousands embarked upon the new business, and went to work with diligence and success. Miles of rich scrub on the river banks were transformed into banana and pine-apple farms, with other fruits in addition. If these pioneers have done nothing else, they have demonstrated to the European what this country can produce, and they have led the way to agricultural evolution which promises much. These are the ways in which our Oriental visitors have been at work during their years of residence amongst us. Not the least they have done is to give Australians an object lesson as to what can be done under anything but encouraging conditions. The Northern Territory, that great patch of country lying to the north and

north-west of the continent, now under the administration of the Commonwealth Government, has a population the great bulk of which is Chinese. About the year 1885 a railway line, 150 miles in length, was commenced from Port Darwin towards the south. This was to be the first section of an overland line from sea to sea, a distance of 2,000 miles. Built by Chinese labour, it was opened in 1889.

The Chinese were brought from their own land in great numbers for this purpose, until fully 4,000 of them were in the Territory. The European population was a mere handful, the proportion of Chinese being about five to one. As far as labour generally was concerned, the newcomers had everything in their hands. They were the domestic servants, the hewers of wood and drawers of water, gardeners, and almost everything else. They had a great and prosperous time, and they made the most of it. On the completion of the railway many returned, others went in quest of gold, while others made their way south. At Port Darwin there were also representatives of other races, such as Javanese, Malays, and Japanese. The Japanese were inconsiderable. The Japanese have not shown any great desire to emigrate to these shores. More are to be found in the neighbourhood of Thursday Island, at the extreme north of Queensland, or on the west coast of the continent, in connexion with the pearling industry. A few have gone into business as shopkeepers, while others have found a congenial and lucrative sphere in establishing laundries, more especially in the northern State. Both Chinese and Japanese are sought after as cooks in hotels and other places.

The presence in Australia of 70,000 Chinese set the Churches thinking seriously, arousing some of them to action. It was a distinct challenge to Christianity to do what it could for the moral and spiritual interests of these heathen visitors; and, to the honour of all, the challenge was responded to. An opportunity had come to influence the heathen, and through them, the millions of China. It would have been

criminal not to take full advantage of such an opportunity. The question was, how to set about the task. The language, like a wall of rock, stood in the way. How to get over it was a puzzle. From the first an effort was made by the Methodist Church to reach the Chinese; but the results were not always satisfactory. The men from China had but one object in view: to make money. They had a religion with which they were quite content. It was the religion of their fathers for centuries. To give that up and to espouse another, and that of a foreigner, was more than the Chinaman was prepared to consider. Did not every Chinese camp contain a miniature of one of the thousands of heathen temples across the seas, and was not that enough?

The mind of the Chinaman is grossly materialized, and he worships, not to satisfy the craving of his spiritual nature, but to be on good terms with the gods with a view to material benefit. A disappointed worshipper has been known to take an idol from its pedestal, give it a generous castigation, and set it up again in the hope of better things. To evangelize the Chinese is no light task. His mind must be appealed to, his soul stirred, his ancestral forms of thought and worship put on one side. With this in mind, one can see the difficulties in the path of the Christian evangelist. But God knows nothing of difficulties, and has His way of easily getting over ours. A Methodist minister in Victoria, the Rev. W. Hill (afterwards murdered by a prisoner whom he was visiting in jail), made the acquaintance of a young, intelligent Chinese, took him to his home, taught him what English he could, and made the way of salvation so plain that the young man was converted. That was a glad day both for the convert and for hundreds of his countrymen. At last the way was clear for aggressive Christian effort; that young Chinese disciple was sent to work amongst his fellows on the gold-fields, the first herald of the cross to the heathen amongst us, the first link connecting the Christian Church of Australia with the Church in China. Having been fully proved and

his work appraised, that first convert was ordained to the Christian ministry. He was widely known and beloved as the Rev. James Moy Ling. For fifty years he laboured faithfully and with success, until he was called to look into the face of that God whom he had learned to love in the foreigner's land.

As the mission grew, another young man of choice spirit and fine intellectual parts came under the power of grace and entered the ministry. He was the Rev. Leong On Tong, a name still treasured, and whose work for years was richly blessed. In 1884 he returned to China to continue Christian service, and at a ripe old age passed away. Still later, a third young man of promise, in the person of the Rev. Joseph Tear Tack, was called to the ministry. He rendered valuable service in Victoria for years, was appointed to Tingha, Emmaville (N.S.W.), and Port Darwin, and finally was sent to begin a mission at Cairns in North Queensland, where, after nine months' work, he died. Most of the mission work was in Victoria. At one time there were seven stations, with preaching places attached, manned either by a Chinese minister or a catechist. At Little Bourke Street, Melbourne, a fine brick church, with a suite of rooms, was erected, at a cost of £2,000, in the centre of a large Chinese population. The mission is still carried on; also one at Castlemaine, where a brick church was erected many years ago. The other stations were at Haddon (near Ballarat), Creswick, Talbot, Dunolly, and Bendigo.

At each place a church with residence was provided and paid for by the sympathetic help of local Europeans. These little churches became well known to the Chinese, and as a rule they were well attended. So important was the work that it was thought advisable to set apart a young European minister to superintend it. The Rev. Edward Youngman, a probationer, was sent to Canton to be qualified for the responsible position. He resided in China for nearly two years, learning the language, and otherwise preparing himself. He

began his work in Victoria in 1880, having charge of the mission for five years, and subsequently for two years in North Queensland. Hundreds of Chinese were won from heathenism in connexion with the mission, the greater number returning to their homeland to act as Christian leaven in the heathen meal, thus helping on the work of evangelization in that great missionary field. Of late years, mainly on account of the decrease in the Chinese population, the mission work has been curtailed, only two agents being employed where formerly there were nine.

The Methodist Church has certainly made an honest effort to reach the Asiatic in Australia, and has interpreted in this way the missionary spirit which has characterized it. The pity of it is, however, that a broader policy was not adopted and developed. What was needed was to extend the work to China in the districts from which the men in Australia came, and to which so many returned. It would have been a great gain to the men converted here to have gone home connected with work carried on by the Australasian Missionary Society, to say nothing of having a direct practical interest, and taking part in the Christianizing of the East. We have missed a great opportunity in not entering upon the larger sphere. Perhaps the future will reveal the duty of correcting the mistake, thus giving to Methodism in the southern world the joy of service amongst the coming nations on the northern side of the equator. We must not close our eyes to the far-reaching nature of this work, especially when the condition of modern China is remembered. Things there are not now what they were.

Almost everything that was so closely bound up with the old life, which so long stood as the missionary's greatest hindrance, is now unceremoniously being put into the melting-pot. What is coming out of the pot is causing much speculation. It is plain, however, that the missionary is at last coming to his own; and that the Christianity he has taught with churches, schools, hospitals, pure homes, and a whole-

some atmosphere is to have its belated chance. Every door so long barred has been flung wide open, and the prospect of success is so glorious as to gladden the eyes and make every Christian long to have part in bringing about such a spiritual evolution as probably the world has not yet seen. The fact of being next-door neighbour to the Chinese should influence Australians, quite apart from other considerations. Forgetting for the moment the imperial cause of world-wide missions and the duty to do all that is possible, this particular obligation to evangelize our northern fellow creatures includes the interpretation of the spirit of Christ, and also makes doubly sure our sense of safety. The Christian bond is the strongest of all bonds. It is the golden link that is unbreakable.

The Anglican and Presbyterian Churches also recognized their obligations, and still have missions for the Chinese. In Sydney and Melbourne substantial buildings were erected, and on several of the gold-fields in Victoria agents were employed, a general understanding being arrived at that no two denominations should be represented at the same place unless the number of Chinese justified it. Little or nothing is being done in New South Wales outside Sydney; while in Queensland, except for a spasmodic effort, an inviting field has been practically neglected. Through individual Churches in the different States taking up mission work, and by the formation of classes for Chinese for the teaching of English and for Christian instruction, the radius for doing good has been extended.

The Asiatic in Australia has not had a good time. From the first he was regarded with feelings of aversion, if not hatred; and he was treated accordingly by 'lewd fellows of the baser sort.' John Chinaman has been the butt and sport of boys and men. The treatment meted out has not favourably impressed him, nor reflected honour upon the European. He has so often been the victim of malice and all uncharitableness as to make him wonder what sort of people he had come amongst. He could not but help being puzzled at the peculiar

interpretations of the Christian principles to which he was accustomed to listen from the lips of the missionary. This was anything but helpful from the religious standpoint. Indeed, it often drove men from Christian influence and embittered their souls. The wonder is that the Chinese did not make reprisals on their assailants. Their restraint spoke well for their peaceable disposition and law-abiding qualities.

Considering the number of Chinese living in groups and under conditions peculiar to the race, they gave little trouble to the police. Now and then there were serious disturbances, such as that at Lambing Flat gold-field in New South Wales in 1862. European diggers attempted to drive the Chinese from the field, and military forces had to be sent on two occasions to protect the Orientals from savage brutality. Outbreaks of a less serious nature occurred in other places, where it was thought the Asiatics impinged upon the rights of Europeans. Against this treatment, kindliness was often shown to the stranger; who, being naturally sensitive, was prepared to make the best of the situation. But the question arises: 'Why any hostility?' That is more easily asked than answered. There was the thought that the Chinese had no right to come to Australia, and that an amalgam with them was not only undesirable, but impossible; that the habits of the Chinese were so repugnant as to make their presence an eyesore and a menace; that their economic way of living was at variance with the ideals of the European wage-earner; that what money they saved they sent to China; that their presence in Australia was detrimental to the instincts closely bound up with British traditions and ambitions; and last, but not least, that these men from the East had left their wives behind them, thus leading to a condition of morals of the worst kind.

As time went on, a number of Chinese succeeded in persuading European women to marry them. Thus a good many half-castes came into the community. A half-caste occupies an unenviable position, and is to be pitied. As a

rule, these half-caste children are naturally bright and clever, and some of them have done well in the community. Europeans, though of different race and speech, may unite and coalesce; but European and Asiatic blood, when mingled, has not given satisfactory results. Whatever the future may do, there is now a natural disinclination to have an amalgam of the two distinct breeds. 'East is East, and West is West.' In the early days of Chinese emigration to Australia, when the flood-gates were opened and a rushing torrent came through, great concern was created, and attempts were made to stem the tide. It was feared that if restrictions were not imposed, Australia would be overrun with these undesirable Asiatics. A poll-tax, therefore, of £10 was first enacted; this was afterwards increased to £40, and later still raised to a higher amount.

Under the régime of the Commonwealth an educational test has been created, making it impossible for Asiatics to land unless they can pass an examination in some European language. The captain of any vessel bringing an Asiatic to Australia and allowing him to land is made to forfeit the sum of £100. Apart from these stringent provisions, the number of Chinese was gradually lessening. As the alluvial gold-fields were worked out, the men went home in thousands, for there was no purpose to be served by remaining. If many returned to China with full purses, many more went back with hardly anything; and this fact, no doubt, had a deterrent effect. To-day the number of Chinese in Australia is comparatively small, probably not more than a third the number of forty years ago. The proportion is becoming less each year. In many districts where formerly the Asiatic face was a familiar object, it is now almost a curiosity.

The sentiment of a 'White Australia,' that is, keeping the continent free from the taint of foreign blood and preserving the British stock intact, is one that undoubtedly finds favour with the majority; hence the legislation enacted. This legislation swept the Kanakas from the sugar-cane fields of Queens-

land to their island homes in the Pacific. It was felt at the time that if the Chinese, Japanese, and some others could have been extradited also, it would have been a blessing. The black, untutored man from the islands could be dealt with, and there was no one to protest; but the men from the East could not be treated in that summary fashion. International treaties had to be borne in mind, and care taken as to what was done. As far as the Chinese problem was concerned, we made it for ourselves. If at the first the Asiatic had not been allowed to go near a gold-field, there would have been no trouble on his account, and no complaint could have been made. It seems a pity the cry of a 'White Australia' was raised. The British race has been known to have a wide outlook and large sympathies, and to be the exponent of a world-wide brotherhood, holding out a welcome hand to all. To slam and bolt the door because the skin colour and the accent of speech are different from our own is a new thing in our history. How it looks in the eyes of those on the other side of the door is a matter upon which we may hear something later. The pendulum of self-consciousness may swing too far and dislocate vital things.

The experience of some other countries having alien elements mingled with their own has, no doubt, much to do in creating and keeping alive the sentiment of purity of race; but when the subject is dispassionately considered, it is seen that the condition of things in Australia is totally unlike that, say, of America, where the negro emphasis is so pronounced. As far as the black man of the Pacific was concerned, his presence was temporary. He was engaged to do certain work for a certain period; and it was impossible for him to remain a permanent factor in our land, or become assimilated with the European. He belonged, also, to a dying race, so that it was but a question of time when he would cease to be. As far as the Asiatic is concerned, he is a visitor, here for a purpose; and when that purpose is served, he vanishes for ever. Not one of these aliens wishes to die in Australia; and

when one does die in the foreigner's land, his bones are packed and shipped to the homeland, to find sepulchre on the hill-sides near the dust of his forefathers. It is right to keep ourselves free from any race that would taint our blood, contaminate our morals, lower our ideals, or make us less self-respecting. The question, however, arises: 'Have we not gone too far in our anxiety to keep ourselves to ourselves, thus conveying a false impression to the minds of those whose memories are proverbially retentive?' The future alone will give the answer.

'The yellow peril' is a coined phrase, frequently heard from public speakers or from writers in the press. It is used to express the danger that may arise from the new-born Eastern nations. Many fear that when China and Japan end their own quarrels and join forces they will not be content to remain where they are, but will live up to their possibilities, and show the world what can be done in the way of aggression. Having been asleep so long, like Rip Van Winkle, but now wide-awake, they will make up for lost time and surprise the world. Once let this thought soak into the mind, it will be hard to dislodge it. The possibilities of a combination of the forces of nearly 500,000,000 in the far East stagger the imagination. In point of mere numbers, they could throw into the field an overwhelming army, such as would dwarf into insignificance the greatest European power, a combination of armies, or of all the European forces combined. They could as easily alter the geography of the Western world as the Goths and Huns altered it many centuries ago, thus giving a new turn to the history of mankind. The thoughts of some have even gone to this length. There is no closing our eyes to the fact that the display given by Japan alone during recent years has made the world stare with astonishment, and think along new and unexpected lines.

Quite recently Japan was a mere cypher in political calculations, not the slightest notice being taken of her opinions or doings. She is now one of the great Powers to be reckoned

with. Her conflict with China over Korea, and the ease with which she conquered her too-confident foe; her defeat of Russia when, flushed with new honours, she faced the seasoned, valiant forces of the Russian Tsar, and dealt with them as a mother castigates her unruly bairns, were evidences of a transformation which captured the imagination of the world and provoked the exclamation: 'What next?' That is the question many are asking to-day. If Japan, with a population of under 50,000,000, could do such wonders, what could not China do with an almost unthinkable number? And when the thought of an alliance with Japan is added, and the two Powers united in one great purpose, it is enough to take away one's breath. There is the fact also that China is getting ready, as did Japan, to play a new part in the drama of human life. It is simply a question of time, not far away, when she will have shaken herself free from her old ways, espoused Western learning and modes of life, and girded herself for any conflict to protect or advance her interests.

The happenings of to-day in that great empire all point in this direction. If things at present are in a state of flux, there will undoubtedly emerge a new nation, strong in its sense of a giant's power, sensitive to anything affecting its honour or self-respect, and with its mind made up to defend national rights at all costs and at all points. There is much speculation as to whether the Eastern people will be content to confine themselves to the East; or whether, following the example of the Western nations, they will annex other territories. The fear exists that Australia, because of her geographical situation and her sparseness of population, may tempt the Asiatic to cross the narrow sea, overcome a weak enemy, and dictate his own terms. The thought of 'the yellow peril' sits like a hideous nightmare on the minds of thousands, and it stubbornly refuses to be shaken off.

In order to prepare for such contingencies Australia is

getting ready by building a navy to patrol and protect her shores, and by drilling an army to defend her interests. The principle of conscription is in full operation, and all youths are compelled to attend compulsory drill. The penalty for non-compliance is fine and imprisonment. This is a new thing in Australia, or in any British community. Australia thus has the distinction of being the first people under the Union Jack to make military service compulsory. Whether this is also an 'honour' is a point on which there is divided opinion. Numbers of Australians view the new law with anything but satisfaction. Some have resisted the compulsory clauses, preferring to suffer the penalties. But the law remains, and while it does remain there is evident determination to see its provisions carried out. Australia has been turned into a vast parade-ground, with cadet and adult corps everywhere. There is evidence of a militarism which marks a revolution in our experience. The cries of the drill-instructor are the highest notes heard in the land. A rifle is placed in the hands of every male below a certain age. The military spirit is everywhere. Australians are being taught to march to new music. The Federal Government has launched a naval and military policy, the development of which involves the expenditure of millions.

This means increased taxation and a drain upon resources previously available for other purposes. The effect is being felt in many directions; the future only can tell the wisdom or otherwise of this departure. All recognize the obligation to help the Motherland, and to share with her the responsibilities of empire; but there is divided opinion as to whether we have gone too far by turning the land into a military college with provisions for coercion. The fear in many minds is that the two Asiatic Powers not far from our shores may make common cause, and come down upon us. This is the argument used to justify the warlike preparations on land and sea. But is there much in the argument? Things that are possible may never take place. When the question is

thoroughly considered, there is reason to think there will be no invasion.

As for Japan, she spent her money on her late wars; and being a poor country, it will take her many years to get anything like a full exchequer. Her hands will be more than full in attending to matters within the conquered territories; and Australia has nothing in common with Japanese ideals and life. For a Power like Japan to insist on occupying the Northern Territory, a huge, undeveloped, empty space, where little is done, is unthinkable. In China it will take long for that great land to be reduced to order, to master the new learning, and to fit herself for aggressive action. The national temperament in China is not military. The people are peacefully inclined; they want to be let alone politically to work out their own salvation in their own way. And if China or Japan, singly or together, came to Australia and succeeded in taking possession, would the matter rest there? Would not the English-speaking world come to our rescue and sweep the invaders into the sea? If the Orientals know anything, they know that full well; and therein lies our safeguard. To pick a quarrel with Australia would be to quarrel with half the world. What would that mean to those who began the conflict?

The new life in the East will be used for purposes other than making raids on outside countries, unless driven to it. Japan and China have their hands full looking after internal affairs, if they wish to take a place amongst the great Powers of the world. They will take care to protect themselves and look after their own interests. In the past they could not do that, and they suffered accordingly. They were coerced in a manner that goaded them to desperation, ending in attempts to drive the encroaching foreigner from their midst. They have been bullied, insulted, and kicked, like a football! But that is now ended; the child is growing into the man of robust mind and self-respecting spirit. Our business is to help him in every possible way, especially along the lines

that make for righteousness. Our safety lies, not in ships of war, or the rifle, or political treaties; but in those things that touch the soul and bring out peace and goodwill. When once the Christian spirit enters the national life and dominates it, we are farthest removed from war. The Gospel of Jesus Christ will bind the nations in golden chains, taking out the beast spirit, and placing in the breast the heart of love.

PART III

HISTORICAL

CHAPTER I

NEW SOUTH WALES

By JAMES COLWELL, F.R.Hist.S.

Sydney

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

A study of origins—Stages—An appeal—The Rocks—The first Society —Scott—Hosking—Eagar—Bowden—Morals—Church and State —Early chaplains — Marsden — The Imperial vision—Leigh— Lawry—Developments—Sydney asylum—Erskine—A night of gloom—Orton—McKenny—Boyce — First Conference — Young— Activity—New churches—Jubilee—Visitors—Separate Conferences —Methodist Conference—Funds—Foreign and Home Missions— Education — Commemorations — Book Room—*The Methodist*— Printing Concern—Sunday schools—The future?

CHAPTER I

NEW SOUTH WALES

The Methodism of Australia supplies an interesting chapter in the study of origins. To understand the position of the Church in New South Wales a glance at these origins, even though it be but brief, is necessary. When contrasted with Victoria and New Zealand, for example, the New South Wales type shows an element of conservatism not apparent elsewhere. Its position numerically has sometimes provoked unfavourable criticism. But it will be seen as this chapter proceeds, that the genesis of Methodism in New South Wales was surrounded by the greatest difficulties. The wonder is not that it grew so slowly, but that it grew at all! It is a tribute to its vigour and power of adaptation. Planted in a convict settlement, it was only tolerated by the leniency of the Governor at a time when it would have been easy to come into open conflict with the Anglican chaplains, who were supreme in religious matters, but who also, at that stage, were tolerant and sympathetic. In Victoria and South Australia, Methodism was not so handicapped. The gold discoveries in Victoria drew the young, the vigorous, and the enterprising in large numbers, amongst whom were many Cornish Methodists, who brought their traditions and their religious convictions with them, and infused a stream of warm, rich blood into an otherwise sluggish current. The pulse beats stronger to-day because of that mixture. As Dr. Burgess points out elsewhere, South Australia was founded and planned by Christian statesmen. These facts influenced the Methodism of the various States to an extent not always realized. New South Wales was the Mother State from which

the Methodism of every other State struck root, and from which, in the early stages, it was administered. The foreign mission work is still administered by the New South Wales Conference, assisted by a committee representing all the States.

One other preliminary remark may be made. It will assist to a better understanding if the natural divisions into which the work falls are followed. From the initial year 1812 to the year 1855, when self-government was first granted, covers six stages. From 1855 to the present there have been four Conferences: (1) the Australasian Conference; (2) the New South Wales and Queensland Conference; (3) the New South Wales Conference, and now (4) the Methodist Conference, representing the united church after the consummation of Methodist Union.

The first stage opens with a plea marked by true eloquence and pathos: 'Send a faithful servant of the Lord to us; surely there are many willing, yea, desirous to succour the disciples of our common Lord, to proclaim His salvation to perishing sinners, even in this distant land. Find out one such, and send him among us. Deny us not; our hearts, our expectations are turned to you. Our hope is from you: disappoint us not. We call upon you in our own behalf; leave us not forsaken in this benighted land. We call upon you in behalf of our children; let not them be left to perish for lack of instruction. We call upon you in behalf of those who have neither opportunity nor inclination to speak for themselves, perishing, dying sinners; leave them not in their blood. We call upon you in the name of the outcasts of society, sent and daily sending thither. Administer to them that Word of Life, which may make their exile a blessing. Send us that gospel which you have received from the Lord to preach to every creature. Send among us one of yourselves, and we, and a seed of the Lord, shall rise to bless you.'

From whence came this Macedonian cry? In the early

part of the year 1812, probably in the month of February, a little company gathered in the house of Thomas Bowden, in the locality known as the Rocks, above the King's wharf. The house looked down on the blue waters of Sydney Cove, with the Tank Stream sluggishly discharging its tiny stream of fresh water into the bay where Phillip cast anchor January 26, 1788, and founded the colony of New South Wales. On the opposite side of the bay was the Governor's residence with the attendant signs of official life. The house stood in the midst of a strange company: convicts, ticket-of-leave men, soldiers and officials, with here and there a free man drawn mysteriously to make his home in this land of exile. This company had gathered for fellowship and prayer; and having formed itself into a society, authorized two of its number, Thomas Bowden and John Hosking, to write to the Wesleyan Missionary Committee asking for the appointment of a missionary. The words quoted are part of that appeal. Thus the year 1812 is memorable; for it was on March 6, 1812, that Methodism was founded in the South Pacific.

Let us take a glance at this society, that we may see what manner of men stood at the springs of the church. The first to arrive in the settlement was James Scott, a sergeant in Captain Campbell's company—the 108th—which did service in New South Wales between July 1 and September 30, 1788. Scott had been a soldier in the West Indies, where he was converted and joined the Wesleyan Church. While in New South Wales with his company, he so distinguished himself by his probity that he merited the good opinion of the Governor; who, on his retirement from the army, appointed him clerk in the commissariat department, where he again won promotion. On the arrival of the first missionary, Scott opened his house for week-night services. Buying property in Prince's Street, he sold one house to the Missionary Society for £300, retaining the other for his own use. Scott's patriotism was of the best type.

First, a soldier of the King, he developed into a valiant soldier of the Cross. He laid the foundation-stone of the first chapel in Sydney, built at a cost of 500 guineas, himself bearing the whole expense. This chapel he presented to the Missionary Society for its exclusive use. Here ' Daddy Scott,' as he was affectionately termed in later life, worshipped for many years. Returning from a preaching appointment, Sunday, December 9, 1832, he was thrown from his horse and died in three hours. He was buried by the Rev. Joseph Orton, who had recently arrived in the colony.

John Hosking comes next in point of time. Hosking arrived in the settlement as a free man in or about the year 1809, to take charge of the Girls' Orphan School. He had been master of a Wesleyan day school in England. Soon after his arrival he joined with Messrs. Davies, Crook, and Wilson in an effort to form a church on the Congregational plan. These agents of the London Missionary Society, driven from their stations in Tahiti and the Marquesas, found a domicile in New South Wales. Their first meeting, held in Crook's schoolhouse at the corner of Bligh and Hunter streets, August 27, 1810, was opened by Hosking with singing and prayer. But the proposal was frowned down by Samuel Marsden, the chaplain, who objected to Crook administering holy communion. Crook had been a lay agent only, and Marsden resented this assumption of the ministerial office. Hosking was not an enthusiastic Methodist, and the part he played in subsequent years was unimportant. It is worthy of note, however, that his son became the first mayor of Sydney.

Edward Eagar, an Irishman by birth, and a solicitor by profession, had committed embezzlement, a crime which then carried the death penalty. Extenuating circumstances coming to light, the sentence was commuted to transportation, and Eagar soon found himself on the way to Botany Bay. During his imprisonment in Ireland he was visited by Methodists, through whose guidance he obtained peace with

God. On arrival in this land he subsequently found his way to Windsor; where, on the expiration of his sentence, he taught school during the week, read the liturgy, preached on the Sabbath and joined the Sydney Methodists in fellowship as opportunity offered. Eagar afterwards entered into business in O'Connell Street, Sydney, with success; and being sent to England in 1821 to plead the cause of the emancipists, who suffered certain disabilities, he did not return. But Methodism will always owe a debt to Edward Eagar, for he helped the struggling mission financially and in other ways, in the days of its infancy, and when it most needed help.

Thomas Bowden, the moving spirit in this company, arrived in the settlement January 28, 1812. A west country man by birth, he had been master of Great Queen Street charity schools. He was also a class-leader in the London East circuit. Bowden's fixity of character came from his progenitors, for he could trace his connexion with Bishop Lavington, Methodism's abusive critic, with James Turner of pious memory, and with Shrapnel, an ancestor of the inventor of the famous Shrapnel shell. Bowden organized, and remained in charge of, the Boys' Orphan School for some years; when he retired into private life, and died at the residence of his son-in-law at Singleton, September 1834, at the age of fifty-six.

These four pioneers were joined later by others of like mind, Messrs. Lees, Norman, Forbes, Hynes, Josephson, Hargraves, Hughes and Hunt being amongst the number. By far the most picturesque figure in this group was John Lees, the Castlereagh farmer. Lees was a brand plucked from the burning. Forgiven greatly, he greatly loved. Arriving as a private in the notorious New South Wales corps, he was contaminated by the corrupt lives of those in command. On his retirement from the army he could claim a grant of land or return to England. He selected land at Castlereagh, where he made his home, and where he also erected a small chapel

of rough slabs at his own expense, if not with his own hands. This chapel Lees presented to the mission. The gift was but the precursor of many other generous deeds in which he took great delight—a joy shared by his good wife, Mary. When on his way to Bathurst in 1832, the Rev. Joseph Orton turned aside to visit Lees. He found his body crippled with rheumatism, his mind clouded by doubt. The little chapel did duty as a village school, where an inefficient master sought to impart to a few unruly boys the rudiments of knowledge. Lees' grave may be seen in the Castlereagh cemetery.

These, then, were the men who laid the foundations of the church in Australasia. Bowden and Hosking in Sydney, and Eagar in Windsor, gathered whom they could into class-meetings, the first class-meeting being held at Sydney, March 6, 1812, and the first lovefeast of the three united societies on April 3, 1812. It was at one of these gatherings that the society authorized Bowden and Hosking to write the appeal for a missionary. Scott and Lees, out of their generosity, provided Methodist chapels. Bowden pressed for the appointment of a missionary. Their united efforts gave Methodism a name and a place in the southern world.

The soul of this infant society was moved with divine pity. What saw they in the land of their adoption? They saw, to use their own words, a population numbering 20,000, more than half in Sydney, which sat in darkness and the shadow of death. They saw sin with its mournful handmaid, misery, overflowing the land as a deluge. They saw the higher ranks of those who were formerly convicts, occupied in amassing wealth, often by unholy means, or in rioting and sensuality. They saw the lower orders, 'the filth and offscouring of the earth,' indulging in vicious inclinations without a blush. Drunkenness, adultery, Sabbath desecration and blasphemy, ran riot; and all ties of moral order and decency were not simply relaxed, they were wellnigh extinct. Some of the military authorities openly flaunted their depravity and lived

in concubinage, selecting the most prepossessing females from amongst the convicts as they arrived. They saw New South Wales made the dumping ground for the refuse of British jails, thrown there to develop an atmosphere which bid fair to outrival that of Sodom and Gomorrah. They saw this and much more, and the sight wrung their hearts with pity, which found voice in their appeal for a missionary.

But did no other eye see, and no other heart pity? What of the system whose primary aim was to rehabilitate and reform the fallen? And what of the Imperial authorities and their responsibility in providing spiritual oversight? What of the Anglican Church and its opportunities through its official connexion with the State? The State, as such, did little; for it thought that little could be done. Viscount Sydney, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, ridiculed any attempt to reform criminals by the power of the gospel, and his attitude represented that of many other statesmen and not a few clerics in high office. The Governor was too fully occupied with more pressing needs. Phillip's ingenuity was so severely taxed in feeding the bodies of his many dependents that he could spare little time to feed their souls. His successors, Hunter and King, did what they could. But Hunter was a sailor, and the smell of the sea held him fast. Acting under instructions, King set apart land for church and school purposes. But primitive bush, covered with giant gum-trees, could not yield much in the absence of labour to make it productive. Macquarie, the next Governor, was friendly and sympathetic, notwithstanding the fact that he and Marsden, the second chaplain, did not always agree. And the 'system' so-called, in the light of modern methods, must be termed barbaric. The gallows and the whip were the primary instruments of reform, and the sound of the lash was heard throughout the land, crushing as it fell the aspirations of the hopeful or torturing the seasoned criminal into maddened rage. Thus England blundered as she blunders still. But it is a tribute to her wonderful power

that in spite of her blunders, she succeeds in her work of colonization.

It is impossible here to withhold the tribute due to the early chaplains. Richard Johnson, who accompanied the first fleet, and who preached the first sermon on January 27, 1788, was a good man, the possessor of a meek and patient spirit, which was sorely tried during his twelve years' residence. For seven years he preached under the shade of a friendly gum-tree until his wattle-and-daub church, built largely by his own effort and entirely at his own expense, though the amount was afterwards refunded, was erected. The convicts showed their appreciation of his labours by putting a fire-stick into the church, and it soon disappeared. But he persevered and finally triumphed; living the life of a true missionary, who by pen and voice and godly example exemplified the spirit of his Master. Samuel Marsden, the second chaplain, was cast in sturdier mould. The son of Methodist parents at Horsforth near Leeds, he prepared for holy orders at Cambridge. Strong and self-reliant, Marsden possessed a sturdy independence which soon made itself felt. What he thought, he expressed; what he expressed that he adhered to; and the critics were soon busy. Sydney Smith described him as 'a little, merry, bustling clergyman, largely concerned in the sale of rum and brisk at a bargain for barley.' Such a sneer is cheap, and devoid of clear vision. While Sydney Smith sat in his chair, coining phrases and seeking admiration for his witticisms, Marsden was doing the spade-work of empire building, working with his coat off. Which is the easier and which of greater value, the reader may decide.

The transgressors on their way to the courts of justice, with visions of Marsden as the administrator, were said to have prayed: 'Lord, have mercy on us, for his reverence has none!' Perhaps not. But there are times when the iron hand is necessary, and when a flabby, timid justice brings chaos instead of order. In his administration of justice, his

efforts in agricultural and pastoral development, and his work as a clergyman, Marsden influenced life at many points. He was the friend of every good cause, and to his sheltering influence early Methodism owes a lasting debt. Cowper and Cartwright, two other Anglican chaplains, did excellent work, though on different lines to that of Marsden. Great assistance to the cause of religion was also rendered by agents of the London Missionary Society; who, forced to leave their stations in the South Sea Islands, settled in New South Wales. But notwithstanding this, the early Methodists wanted a missionary connected with their own Church.

Their appeal fell on sympathetic ears. Already Methodism had caught the Imperial vision. Wesley's utterance: 'The world is my parish,' was the expression of that Imperial thought. But Wesley could not give effect to this vision because of the crying needs at his own door. He was too busy saving England from the prospect of revolution to give much heed to other lands. Thomas Coke also had this world-wide vision; for in the spirit of Xavier he was continually crying: 'Wider, further!' He imbued his associates with the same passion, so that when this appeal reached the Conference of 1814, assembled at Bristol, it touched a responsive chord. Samuel Leigh had been set down for Montreal; but the strained feeling then existing made it inadvisable to send him there. He was forthwith dispatched to New South Wales. Thus early, Methodism set herself to noble music; and having resolved on the conquest of America, Canada, and India, turned to take possession of a new world.

The landing of Leigh in Sydney on August 10, 1815, introduces the second stage. Leigh was a Staffordshire man, born at Milton in 1785. Attendance at village services conducted by the Wesleyans led to his conversion. Commencing as a lay preacher in connexion with the Independent church at Hanley, he afterwards attended a theological school conducted by Dr. Bogue; where, owing to diversity of views in matters

of theology he remained a short time only. He then joined the Wesleyan church at Portsmouth and became assistant to the Rev. Joseph Sutcliffe, M.A. Here Dr. Coke, on his way to Ceylon, met him; and the interview fired his heart. Previously he had laboured successfully in the Shaftesbury Circuit for two years. In surrendering him to mission work, his mother said: 'Always obey those who are over you, and you will generally be right. The will of the Lord be done!' Appearing before the Lord Mayor of London on September 30, 1814, and being ordained on October 3, the same year, he left Portsmouth on February 28 on board the *Hebe* to join the East and West Indian fleets. Though protected by the government, Leigh was not dependent on it for financial support. During the voyage he preached regularly, taught the children, instructed the sailors, and so commended himself by his exemplary conduct that the captain declared that no other voyage during his thirty years had yielded him so much satisfaction.

Leigh immediately gave attention to official claims, calling on Governor Macquarie the next morning accompanied by Edward Eagar. Having explained his mission to the Governor, Macquarie replied: 'If those be your objects they are certainly of the first importance, and if you will endeavour to compass them by the means you have now specified, I cannot but wish you all the success you can reasonably expect or desire.' He was also most warmly welcomed by the chaplains, Messrs. Marsden, Cowper, Cartwright and Fulton, upon whom he made an official call. The society next claimed his attention. He found that Satan had entered, scattering the feeble few. But they were soon gathered, and the church was organized with stewards, leaders and a Quarterly Meeting, Eagar being the first circuit steward. The house in which they met, and for which they paid £15 per annum, was often filled, though it could accommodate 200 persons. Services were held on the Sabbath at 6 a.m. and 6 p.m.; for Leigh thought it impolitic to clash with the

Anglican services, a practice which the missionaries who came immediately after did not see fit to adopt. The Sunday school was also re-organized and made efficient.

Having thus set the machinery of the church in smooth running order, Leigh turned his attention to the country, making his first visit to Castlereagh, the home of John Lees the farmer, where he was received with great warmth. He found the family engaged in prayer; and feeling ran so high that John Lees exclaimed: 'We have seen strange things to-day!' Parramatta, the second place of importance in the colony with a Governor's residence, was next visited. Welcomed by Marsden, Leigh preached, first in a cottage, and afterwards in the government schoolroom. Conversions followed, the most memorable being that of James Watsford, whose son John became a successful evangelist and missionary, and the associate of John Hunt in Fiji. He was the first Australian-born native to enter the ministry. Windsor, on the Hawkesbury River, where the Governor had another residence, received the next call. In an out-house Leigh preached to those who would listen; then following the course of the famous river he reached Ebenezer Mount, calling at Wilberforce on his return. At Ebenezer a few free emigrants had settled, building a church, employing Mr. J. Youl as schoolmaster, and founding a society for 'Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Education of Youth.' To these settlers Leigh preached with great acceptance. Richmond, Castlereagh and Liverpool were also included in this itinerary. 'My circuit,' he reported on his return to Sydney, 'extends 150 miles, which distance I travel in ten days. I preach at fifteen places; and in every place there appears to be a desire to hear the word of God. All that I can do is to preach once in three weeks at each place.' Leigh's hardships were many, and his dangers not a few. But he met them all like a good soldier, for he was a true missionary. His love was always at white heat, burning with a fierceness which eventually consumed him. The record of

his journeys reads like a romance. 'I have gone,' he once wrote, 'through rough troops of savages in safety. Blessed be the name of the Lord!'

His earnest appeals to the missionary committee for assistance were answered by the appointment of another missionary, Walter Lawry, who reached Sydney, May 2, 1818. A Cornishman by birth, Lawry entered the ministry in 1817, and was immediately appointed to New South Wales. Working for two years with Leigh, he afterwards took charge of Parramatta when it became a circuit, where he remained until his appointment to Tonga in 1822. He organized the first society, instituted the first Sunday school, and erected the first chapel. Lawry was all that Leigh could desire in a colleague; and what Lawry thought of Leigh may be gathered from the following: 'In commencing this mission,' he wrote, 'he has not only been alone, like a sparrow upon the house-top, but has endured calumny and opposition from those from whom he expected assistance. His patient soul endured all in quietness, and the effect of his labours will be seen after many days.' Lawry's character may be judged from this one remark: 'We are agreed to live on two meals a day, if we may have another missionary and a printing-press.'

The developments during these four years were so hopeful that Leigh might well express his gratitude as he recorded them. The few members had increased to eighty-three; the Sunday school scholars had risen to a hundred; the Sabbath services were now held at nine in the morning and seven in the evening, when from two to three hundred people attended; and meetings for fellowship and prayer were held nearly every night in the week. But in the matter of church building the progress was still more cheering. Prince's Street chapel in Sydney, built of stone, and measuring 21 by 30 feet, was opened on March 17, 1819, when Leigh preached in the cottage in the morning and Lawry in the new chapel in the evening. This chapel, given by Sergeant James Scott, was the first chapel built in Sydney, and its deed eventually

became the model deed of church property in New South Wales. The foundation-stone of a chapel in Macquarie Street was next laid by Leigh on January 1, 1829. The site was given by the Governor and Mr. Thomas Wylde, and the chapel, built of stone, was 50 feet by 30. It was not ready for service until 1821, when on July 1 the Revs. Benjamin Carvosso and Ralph Mansfield preached to large congregations. September 13, 1818, was the day chosen by Leigh to lay the foundation-stone of a chapel at Windsor. This brick building, 32 feet by 16, was opened the following year, and created no small stir in the community. Samuel Marsden generously gave the site. But to Castlereagh belongs the honour of possessing the first Methodist chapel in the southern hemisphere. John Lees, the converted soldier, erected this weather-board building, measuring 28 feet by 14. Leigh opened it on October 7, 1817, his text being: 'The Lord hath done great things for us; whereof we are glad.' There was no mistaking this structure as a place of worship, for Lees had the words 'Methodist Chapel' painted on the door, and underneath he placed this passage: 'Prepare to meet thy God.' An unknown because unnamed friend also built a wooden chapel at Nepean River at his own expense.

Encouraged by these developments, Leigh pushed further afield. Having received a pleading letter from a godly soldier stationed at Newcastle, he paid two visits to this penal settlement. During his second visit he preached to a congregation of 800 persons who were without ministerial oversight. The indifferent state of Leigh's health led Marsden to suggest a trip to New Zealand. 'I am sending over a ship,' said Marsden, 'with stores for my lay settlers. I will give you a free passage, and make such arrangements as shall secure every comfort at sea, and your personal comfort while you remain in New Zealand.' The trip was made; and to that trip the origin of Methodism in New Zealand is due; for Leigh afterwards became the pioneer missionary to that land. At the same time Lawry was pleading for Tonga and the

islands of the sea. He would go to Tonga and Leigh to New Zealand, if the missionary committee would agree, and would also send more missionaries to New South Wales. 'The Derwent,' Leigh told the committee, 'was a place where the gospel is much wanted.' By the Derwent he meant Van Dieman's Land.

Some present-day movements from which New South Wales has greatly benefited must be traced to Leigh's influence. Two of his church members, a soldier and an emancipist, in their work as district visitors, were so deeply impressed by the condition of the poor that they laid the matter before the society, with the result that a committee was formed, the Rev. William Cartwright, one of the chaplains, offering to become a member. A society, to be known as the New South Wales Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Benevolence, was formed, with John Hosking as treasurer, the books being open to inspection at Mr. Eagar's store in O'Connell Street. By the generosity of Mr. Jones, 'a wealthy merchant,' and Governor Macquarie, a generous friend, this movement developed into an institution capable of accommodating fifty individuals, and known as the Sydney Asylum for the Poor. It eventually became the property of the Government. Much has recently been written of this institution and its beneficent work, and much was said of those who laboured in its interests. But no mention was made of the men who conceived the idea, and who helped to lay the foundations of the Sydney Benevolent Institution.

These visitors, while on their rounds, made other discoveries. Accompanied by a military officer, Leigh made a canvass of Sydney to find that there was but one Bible to every ten families. This fact being placed before Lady Macquarie, she was so deeply moved that the outcome was a public meeting in the Court Room, Sydney, on March 7, 1820, when a branch of the Bible Society was formed. Leigh and the Governor's aide-de-camp were the collectors, and

Thomas Bowden was the secretary, an office filled with the highest satisfaction, so the *Sydney Gazette* thought. The Tract Society was also formed in 1823, though its origin must be traced to Leigh's time, for he had employed five soldiers and three reformed convicts to distribute tracts. With such fidelity did they do their work that the utility of the society soon became apparent. Leigh gratefully records that he was much indebted to the following gentlemen for the assistance they had given in the work of the mission: Thomas Moore of Liverpool, J. Forbes, James Scott and Edward Eagar of Sydney; and Messrs Knight, Harper, Hughes, White, and John Lees.

Leigh's departure introduces the third stage in the history of the mission. This stage was a night of gloom, when the mission was nearly wrecked through mismanagement and misunderstanding. To continue the work so well begun and so full of promise, the Revs. Benjamin Carvosso, Ralph Mansfield, William Walker, William Horton, and George Erskine were appointed to the mission. Carvosso was a son of that eminent man William Carvosso, the Cornish revivalist, many of whose qualities the son possessed in a marked degree. Reaching Sydney May 18, 1820, he spent ten successful years in the mission, going first to Windsor, then to Sydney and Hobart Town. Mansfield, who arrived September 24, 1820, and who spent his time in New South Wales, retired from the ministry, though not from the church, becoming editor of the *New South Wales Magazine* and the *Sydney Gazette*. He also kept a large book store, and inaugurated the Sydney gas works. An eloquent preacher and possessing a literary gift, his retirement was a loss to the mission. George Erskine sailed with Coke to commence a mission in Ceylon. His health giving way, he was appointed to New South Wales, landing on November 4, 1822. He was the first General Superintendent of the mission. After a trying and most disappointing term of service he retired

to Erskineville, where he built a home, and died in the year 1834 in the presence of the Rev. Joseph Orton, who succeeded him. William Walker was appointed missionary to the aborigines. He was a most excellent preacher and a man of parts; but unfortunately he found it necessary to resign, though he resided in New South Wales for many years. William Horton's thoughts were first turned to Australia by Samuel Leigh, who visited Louth, Horton's birth-place. Accompanying Leigh to Australia he was stationed at Hobart, Windsor, and Sydney. He returned to England in February 1829, travelled in several English circuits till 1852, when he became a supernumerary and died in 1867.

The missionary committee now thought that the time had arrived for the formation of New South Wales and Polynesia into a mission district with an official head. The Conference of 1825 appointed George Erskine, who had acted as General Superintendent since 1821, as the first chairman. The first District Meeting was held in Prince's Street Chapel, with William Horton as financial secretary and Ralph Mansfield as corresponding secretary. These positions involved much work and responsibility. The members of the District Meeting soon set to work. They instituted services and administered sacraments during the hours of worship in the Anglican church. Leigh was so strongly opposed to this departure that he felt it necessary to report the matter to the missionary committee. The committee censured the missionaries who had deviated from their instructions by the introduction of the sacrament and service during church hours.

The missionaries next proceeded to increase their allowances and to raise their salaries without consulting the missionary committee. Their excuse for this irregularity was found, they said, in the dearness of provisions. Against this the committee most strongly protested. If persisted in, said the secretary, we are ruined. But the protest went unheeded. A vessel was chartered at a cost of £250 for the purpose of taking a missionary to Tonga with an outfit and a full year's

supplies; the sum of £1,000 was borrowed with which to pay the debt on Macquarie Street Chapel, and the missionary committee was made responsible for that amount, without its knowledge or consent. Charges of one kind and another were piled up at such an alarming rate, that the bills drawn for six months expenditure came to £2,606, or at the rate of £5,212 per annum. The committee eventually ended the financial difficulty by dishonouring the bills, thus making those who had borrowed the money personally responsible for its repayment. The financial irregularity, however, was not the only one, nor was it the most serious. The missionaries, on their own responsibility, accepted Mr. Weiss as a candidate for the ministry. He was a married man whom they appointed to Tonga, a district over which they had no legal control, as it was then under the jurisdiction of New Zealand. On arrival at Tonga, Mr. Weiss was induced by the resident missionaries not to land, and he returned to Sydney. The District Meeting also accepted another candidate. He too was married, was twenty-nine years of age, and had three children! But most serious of all, he did not believe in the doctrine of the Eternal Sonship. Now, the Conference had recently made clear two important points. It had decided not to accept candidates who were married, and it insisted that no candidate should be received who denied 'the Divine and Eternal Sonship of Christ.' The gathering storm now burst. The District Meeting was severely censured, and Erskine, Mansfield, and Horton were recalled. Erskine was too ill to set sail, Mansfield had no mind to obey, and Horton returned before the time named by the committee for his recall. When he stated his case he was expelled, and re-admitted at the same Conference. This finalized matters, but at what a cost! The mission, once so promising, was now a byword. It was the only mission, said the secretary, Richard Watson, that had been a disgrace to them!

The atmosphere developed by these cross purposes was not conducive to growth, either spiritual or material, and the

record of work accomplished is insignificant. A few movements must, however, be noted. Mr. Carvosso made an attempt to establish a Floating Chapel. Subscriptions were sought, rules drawn up, a committee of management appointed, and the Rev. George Erskine preached an official sermon from the words: 'Prepare to meet thy God.' But the committee had nothing to manage, and the preparation was confined to that advocated by Mr. Erskine. A more important and a more permanent movement was the inauguration of a branch missionary society, in which Samuel Leigh was the moving spirit. This first missionary meeting was held in Macquarie Street Chapel, October 1, 1821. It was a memorable meeting: memorable for its attendance of 'gentlemen of distinction' and for the liberality shown. John Lees made a remarkable speech, which greatly affected the audience. An attempt appears also to have been made to form the four Sabbath schools in Sydney into a Sunday-school union. In the year 1825 this union recommended the District Meeting to establish a day school, as the children who attended the free day school during the week were required to attend the Anglican Sabbath schools. To Mansfield, Carvosso, and Lawry belongs the honour of publishing and editing *The Australian Magazine,* which appeared in 1821. It was the first magazine published in Australia. Parramatta Chapel was also erected during this period, the opening ceremony taking place on Good Friday, 1821. Macquarie gave the land. Part of the original chapel stands to-day.

This, then, was the record; and it appeared to the missionary committee to be so utterly inadequate to the number of men employed and the large amount of money expended that the committee threatened to abandon the mission. Earnest laymen, however, remained loyal, hoping for the dawn of a brighter day: Robert Howe, George Allen, John Stephens, James Cobb, Thomas Hyndes, William Chapman, John Ennis, Reuben Uther, George Smith, John Weiss, Lancelot

Iredale, Edward Smith Hall, and John Street, in addition to the laymen previously referred to, continued to do what opportunity permitted, and they were there to welcome the Rev. Joseph Orton when he took charge of the Australian district as its second Superintendent.

With Joseph Orton's name must be associated the fourth period. Orton arrived in Sydney, December 1831, having spent some years in Jamaica as a missionary, where he was imprisoned for six months for preaching to the slaves after sunset. In selecting Mr. Orton for the office of Superintendent the committee made a wise choice. 'My duty to the cause of God and to the committee is paramount,' he wrote, 'to any mere private feelings of kindness or apparent charity.' And Nathaniel Turner bears testimony to the wisdom of Mr. Orton, shown during the disclosures made in character and discipline. Loyalty, purity, duty, were his watchwords. In the pursuit of these ideals, notwithstanding his pity and tenderness, he was called upon to suffer. But as he who pursues right with steady purpose will not suffer long, so Joseph Orton came to his own, and his memory to-day is blessed.

Mr. Orton's first official duty was to meet the missionaries at the District Meeting held in Prince's Street Chapel, January 19, when George Erskine, Nathaniel Turner, William Simpson and John A. Manton were present, the two latter having recently arrived in the colony. The questions which had previously caused friction demanded prior attention. As Mr. Erskine was unable to make the trip to England, the District Meeting recommended that he be made a supernumerary. The selection of candidates for the ministry received consideration. Matthew Lassetter, a married man with four children, and Thomas Wellard were recommended to the committee as suitable candidates; but the committee did not sustain the recommendations. John Leach, who was employed as a hired local preacher at the rate of £50 per

annum, was also recommended, and also rejected. The question of allowances was handled with great care. Increases were suggested, but the missionaries safeguarded themselves by adding, 'They will not presume to make any additional charge until they receive the sanction of the committee.' The sanction was received, and the suppliants were granted practically all that their predecessors took without asking. Discipline was also administered without fear or partiality, and the spiritual temple was cleansed. Of the conduct of one, formerly a missionary, the District Meeting felt it 'incumbent to express their most decided disapprobation . . . in thus secularizing and abandoning the important work of the ministry.' His conduct had wrought much harm in the locality where he was stationed.

This fearless loyalty to duty soon wrought a change, and the mission which had been pronounced a disgrace once more inspired hope. The membership had not largely increased owing to removals and the cutting off of several 'merely nominal members.' But they had the happy assurance of 'an increase of piety, unity, and stability throughout the societies,' and they had even more than that. While conducting a love-feast in Prince's Street Chapel, Mr. Orton felt the presence of God to be so overpowering that he could not proceed. He called for penitents, and they came; the meeting continued until past midnight, and there was a 'most powerful manifestation of the presence of God.' There was much affection among the preachers, and 'many refreshing seasons from the presence of the Master of Assemblies.' Sunday-school work advanced, and on Whit Monday, 1834, the Sunday-school Union was reorganized, Mr. George Allen being the prime mover. The Stranger's Friend Society was formed, and the Tract Society revived. Methodism, which, said Mr. Orton, had received such a stab, was rising in public estimation, the congregations had greatly improved, and there was perfect harmony among the members.

Advance was shown along other lines. Mr. Orton found

that scarcely any of the properties were secured according to Conference plan. A special Act of Parliament was sought, making the titles valid. The society at Hobart Town appealed for a division of the district with Van Dieman's Land as a separate and independent district, and in 1835 the committee authorized the separation. Mr. Orton also pleaded the cause of the neglected aborigine, in addition to paying visits to Bathurst and the Hunter River. He set out for Bathurst on his first visit Monday, October 29, 1832, where he met Captain and Mrs. Raine, Mr. Lane, Mr. William Tom, Mr. John Glasson, and Mr. George Hawke. Two other visits were made, and on each occasion he visited and preached in several homes. At West Maitland Methodism had been introduced by Jeremiah Ledsam, Vincent G. Williams, George Denshire and James Bicknell in the year 1837. Mr. Orton visited this district, accompanied by his friend Lancelot Iredale, preaching at Morpeth and West Maitland.

On relinquishing his charge as chairman of the Sydney District, Mr. Orton said: 'When I arrived I was aware that I was entering a scene . . . which would be extremely difficult. . . . After labouring more than four years I had the gratification to see the society trebled, and with great reluctance left a most loving people.' In retiring from his position as General Superintendent he wrote: 'In giving up my charge, the breaking up of the connexion, which had so long and happily subsisted among us, was one of the severest trials which I have been called to endure.' He set sail on March 2, 1842, making the last entry in his journal April 4. When rounding Cape Horn he passed within the veil, his farewell being: 'All is well; all is well!' At a memorial service held at Geelong, December 18, 1842, Mr. Dredge gave expression to the general feeling when he said: 'There can be little question that to his judicious, prompt, and indefatigable labours, and to those of his coadjutors under his direction, is to be attributed much of the stability which

the cause has assumed, as well as the widespreading prosperity which still crowns these missions.'

The Rev. John McKenny, who succeeded Mr. Orton, was cast in similar mould to his predecessor. He, too, had passed through the fierce fires of persecution. Born at Coleraine in 1788, he was selected by Dr. Coke in 1813 as one of his famous band to carry the gospel to India and South Africa. While at Cape Town the colonial government refused to allow him to preach in public. But in hiding-places underground he spoke to a chosen band of converts. The year 1816 saw him in Ceylon, where he laboured for twenty years, eventually reaching the New South Wales Mission in 1835. His companions on the journey were the Revs. William A. Brookes, John Spinney, Daniel Draper, Matthew Wilson, and Frederick Lewis. Draper's work is referred to elsewhere. Lewis, full of Welsh fervour and zeal, left a great record behind him as a soul winner during his short stay. The other missionaries also did good work.

McKenny's superintendency was marked by steady progress and consolidation. Under his guidance the District Meeting gave attention to the renovation of the properties. Prince's Street Chapel was lengthened and repaired, and extensive additions were made to Macquarie Street Chapel in 1837. The model deed was also registered in the Supreme Court, and efforts were made to secure a Church Act placing the Methodist Church on the same equality as other denominations in whose favour an alteration had already been made. The procedure at marriage ceremonies was also defined. The fee was fixed at ten shillings, and the ceremony was to be performed in the chapel. James Dredge, associated with the protection of the aborigines in Victoria, was accepted for the ministry by the District Meeting of 1840; Francis Glass, Thomas McClelland, and William Lightbody also appeared as candidates. But the candidate whose name was to become a household word was John Watsford of Parramatta, the first

native-born youth to enter the ministry. Watsford was recommended by the District Meeting of 1841.

As an Irishman McKenny was sensitive to any encroachment on religious liberty. 'Shall Australia be a Protestant or a Popish colony?' was the question put to the missionary committee in 1838. The Government, through the Church Act, offered the sum of £150 towards the outfit and passage of clergymen belonging to the Anglican, Roman Catholic, or Presbyterian Churches, and advantage was being taken of this provision. 'Within the last six months no less a number than twelve Romish priests have arrived.' As the Methodist chapels were not placed under the Church Act, Mr. McKenny was helpless unless the missionary committee afforded relief. 'If ever country had claim upon missionary enterprise it is New South Wales. We want men.' This was the cry of the District Meeting of 1839. Not less than ten men were required, as there existed a 'feeling of goodwill towards the Wesleyans throughout the colony.' Fortunately men were forthcoming, and James Watkin, William Schofield, Samuel Wilkinson, Henry H. Gaud, F. Sweetman, and Jonathan Innes arrived. The names of Watkin, Wilkinson, Schofield, and Gaud are intimately associated with New South Wales Methodism, in an association of the most honourable and happy character.

The outstanding feature of Mr. McKenny's régime was the building of the Centenary Chapel in York Street, Sydney. As Macquarie Street Chapel was not central, it was sold to Mr. Lancelot Iredale for £3,000. The site is now owned by Dr. Russell Nolan, son of that saintly minister, the Rev. James A. Nolan. And Prince's Street Chapel being too small, a site was purchased from Mr. William Hutchinson, plans being prepared gratuitously by Mr. Joseph Atwood. Great difficulty was experienced with the builders through advances in material and wages. The foundation-stones were laid February 26, 1840, and the official sermon was preached by the Rev. Walter Lawry, then on a visit to the colony.

The press spoke of the chapel as one of those few buildings which the Wesleyans particularly and the citizens generally had reason to be proud. The same authority stated that there were ten chapels in the city and suburbs, all well attended. The population was then 50,000, and the Sydney circuit included Sydney, Toxteth, Waverley, Newtown, Botany, Ashfield, Lane Cove, Pyrmont, and Balmain, with seven missionaries in the entire colony. The Centenary festivities were observed Monday, October 14, 1839. Special sermons were preached, and a great gathering of school children took place.

Methodism was now making rapid progress. Many chapels were built and other preaching-places opened. The Hunter River, Bathurst, and Goulburn districts and many places near Sydney were claiming and receiving attention. The missionaries were loyally supported by the laymen, who, in the country, were the pioneers of Methodism, and many names now honourably known came into prominence at this stage.

Mr. McKenny was followed by the Rev. William Binnington Boyce, who was General Superintendent of the Australasian mission for ten years. Mr. Boyce, who was a remarkable man, loomed large in the public affairs of the colony, being one of the sixteen original members of Sydney University Senate, incorporated in 1850. He had been intimately associated with the Rev. William Shaw in South Africa. His piety was like a fruitful vine, twined round an intellect like an English oak. 'Much of his work is now buried, but it is the burial of the foundations on which fabrics of strength and use will long endure.' Large of heart and generous in judgement, his reading took a vast range. He knew how to take occasion by the hand, and no better man, as statesman, philosopher or friend, could have been selected to prepare the way for self-government in the formation of an Australian Conference. On his return to England he was one of the Foreign Mission secretaries for eighteen years. But

Australia attracted him, and he eventually returned to Sydney, dying on March 8, 1889, at the age of eighty-four.

Much of the work that Mr. Boyce did was of a technical and detailed nature, rendered necessary through rapid developments and the immediate prospect of self-government. He gave constant attention to the selection of new sites, properly securing those already obtained. He also defined the position of Methodism as a Church, and fought strenuously for her standing-place in educational matters in connexion with which a struggle was then proceeding. He also looked for candidates for the ministry, and he did not look in vain. John G. Millard, William C. Currey, James Somerville, John Pemell, Joseph Fillingham, Joseph Waterhouse, George Pickering, and John Bowes were amongst the number received. Only those familiar with the work of Methodism know the valuable service rendered by these faithful men, grand in their simplicity, their purity, and singleness of aim.

The gold discovery, though it meant prosperity for the colony, with an increase of population, temporarily interfered with church work, bringing dissipation and excitement, against which some of the missionaries pathetically protested. But the work extended and prospered. The Sydney circuit developed into three circuits, again to be subdivided. New chapels were built at the Haymarket, Balmain, Surry Hills, Chippendale, Toxteth, Canterbury, and Newtown; and preaching services were regularly held at Waverley, Lane Cove, and Camden. Places in the country were also calling for missionaries, while those already established were showing vigorous growth.

On the arrival of the Rev. Robert Young, June 11, 1853, Mr. Boyce was able to state that the time was ripe for self-government, though some thought the movement premature. After visiting the chief towns and making a tour of the island missions, Mr. Young returned with a favourable report. At the Conference of 1854, held at Birmingham, the plan for forming the Australasian and Polynesian missions into an

affiliated Conference was adopted. The first Conference met in York Street Chapel, Thursday, January 18, 1855, with Mr. Boyce as president, and John A. Manton as secretary. The president and senior ministers met the probationers at five o'clock each morning for conversation and friendly counsel, and they were examined in theology at 6 a.m. The president gave the charge, which was faithful and characteristic. The Conference founded Horton College; it discussed the plan of the affiliated Conference, suggesting three or more annual Conferences; it considered the question of making provision for supernumerary ministers and their widows; it outlined the basis of the Church Sustentation and Extension Society, and it discussed a plan of missionary management in the form of a general committee of ministers and laymen from each district, acting under Conference control. It also nominated laymen suitable for election to the Conference committees. This programme shows how the Conference anticipated the developments of to-day.

The names of those intimately associated with the work in New South Wales at this stage should be remembered. In addition to those who entered the ministry during Mr. Boyce's superintendency these are prominent: Nathaniel Turner, missionary to New Zealand and Tonga; William Schofield, famous for his work at Macquarie Harbour amongst the convicts, and the donor of a large sum to found a church Loan Fund; James Watkin, who wrote that immortal appeal, *Pity Poor Fiji;* John A. Manton, Head of Horton and Newington colleges; Stephen Rabone, remembered for his fine missionary spirit; Daniel Draper, who went down in *The London* preaching Christ to his fellow passengers; Samuel Wilkinson, memorable as a faithful pastor, and the first minister appointed to Melbourne; John Watsford, remarkable as missionary, evangelist, and home mission secretary; Benjamin Chapman, the faithful pastor and foreign mission secretary; Joseph Oram, saintly and beloved; William Curnow, prince of preachers and well known as a

journalist; William Kelynack, peerless as preacher, lecturer, and administrator; and John Gale, versatile and large-hearted. Of these John Gale is the sole survivor. He is still living at Queanbeyan, having played no unimportant part in the selection of the Federal area. Amongst the laymen widely known and widely honoured associated with that Conference, though not members of it, as laymen were not then admitted, were George Allen, William Love, J. Caldwell, T. Cowlishaw, J. Byrnes, T. P. Reeve, J. R. Andrews, E. Dawson, J. Falkiner, J. Neale, G. Somerville and others. T. P. Reeve was the last survivor of this historic group, and he passed away quite recently, full of honour and of years.

Having written at length on early developments, space will not permit of detail from 1855 to 1912. The outstanding features only can be dealt with. The fear expressed that the granting of self-government was premature found no fulfilment in fact. At no period in its history has the Church shown greater activity in spiritual or material concerns than during the existence of the Australian Conference, extending from 1855 to 1873. For men of large vision were at the helm who agreed with the Rev. William Hessel, when he said he believed that ' Methodism was the greatest foe that Satan had in this world, and that he had held many councils to devise means to weaken its power and injure its usefulness. Many people, both inside and out, could find fault with it, but they could not point out any system that had done so well.' Holding such views, their exponents were bound to show a record of something attempted, something done. They had a glimpse of the future, and in the making of a nation they resolved to bear their part. We may therefore trace the origin of the Home Mission Society with its loan funds, the Book Dépôt, the church paper *The Christian Advocate*, Newington College, and the Theological Institution to this period. Nor did this activity cease then, for the same vigour and persistence of attack continued from 1873 to 1890. Then came a period less aggressive—a time of consolidation.

It was soon felt that one District Synod for the whole of New South Wales and Queensland was cumbersome and unwieldy. The year 1863, therefore, saw a proposal successfully carried through for the formation of five districts: Sydney, Bathurst, Maitland, Goulburn, and Queensland. The four New South Wales Districts have grown into ten, and Queensland has a Conference with six District Synods. Large church schemes were planned in Sydney and the rising towns in the country. Referring to this progress *The Advocate* said: 'A new era of church building in this colony has already commenced. . . . The necessity is very great and pressing, but it is as important to avoid rashness and precipitation as it is to escape from lethargy and inactivity. . . . Everything we do should be well done with an enlightened regard to the necessities of the future.' The necessities of the future! That was the dominant note.

In 1859 churches were erected at West Maitland and Newtown, to be followed next year by Balmain and Bathurst. But the year 1864 eclipsed all others in the number of buildings, for churches were erected at Glebe Road, Sydney; Mudge, St. Leonards—now North Sydney; Ashfield, Moruya, and Morpeth. Wagga followed the next year, to be succeeded by Wesley Church, Sydney, in 1867. Goulburn built its church in 1870, and Tamworth and William Street, Sydney, in 1871. The name of Joseph Oram will always be associated with the fine church at Bathurst; and the same may be said of William Curnow at Goulburn, James E. Carruthers at Tamworth, and William Clarke at William Street. 'Californian' Taylor laid the foundation-stone of the church at St. Leonards. Wesley Church, Sydney 'is a *chef-d'œuvre* of the Methodist architecture in the colony, and is an ornament to the city,' said the press at that time. The names of the Revs. William Hessel, Thomas Angwin, Stephen Rabone, John Eggleston, John Watsford, James Bickford, George Hurst, William Schofield, Joseph H.

Fletcher, Henry H. Gaud, William Kelynack, Richard Sellors, and Benjamin Chapman, and Messrs. George Allen, Ebenezer Vickery, J. T. Lane, J. Caldwell, Joseph Wearne, H. Kellett, Reuben Hall, William Henson, William Davies, Edmund Webb, John Hardy and W. H. McClelland are linked on to the history of these churches.

The Jubilee of the church in Australasia was celebrated in 1864, the initial steps being taken during the Conference held in February at Melbourne, under the presidency of the Rev. James Buller. It was proposed to build a Central Theological Institution, to extend missionary operations in New Guinea or elsewhere, to found a Church Loan Fund, and to encourage trustees in the erection of churches and parsonages. The Rev. Stephen Rabone, chairman of the Sydney District, inaugurated the movement in New South Wales by an official sermon preached on Monday, November 8, in which he said that few would live to see the Centenary of Australasian Methodism. Let their doings be worthy of the remembrance of their children. They boasted a glorious ancestry; let them act in a manner worthy of their ancestors, and transmit their name and fame untarnished. Prayer-meetings, a breakfast, and many public meetings marked the event. Mr. T. W. Bowden, a son of the pioneer schoolmaster, and the Hon. George Allen were amongst the chairmen. The spirit of liberality was abroad; and though the results were not such as to warrant the building of a Central Theological Institution, a beginning was made with the Loan Fund, while Foreign Mission work and church and parsonage building schemes received inspiration and help.

The colony was favoured at this time by distinguished visitors from other lands. The Rev. F. J. Jobson, D.D., arrived in Sydney January 1861, bearing an official address from the British Conference and greatly cheering the members of the Church by his wise counsels. He discussed freely and at considerable length vital and delicate questions on the relative position and powers of the parent and affiliated

Conference. The Rev. E. E. Jenkins, M.A., the well-known Indian missionary, was also a visitor in 1864. But the one whose name stands out most vividly is the Rev. William Taylor, popularly known as Californian Taylor, who afterwards became bishop of South Africa. Mr. Taylor was a typical American. He possessed great spiritual power. Many have cause to remember him as the human instrument in their salvation. Numerous stories gather round his visit, only one of which may be repeated. At a fellowship meeting one speaker advocating baptism by immersion thought to give point to his remarks by quoting the words: 'Buried with Him in baptism.' Mr. Taylor replied with his deliberate drawl: 'Well, brother, if you will have it in that way you must have it altogether; and you know that He was three days and three nights in the grave. What do you say to that? I tell you, if you have the whole thing you will come up as dead as a salted herring!' Later the Rev. Thomas Cook, Gipsy Smith, the Rev. Mark Guy Pearse, and the Rev. Thomas Champness also paid visits, leaving gracious memories.

The year 1874 introduced a new era, and New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and New Zealand, were each to have their own Conference, with an Australasian Conference meeting every third or fourth year. Queensland was attached to New South Wales, Tasmania to Victoria, and West Australia to South Australia. During the nineteen years that had passed, devoted men whose names will not be easily obliterated made their influence felt on the development of the moral and religious life of the colony. They stood at the beginning, and at one of the most critical periods of colonial history. That chapter had now closed. It was not intended that these annual Conferences should be merely magnified District Synods. The maintenance of the General Conference, it was argued, would conserve unity in doctrine, would preserve Methodism from diverging along different lines, and would prevent it losing its national character by colonization,

thus giving it the element of homogeneity, an element necessary to preserve the Church from disintegrating influences. Each Conference was to control its own funds. The first Conference under this new order assembled in York Street Church, Wednesday, January 28, 1874, at ten o'clock, the Conferences in the other colonies meeting at the same hour. There were fifty-five ministers in attendance, the Rev. J. H. Fletcher being chosen as President, and the Rev. J. B. Waterhouse, Secretary. Mr. Fletcher reminded the Conference that they had sacrificed magnitude and dignity to compactness, economy, and flexibility. 'Looking forward to the great future,' said he, 'when Australia shall become a nationality—and not only a distinct nationality, but a community with a literature of its own—I trust that in laying the foundation of that which doubtless awaits us, we shall in this be brave enough to attempt all that God calls us to do.' In 1893 Queensland separated from New South Wales. The New South Wales Conference thus met for the first time, the Rev. James Egan Moulton being President.

The first Conference of United Methodism was held in Sydney Town Hall, February 25, 1902, with the Rev. W. Woolls Rutledge as President, and the Rev. W. Halse Rogers as Secretary. In his retiring address Dr. George Lane referred to the historic and unique occasion. The steps towards the consummation of Union are fully and clearly set forth by Dr. Burgess in his chapter on South Australia. It would be useless to repeat them. Suffice it to say that in New South Wales Methodist union found many earnest advocates, and some conscientious opponents; but when the decision was once reached that union should take effect, opposition ceased, and the former opponents laboured as earnestly as the former advocates, and in some cases even more so, to make union a success. In some localities the readjustments necessary caused irritation, but that has now practically died down. The names of the Rev. W. Woolls Rutledge, James W. Holden, John Penman, E.

Crosier, W. E. Briscombe, James E. Carruthers, William Clarke, William H. Beale, the Hon. W. Robson, Mr. J. Blanksby, and Mr. W. E. Robson, B.A., were prominently associated with the union movement. The position of United Methodism as disclosed by the Conference returns of 1914 are as follows: ministers, including supernumeraries and probationers, 249; home missionaries 34; local preachers 954; churches 671; other preaching places 593; church members, including juniors 27,626, adherents 123,679 (the census returns place the number higher); Sabbath schools 560; teachers 5,007; scholars 43,053. These figures do not include the South Sea Island missions, which are attached to the New South Wales Conference.

What are the results of union in New South Wales? Are they beneficial or otherwise? From the numerical or financial standpoint the results are small. The Primitive Methodist Church, which held its first annual assembly in 1859, was not so widely represented in New South Wales as in some of the other States. The Bible Christians had not established themselves, and the United Methodist Free Church, which met for its first assembly in 1890, had three ministers only and few churches. With this comparatively small representation it may thus be seen that in many circuits no change was necessary. It has sometimes been triumphantly stated that union was accomplished without the loss of a minister or a member. But this, unfortunately, is contrary to fact. Members were lost, and adherents drifted or voluntarily retired, much to the regret of those forced to witness it. But notwithstanding this it is increasingly apparent that there was nothing to justify disunion. Union has closed the ranks, it has prevented overlapping, and it has already healed, or is slowly healing, the causes that led to division. The union brought several devoted ministers and many consecrated laymen into co-operation for the first time, with those formerly belonging to the Wesleyan Church, and in unity of heart and singleness of aim they toil together in their labour of love.

Legislation, the wisdom of which yet remains to be proved, came with the union. Laymen were given a seat on the stationing committee, and it was made possible for a circuit minister to remain in his circuit for a fourth or a fifth year. While some sturdy champions for these concessions are prepared even to go further, there is a growing conviction that the extended term is not advantageous to the circuits, and the presence of laymen on the stationing committee brings little joy to the laymen and still less help to the ministers.

When the State Conferences were established it was considered expedient to allocate the administration of the Connexional Funds. The Children's Fund, providing for a small educational allowance for ministers' children, was allotted to New Zealand. The amount required is raised by a yearly levy on the three years average circuit income. For many years the Rev. Richard Caldwell has done the secretarial work in New South Wales. The Supernumerary Fund, inaugurated to provide for supernumerary ministers and ministers' widows, was attached to the Victorian and Tasmanian Conference. The Rev. William Morley, D.D., the clerical secretary, has his offices in Collins Street, Melbourne. A committee administers this fund, the capital of which now stands at nearly £500,000, earning 4·75 per cent. The basis of the fund has in recent years provoked considerable discussion, in which the Revs. Dr. Morley, Dr. Carruthers, Dr. Fitchett, J. G. Wheen, and Hon. William Robson, have prominently figured. But on whatever other points these combatants may differ they are at one here: that the fund is sound, and that adequate provision must be made for those who have grown old in the service of the Church. The point in dispute is whether the fund should be administered strictly on actuarial lines. For several years the major part of the funds raised were vested in Victoria, but when a temporary depreciation of values took place it was decided that future

investments should be distributed throughout the States. Some panic legislation saw the light at this period. The allowances were reduced and the minister's personal subscriptions increased. But the General Conference of 1913 partially restored the allowances. Some entertain the well-grounded hope that the allowances may soon be fully restored if not increased. The income is raised by a circuit levy and ministers' subscriptions, the latter being compulsory. No probationer is eligible for ordination unless his personal subscriptions are fully paid up. This is to protect both the minister and his wife.

The administration of Foreign Missions was allotted to the New South Wales Conference, due probably to two facts: New South Wales, as the Mother State, had always supervised Foreign Missions, and Sydney is the chief port of call for the island steamers. The General Secretaries have their head quarters in Sydney, where such men as John Eggleston, Stephen Rabone, Benjamin Chapman, William Kelynack, George Brown, Benjamin Danks and John G. Wheen, the present General Secretary, have discharged their duties with paternal oversight, constant care, and unflagging devotion. The representation on the Mission committee has recently been widened. Previously its membership was confined to New South Wales; but now each State Conference is represented. This widens the area of interest and tends to prevent parochialism. Each State has its organizing Secretary who is responsible for the work in the State which elected him. The Rev. James Watson is appointed for New South Wales. The income for Australia last year exceeded £42,000; but the work will be hampered and restricted if £50,000 are not raised this year.

Naturally, each State has its Home Mission Society, which it administers with great vigour. In New South Wales this Society has been in existence for fifty-five years, having been founded in 1859 at a public meeting in the Centenary Chapel, York Street, Sydney. To the Rev. William Hessel the

Society largely owes its origin, for it was he who, more than any other, laboured for its establishment. Mr. Hessel became the first Secretary, to be succeeded in turn by the Revs. George Hurst, Benjamin Chapman, Joseph Oram, George Woolnough, M.A., George Lane, Richard Sellors, D.D., James Woolnough and Joseph Woodhouse. Mr. Hurst was the last Honorary Secretary, his successors being set free from circuit work. Mr. Hurst was Secretary for sixteen years. But to the Rev. James Woolnough must be given pride of place for length of service. Elected in 1896, he has held the office for eighteen years, and assisted by his able colleague, the Rev. Joseph Woodhouse, he still administers its affairs. Where all have done so well it is difficult to particularize. We must be permitted to say, however, that the services rendered to this Society and through the Society to the Church by the Revs. George Hurst, George Lane, and James Woolnough are incomparable. Does the Church realize and properly appraise the self-denying services of those who have filled this office? With these men must be bracketed the names of the Hon. Ebenezer Vickery, Lay Secretary for thirty years, a most generous and consistent contributor; Mr. T. P. Reeve, also Lay Secretary for many years and a liberal friend; Mr. John Dawson, Mr. R. H. Ducker, and Mr. T. H. England, who never wearied in their work for the Society. The Rev. J. B. Waterhouse rendered and the Rev. J. G. Morris Taylor still renders valuable service as Treasurer.

Prominent in the work of the Society are the loan funds known as the Methodist Loan Fund, the Rev. William Schofield's Free and Perpetual Loan Fund, the Vickery Settlement and the Bright Bequest. The Methodist Loan Fund has been built up by public subscriptions and legacies. The Schofield Loan Fund is a bequest of £40,000 by the Rev. William Schofield; the Vickery Settlement is half of £20,000 settled by the Hon. Ebenezer Vickery on home and foreign missions; and the Bright Bequest is £40,000

left to the Church Sustentation and Extension Society by Mr. John Bright of Wollongong. It is estimated that from its birth to its jubilee in 1909 the Church Sustentation and Extension Society has given nearly £200,000 to assist in the development and sustenance of Methodism in the State, and this altogether apart from the help rendered by the loan funds. By a system of progressive loans and prospective grants, an idea which sprang from the Rev. James Woolnough's fertile brain, many circuits and heavily burdened trusts have been put on a satisfactory basis. Every minister is assured now of a living wage, and no trustee has ever been called on to make good any trust debt. So good is the credit of the church that the financial institutions readily advance money. A Connexional Fire Insurance Fund has recently been inaugurated, with Mr. P. N. Slade as the efficient secretary. The income for 1913 was £900. The total risks covered were £272,459, and one claim of £10 only had to be met. This office has also inaugurated a Ministers' Settlement Fund, its object being to facilitate the formation of circuits and the settlement of probationers and ministers therein. The income is derived by levy upon those circuits due, but not fulfilling their obligation, to take a married minister. Another fund of great service to the Church is the Removal and General Expenses Fund, in the origin of which the Rev. W. Woolls Rutledge did valuable work. This fund was established for the payment of ministers removal expenses and the expenses of the General Conference, the Annual Conference, Conference committees, and District Synods, the income being raised by levy. For its successful working the fund is greatly indebted to the Rev. T. F. Potts, secretary, and Mr. Joseph Vickery, treasurer.

The general system of education prevailing throughout Australia has been admirably presented by the Rev. C. J. Prescott, M.A., in the chapter on Education. A few details, however, may be added. Newington College was founded in

the year 1863 at Newington House, on the Parramatta River, with the Rev. John A. Manton as the first president. Mr. Manton, who had been president of Horton College, Tasmania, was succeeded by the Rev. Joseph Horner Fletcher, formerly head master of Auckland Wesleyan College, New Zealand. The magnificent pile of buildings at Stanmore was ready for occupation in July 1880, when Mr. Fletcher and his staff took possession, remaining at the head till 1887. Mr. Fletcher was remarkable for his influence on young life. On his retirement as President to become Principal of the Theological Institution he was succeeded by the Rev. William Kelynack, D.D., who had been Foreign Mission Secretary for five years. Dr. Kelynack's untimely death in November 1891 led to the appointment of the Rev. J. Egan Moulton, D.D., who retired when the dual system of control was abolished, the Rev. C. J. Prescott, M.A., who is still in charge, taking upon himself the double duties of president and head master. The college celebrated its Jubilee in 1913. At the request of the College Council the Rev. John Hulme was set apart to raise the sum of £10,000 to reduce the debt and to assist the endowment fund. A scheme devised by Mr. F. Cull will greatly assist the college and be a permanent memorial of the jubilee. Mr. Hulme met with great encouragement. Newington College holds high place amongst educational institutions for its results in scholarship and sport. To these results the head masters, Mr. Johnstone, Mr. Joseph Coates, Mr. W. H. Williams, M.A., Mr. A. S. Lucas, M.A., B.Sc., and the Rev. C. J. Prescott, M.A., have contributed greatly, finding loyal and efficient support in the assistant masters, amongst whom may be named Mr. John Waterhouse, M.A., Mr. J. J. Fletcher, M.A., B.Sc., Mr. R. T. Baker, F.L.S., and Mr. Buchanan, B.A.

The Ladies' College at Burwood dates its foundation from the year 1885, when the Rev. C. J. Prescott took charge as president and head master, and did a work which merits high praise. On Mr. Prescott's removal to Newington

College, the Rev. E. J. Rodd became president, with Miss Amy Wearne, M.A., as head mistress. Mr. Rodd retired at the Conference of 1914, and the Rev. Harold Kelynack, B.A., became principal, with Miss Sutton, B.A., as head mistress. A committee of ladies has recently rendered great financial help to this Institution. Both Newington and Burwood Colleges rank high amongst the public schools of the State.

The Church has not been slow to mark memorable events in her history or in that of the colony. The celebration of the Jubilee of Methodism has been referred to. The Centenary of the colony falling due in 1887, the Conference decided to raise a Thanksgiving Fund. £50,000 was named as the amount. The money raised was to be used in the erection and endowment of a Theological Institution; the extinction of trust debts; the acquisition of a site for a girls' college; and to inaugurate and assist mission work in the city and country. Though the £50,000 was not nearly reached, a substantial sum was raised. Generous subscriptions were freely given, and the fund found eloquent advocates in the Revs. James A. Nolan, J. H. Fletcher, Dr. Sellors, S. Wilkinson, Dr. Kelynack, James Woolnough, George Lane, and Messrs. G. Crawshaw, J. H. Watkin, S. E. Lees, T. P. Fletcher, W. H. McClelland and others. The closing of the nineteenth century induced the Conference to prepare a scheme designed to raise £50,000 to assist local church property efforts, the Centenary Hall (then the head quarters of the Central Mission), Newington and Burwood Colleges and Foreign Missions. The Rev. Rainsford Bavin, who became organizing secretary, was greatly assisted by the Rev. John Hulme and Mr. P. N. Slade as secretaries, the Rev. E. J. Rodd and Mr. R. J. Lukey as treasurers, and a strong and efficient committee. For two years Mr. Bavin laboured with herculean effort, and when he relinquished his arduous task he was able to report that 44,000 guineas out of the 50,000 aimed at had been received.

The approaching Centenary of Methodism in the southern world in 1915 furnished another opportunity for practical expression of gratitude to God. 'It is an occasion,' said the Conference Committee, 'to call forth gratitude and to challenge our highest possibilities in relation to personal reconsecration and combined liberality, with a view to more effectively carrying on the work committed to us as a Church in the centuries before us.' The Conference decided that 50,000 guineas should be the amount fixed, the objects of the fund embracing a Centenary Theological Institution for the training of the ministry; the erection of a college affiliated to the University of Sydney, to be known as Wesley College; financial assistance to Newington and Burwood Colleges; and the ever-expressing and expanding claims of Home and Foreign Missions. The Rev. W. Woolls Rutledge became organizing secretary, entering upon his five years' task with characteristic vigour and enthusiasm. Unfortunately, during the year 1913, Mr. Rutledge had a serious illness, which necessitated the appointment of the Rev. John Hulme as joint secretary. The Rev. B. Dinning in his capacity as clerical secretary and the Hon. William Robson as lay treasurer, have greatly assisted in the successful working of the fund. To the Conference of 1914 Mr. Robson reported that the sum of £31,369 17*s*. 2*d*. had been promised up to December 31, and there were forty-three circuits yet to be visited. Tuesday, August 10, will be recognized as Centenary day, that being the hundredth anniversary of the landing of Samuel Leigh, the first missionary. It is expected that representatives from British Methodism, the United States of America, Canada, South Africa and New Zealand will participate in the commemoration of this historic event.

The excellent work of the Book Room, *The Methodist*, and the Epworth Printing and Publishing House, also calls for notice. The Book Room dates its origin from the sales made by the Rev. William Schofield, who, as a supernumerary

minister resident in Sydney in the year 1852, consented to act as distributing agent for the magazines and other literature forwarded by the English Book Steward. In the District Meeting of 1854 the missionaries discussed the advisability of founding a Book Dépôt. Mr. Schofield took York Street House as a distributing centre, and this arrangement continued until 1858; when, as the result of the deliberations of the Revs. Stephen Rabone, Samuel Ironside, William A. Quick, William Hessel, and Messrs. Barker, J. R. Houlding, and John Dawson, premises were taken at the corner of King and Castlereagh Streets. Mr. Hessel became Book Steward, and he was succeeded by the Rev. Stephen Rabone. In 1861 the business was removed to a small shop in the George Street markets, and in 1863 Mr. John Corbett was appointed manager. Mr. Corbett's keen business instincts, his self-abnegation, his laborious toil and his never-failing courtesy, went far to make the Book Room the success it is to-day. In 1890 the Book Room Committee purchased the present property at 381 George Street, at a cost of £18,000, to which must be added £2,000 spent in alterations. On Mr. Corbett's lamentable death a few years later the present manager, Mr. A. J. Carnell, was appointed to succeed him. The premises, which are centrally situated and now modernized, are nearly free from debt. When that consummation is attained the management will feel free to give effect to its ideals for extended usefulness. Since Mr. Rabone's death the office of Book Steward has been filled by the Revs. George Hurst, Frank Firth, Joseph Spence, and William Clarke. The Rev. William H. Beale now worthily fills the position.

The church organ, the *Methodist,* first saw the light as *The Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record* on June 21, 1858, the Rev. William Hessel and William A. Quick being requested by the Book Committee to act as editors. The history of the paper from that day to the present has been chequered. It has changed its name, reduced its price, altered its size, and varied its contents, but the result remains practically the

same. When it is said that Joseph Fletcher, William Kelynack, William Curnow, afterwards editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald,* F. W. Ward, late editor of the *Sydney Daily Telegraph,* George Martin, Edward J. Rodd, James E. Carruthers, William H. Beale, W. Woolls Rutledge and Paul Clipsham have filled the editorial chair, it will be seen that no fault lies with the editorial staff. The paper needs to be made financially strong, independent and free; and that means a proprietary, a suggestion which the Conference has hitherto refused to entertain. *Glad Tidings,* the organ of the Holiness Association; *The Weekly Greeting,* issued by the Sydney Central Mission; the *Northern Light,* published by the Newcastle Mission; and the *Missionary Review,* proceeding from the Foreign Mission office, all serve useful purposes in spreading information and inspiring their readers.

It was this want of well-deserved success on the part of *The Methodist* that led the Rev. Paul Clipsham, when acting as editor and manager, to advocate the establishment of a printing and publishing house. In 1893 Mr. Clipsham obtained permission to establish the printing establishment now known as the Epworth Printing and Publishing House. Mr. Clipsham became personally responsible for the initial outlay, and the scheme was launched without money and without a home. To-day it owns valuable premises in Castlereagh Street, together with a modern plant, is in a sound financial position, while it has a name in the printing trade second to none. This is a fine tribute to Mr. Clipsham's foresight and business capability. Though the Book Room, *The Methodist,* and the Epworth Publishing House have already done much for the Church, they are destined to play a still greater part in the future.

Several attempts have been made to form a Sunday-school Union for the purposes of thorough organization and more effective equipment in Sunday-school work. The Conference of 1879 in a series of resolutions gave expression to its views.

But little was done effectively till the year 1888, when the Rev. C. W. Graham succeeded the Rev. Frank Firth as secretary. When the Rev. W. H. Beale became secretary the Union was a reality and a success. Competitive examinations were inaugurated and considerable enthusiasm manifested. The present success of the Union may be traced to the persistent advocacy and patient toil of the Rev. R. H. Rickard, and Messrs. E. A. Bronsdon, Henry Bush, J. A. Somerville and other members of the committee. It was felt, however, that the time was ripe for the formation of a Sunday-school Department with the Rev. Harold Wheen as general secretary. Though Mr. Wheen has held office but a short time the decline in numbers, noticeable for some years, has been arrested and turned into a substantial increase. The Department is self-supporting and gives promise of great usefulness. Many are looking to Mr. Wheen to introduce the leaven of modern and successful method. Much good work is done amongst the scholars in the public schools of the State by the visits of the ministers for the purpose of giving religious instruction. Some ministers attend to this important matter with conscientious regularity and thoroughness. Would that all did this, for here is a golden opportunity. In questions of temperance or social reform the Conference takes an advanced position.

This is a condensed *résumé* of the past. The developments are such as to call for the profoundest expressions of gratitude to the Great Head of the Church. What of the future? In the coming century the Church of New South Wales must make itself stronger in the thought centres of the community. It has sought to do its duty to the bottom man. But Methodism as John Wesley left it was inclusive and tolerant. Wesley drew to himself scholars like Dr. Coke and Adam Clarke, saints like Fletcher and Walsh, sinners like Tommy Olivers and John Nelson. Has Methodism the same power to-day? Is it parochial in its outlook, intolerant of spirit towards education, indifferent to soul-saving and life-

regenerating work? If so it is not the Methodism of Wesley's day. Methodism has a message for all—the educated, the unlearned—the wealthy and the poor. Let it be lifted out of the ruinous ruts of parochialism and prejudice. Let it capture the educated as well as the rank and file; and then enthused with the Spirit of the Living God turn its face to the rising sun and say: We are ready for the work of the next century.

CHAPTER II

TASMANIA AND VICTORIA

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SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

(*a*) *Tasmania.* First settlements—Carvosso—Hobart—Sunday school—Leigh — Horton — Macquarie Harbour — Launceston— Turner—The conciliator—Later events—Visit of Young—Other Methodist Churches—Tin mines—Methodist Union.

(*b*) *Victoria.* First settlement—Batman—Orton—Melbourne—Building—Geelong—Buntingdale — Primitives — First District Meeting—Gold rush—Robert Young—Australian Conference—Revivals—Draper — First Conference — Famous men—Home Missions—Central Mission, Melbourne—Licensing laws—Secondary education — Jubilee — Methodist Union — Protestant Union — Foreign Missions.

CHAPTER II

TASMANIA AND VICTORIA

The first English settlement in Tasmania, or Van Dieman's Land, as it was then called, took place in 1803, when Governor King, apprehensive lest the French should occupy the island, sent Lieutenant Bowen with eight soldiers, twenty-four convicts selected for their refractoriness, and six free men to find a new home on the Derwent. He chose a site at Risdon, on the east bank of the river, a little higher up than Hobart; and was joined a month later by a second detachment of forty-two convicts and fifteen soldiers. During the next year Collins, having failed to find what he considered a suitable spot for a settlement on the shores of Port Phillip, brought over his company of 331 convicts, fifty-one soldiers, and thirteen free men to the Derwent, and established them at the foot of Mount Wellington, naming the place Hobart's Town, after the then Colonial Secretary. In the same year Colonel Patterson established a convict settlement at Port Dalrymple, near the mouth of the Tamar, and two years later transferred it to the site of Launceston. In 1806 the free inhabitants of Norfolk Island were ordered, much against their will, to go to Van Dieman's Land, and received allotments of land, some at New Norfolk on the Derwent, others at Norfolk Plains in the north of the island. In 1820 Jeffreys estimates that there were 300 houses and 1,200 people in Hobart, and eighty houses in Launceston; but the population was rapidly increasing, and by the end of 1821 there were 426 houses and 2,700 inhabitants in Hobart. The total population of the island was estimated at about 8,000.

There was only one minister of religion for all these people,

the Rev. Robert Knopwood, who had accompanied Collins as chaplain, and resided at Hobart. He was a merry, convivial bachelor, fond of good company, easy-going, popular, and tolerant. There was no church building in the island until 1822, the services being held up to that time in the verandah of the Governor's residence. The Rev. Samuel Leigh, who had been sent to Sydney in 1815, was impressed by the spiritual needs of Tasmania, and in 1817 wrote to the Missionary Society suggesting that a missionary should be sent there. On his visit to England in 1820 he pressed his appeal, with the result that in the *Minutes* of the Conference of that year we find the entry in the stations: '30, Van Dieman's Land, Benjamin Carvosso.'

Carvosso, the son of the well-known William Carvosso, had already sailed for Sydney in 1819, and on April 25, 1820, the *Saracen*, with himself and his wife on board, came to anchor in the Derwent. He tells how 'lofty hills and low vales, all covered with ever-green trees, gave to the country a pleasing appearance, while a noble background was formed to the picture by a high mountain capped with snow.' Carvosso at once made inquiries as to the spiritual condition of the people, and records that there was only one chaplain in the town, 'who is so far advanced in life, and labours under so many bodily infirmities, as to be able to do but little for the good of souls.'

There had been no minister in the north of the island until three months before; and no services were held in the Pittwater and New Norfolk districts. He found one Methodist in Hobart, of the name of Field, who came from Ceylon two years before; and he informed him that he had not found a single person with whom he could have Christian fellowship; he had heard of one, and had walked 15 miles to see him, but found him swearing at his servants! Carvosso sought leave of Mr. Humphry, the police-magistrate, to hold an open-air service; on his advice he applied to the Governor, Sorell, who referred him to Mr. Knopwood. That genial

clergyman welcomed him warmly, sent the bellman round to announce the service, and ordered the constable to attend and, if necessary, protect the preacher. Accordingly, on Friday, April 28, at four o'clock in the afternoon, Carvosso took his stand with his wife on the steps of the court-house, and held the first Methodist service in Tasmania. There were about 100 persons present. One of the Methodist hymns was sung by the two visitors, and then the preacher announced his text: Ephesians v. 14, 'Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.' Eighty years before, Charles Wesley had startled the University of Oxford with a sermon from this text; and it was probably quite as appropriate to the congregation in St. Mary's as to the little company round the court-house in Hobart. Carvosso preached again on Saturday evening, and on Sunday addressed the prisoners in the jail on the story of the Prodigal Son, and at three in the afternoon spoke from the court-house steps. He finished his public ministrations on the Monday evening, and was begged by some of his congregation to stay in Hobart; but his appointment was to Sydney, and thither he had to go, leaving on Thursday, May 4.

In October 1820, three soldiers, members of the Methodist Society in Sydney, one of whom was Corporal George Waddy, said to be connected with the family which gave Dr. Samuel Waddy to Methodism, came to Hobart. They decided to start a class-meeting, and invited Mr. Benjamin Nokes to become the leader. At his house in Collins Street the first meeting was held on October 29, when eight members attended. The next week they removed to the house of Mr. Wallis in Liverpool Street, where preaching services were also conducted, in spite of popular opposition. The place soon became too strait for the congregation, and they found accommodation in a carpenter's shed in Argyle Street belonging to a Mr. Charles Donn, whose real name was Cranmer, and who claimed to be a descendant of the great

archbishop. It stood nearly on the spot occupied later by the 'Bird in Hand' hotel, between Liverpool and Collins Streets. The congregation numbered 100, and increased so fast that Donn was persuaded to enlarge his shed so as to find room for 300 persons. A Sunday school was started on May 13 with twenty-three scholars, the first Sunday school in Tasmania. In July Nokes, accompanied by a Mr. Butcher, visited New Norfolk, held a service at the house of Mr. Albe, and arranged for the building of a chapel there. A soldiers' prayer-meeting was also begun in a house in Goulburn Street.

On August 8, 1821, Leigh, accompanied by Walker and Horton, arrived at Hobart on his way to Sydney. They held several services, and had attentive congregations of between two and three hundred hearers. As Carvosso had not been able to leave Sydney to take up his appointment at Hobart, Leigh, acting on his authority as General Superintendent, left Mr. Horton there, and he was thus the first regular Methodist minister in Tasmania. Lieutenant-Governor Sorell had already given the Methodists two acres of land for a church, but it was too far out of the town to be convenient, and Mr. David Lord met the difficulty by presenting to the Society a block of land, 120 by 90 feet, in Melville Street, and Horton at once began to build a church there. But he was only able to raise £400 for the building; and having expended that, he refused to go into debt, and the work ceased for the time with the walls only half completed. Meanwhile Corporal Waddy, now raised to the rank of sergeant, had been ordered to the new penal station at Macquarie Harbour, where he was again successful in starting a class-meeting.

In May 1822 Nathaniel Turner arrived at Hobart on his way to New Zealand. As the inter-tribal wars there made it inadvisable for him to proceed, he stayed in Tasmania nearly twelve months, and gave great assistance to Horton in opening up new preaching-places and ministering to the convicts. A horse was imported from Sydney, and visits

were made to Kangaroo Point, Clarence Plains, New Norfolk, Pitt-water, and other settlements in the neighbourhood of Hobart. In 1823 Mansfield came from Sydney to succeed Horton, and by his earnest appeals obtained a grant from the Missionary Committee for the completion of the church. In the same year John Hutchinson, a local preacher, was sent to Macquarie Harbour to carry on the work begun by Sergeant Waddy. In 1825 Carvosso took Mansfield's place, and had the satisfaction of opening the new church on November 27, his text being: 'My house shall be called a house of prayer.' It was the building now known as the Mechanics' Institute. A public meeting was held there on February 12 of the next year, one result of which was the formation of the first public library in Australia.

The needs of Launceston had not escaped the notice of the Hobart ministers. In 1822 Horton reported that the wickedness of the place exceeded all description; but nothing was done till 1825, when Hutchinson, now received into the ministry, was sent there from Macquarie Harbour. In the next year a church and parsonage were built in Cameron Street; but in 1828 the minister was withdrawn and the property sold to the Government, who turned the church into a State school and the parsonage into a store. The purchase money was handed over to John Pascoe Fawkner, and he, with somewhat lax notions of his duty as a trustee, gave it to the Presbyterians, and it was used in the erection of the Scotch Church in Charles Street. In 1827 William Schofield was sent to Macquarie Harbour, in the interests of which Governor Arthur was greatly concerned; 'the result of his labours,' says Professor Jenks, 'entirely justified the Governor's hopes, and Macquarie Harbour was no longer simply a place of despair.'

In 1830 Carvosso was compelled by failing health to return to England. His faithful ministry had greatly endeared him to his people, and his memory is still preserved in the Melville Street Church by a clock which bears the inscription: 'For

the use of the Wesleyan Chapel, Hobart Town, Van Dieman's Land. Presented by B. Carvosso, A.D. 1830.' He died in 1853, and was buried in the graveyard of Ponsanooth chapel beside his father. He was succeeded by John Hutchinson, whose retirement in 1831 brought no little trouble to the Society in Hobart; but Nathaniel Turner, who came from New Zealand to take his place, proved equal to the situation, and peace was soon restored. During Turner's term of four years, the Melville Street Church was enlarged, a temperance society was formed, and Mr. John Leach, a good Yorkshire Methodist, was engaged as a hired local preacher. Along with Manton, who had succeeded Schofield at Macquarie Harbour, Turner rode across the island to Launceston, the population of which had increased to about 1,000 souls. On the way he held services at Green Ponds and at Captain Samuel Horton's at Ross. Captain Horton was a cousin of the Rev. W. Horton, and had taken up land at Ross on his advice. Through Turner's influence he joined the Methodist Society, and subsequently showed his attachment to it by the gift of land at Ross on which Horton College was built. Services were held in Launceston, and Turner promised to do his best to secure a minister for the town. Meanwhile, in 1832 Francis French began holding open-air services on Windmill Hill; and in 1834 John Leach, who had been appointed catechist to the road-parties in the north of the island, began regular services in the house of one Benjamin Rogers. In 1834 Launceston makes its first appearance in the station sheet with John A. Manton as the minister. A grant of land was obtained in Patterson Street where the public pound stood, and in 1835 the church was built. It is now used as a Sunday school.

It was during these years that Robinson, the 'Conciliator,' as he came to be called, succeeded by the force of sympathy and kindness in doing a work which all the military and police resources of the colony had failed to accomplish. The natives had proved very troublesome to the colonists, espe-

cially in the outlying districts; and in 1830 Governor Arthur organized the 'great drive' by which it was expected that all the natives would be captured. A cordon of troops and civilians was drawn right across the island and was directed to converge on Tasman's Peninsula. Five thousand men were employed, and £30,000 was expended, and the net result was the capture of a man and a boy. Robinson, a deeply pious Methodist, now offered to bring in all the natives himself, without the use of any means save those of personal persuasion. The Governor consented; and by 1835 the last of the aboriginals was gathered in, and the remnants of the dying race were located first at Swan Island, then at Gun-carriage Island, and finally at Flinders Island, where the last survivor passed away in 1876. It cannot but be regretted that in the clash of race with race, the weaker must go to the wall; but it was infinitely better that the blacks should be collected in the peaceable fashion in which Robinson managed to do it, than that they should have been exterminated by force of arms.

In the *Minutes* of 1835 Van Dieman's Land appears as a separate district, the ministers being: 'Hobart Town, Joseph Orton; Port Arthur, William Butters; Launceston, John A. Manton.' Orton had been sent to Sydney in 1831 and had done four years' splendid work there; he was now transferred to Hobart to take charge of the new district. The first District Meeting was held in 1836, and included the three ministers above named and William Simpson. Permission was given for the building of a new church at Hobart; and on December 27, 1837, the foundation-stone of the present Melville Street Church was laid by the Governor, Sir John Franklin. The membership was reported: Hobart, 195; Launceston, 24; Port Arthur, 5. Manton soon improved the state of things in Launceston. In 1837 he reports a society of 100 members; a Sunday school of 100 scholars; a Tract Society, and a circulating library. The opening of a new church in Longford by Butters on July 4, 1837, and the

beginning of a society at Westbury are recorded. Butters in 1838 tells of a society of fifty members at Ross, which had been made into a circuit with New Norfolk and Longford in the previous year. In the same year James Sutch, Benjamin Hurst, and Francis Tuckfield called at Hobart, and Tuckfield stayed for a little time to help Orton.

In 1839 John Waterhouse came out as General Superintendent of the Australian and Polynesian Missions, and was stationed at Hobart; with him came John Eggleston. They had the satisfaction, in 1840, of seeing the new Melville Street Church opened on October 18. The Governor and his suite were present, and amongst the singers was a young girl who afterwards became famous as Madam Carandini. Waterhouse preached from: 'I beseech Thee, O Lord, send now prosperity.' Turner was present, having just arrived from New Zealand; but the next year he was removed to Launceston, where he did memorable service in extending the work. He was the first to occupy the new parsonage, or mission house, as it was called, in Patterson Street. The work in Hobart and throughout Polynesia suffered a severe loss in the death of John Waterhouse, soon after his return from his second missionary tour through the islands. He got wet through in going to a missionary meeting at Longford, and died in Hobart on March 30, 1842.

Space forbids more than the briefest reference to the later events in the history of Tasmanian Methodism. In 1849, during the term of John Eggleston and Jonathan Innes, the whole of the debt on Melville Street was paid, and the same year Westbury was made a separate circuit under the superintendency of Jabez B. Waterhouse. Longford was made a circuit in 1851 and Deloraine in 1854. In 1852 Robert Young was appointed by the British Conference to visit Australia and Polynesia in order to report on the desirability of constituting a separate conference there. He was a very stout man, and Samuel Waddy humorously objected to his appointment on the ground that it was not right to present

such a temptation to the recent converts in Fiji! In January 1854 he visited Tasmania and reported: 'We have twenty-three chapels in the island, and there is not a farthing debt upon any of them. We have also mission houses (i.e. parsonages) in Hobart Town, Launceston, Campbell Town, and Longford.'

The Australasian Conference was constituted by the British Conference of 1854, and held its first meeting in Sydney in January 1855, under the presidency of William Binnington Boyce, who had come out in 1845 as General Superintendent. Tasmania returned 23 chapels and 11 other preaching-places; 8 ministers; 694 members; 3,950 attendants on public worship; and 1,082 Sunday scholars. John A. Manton was appointed Governor of Horton College, Ross, which was opened in the course of the year. The name of John Cope appears for the first time as the second minister for Hobart. In 1859 William Abraham Quick succeeded Manton at Horton College. He had entered the ministry in 1841, and had been for a time a missionary in Sierra Leone. He came to Sydney in 1855, and is still living (1913) at Brighton, near Melbourne, in his ninety-fourth year. The Primitive Methodists came to Launceston in 1857 and began services in Wycliffe Chapel, in Vincent Street. They had then a membership of six only, but they gradually grew, until in 1862 they built the Frederick Street Church. They also went across to Hobart in 1860, where they worshipped first in Argyle Street and later in Knox's Free Church in Collins Street. When Methodist union was effected in 1904, they brought into the United Church seven circuits, twenty-two churches, eight ministers, and 753 members.

During the twenty years between the establishment of the Australian Conference and its division into four local Conferences in 1874, there was steady progress in Tasmania; and at the first Victoria and Tasmania Conference she reported 97 churches and other preaching places; 15 ministers; 1,450 members; 3,203 Sunday scholars; and 9,857 attend-

ants on public worship. In 1880 the Methodist Ladies' College was opened in Launceston, under the presidency of Spencer Williams, and in 1889 Francis James Nance, M.A., came out from England to succeed him, and held the headmastership until 1903, when the ministerial headship was discontinued. Hitherto Tasmania had been a single district; but in 1888 it was divided into three, viz. the Hobart, the Launceston, and the Mersey districts.

The discovery of the rich tin deposits at Mount Bischoff in the early seventies opened a new era in the history of Tasmania; and when, some ten years later, silver was found in the Mount Zeehan neighbourhood, there was a second and even larger influx of population to the north-west coast. Methodism was not slow in putting in an appearance in this new field; in 1880 Mount Bischoff and Stanley became a circuit, under the superintendence of Daniel A. Gilsenan; in 1890 a home missionary was sent to Mount Zeehan, and the next year it also became a circuit, George S. Lloyd being its first minister. The impassioned appeal made by one of its representatives in Conference for the north-west will not soon be forgotten. 'Mr. President,' said he, 'the brethren do not realize the possibilities of this field of labour. Why, sir, Mount Bischoff is a solid mass of tin ore; millions of tons have been already taken out of it, and there is still as much in it as ever there was!'

Methodist union was accomplished in Victoria and Tasmania in 1902. The United Church in Tasmania returned 177 churches and other preaching places; 27 ministers; 2,661 members; 7,028 Sunday scholars; and 17,865 attendants on public worship. The largest addition was from the Penguin district, which had been very effectively worked by the Primitive Methodists and the United Methodist Free Church. It was not unnatural that a desire should be felt for a separate conference for Tasmania, whilst at the same time there were manifest advantages, especially in regard to ministerial supplies, from its connexion with Victoria. The

difficulty was solved by the constitution in 1905 of a Tasmania Assembly, to which was committed the control of the Connexional Funds and the management of Sunday schools, temperance work, and other matters of purely local significance. The first President of the Assembly was the Rev. S. T. Withington. In 1907 Melville Street followed the precedent already set in Melbourne, and was turned into a mission church, under the superintendency of the devoted and scholarly Frank Lade, who was succeeded later by Joseph Snell.

Abortive attempts at settlement on Victorian soil were made in 1803 by Lieutenant Collins on the eastern shore of Port Phillip, and in 1827 on Westernport Bay. The first permanent settler was William Dutton, who in 1832 established a whaling station in Portland Bay, where in 1834 he was joined by the Henty family. John Batman, once a scholar in the Parramatta Wesleyan Sunday school, came over to Port Phillip from Launceston in May 1835, and travelled over the district round Corio Bay and the mouth of the Yarra. He notes in his journal of the land near the old Yarra Falls: 'This will be the place for a village.' But he returned without making any attempt at a settlement there, though he had bought some 600,000 acres of land from the natives, and had the transaction recorded in a quasi-legal document, which the curious may see in the Melbourne Public Library. He was followed in August by John Pascoe Fawkner, the landlord of the 'Cornwall Hotel' in Launceston; who, in contemptuous disregard of Batman's claims, sailed up the Yarra to the Falls, and built himself a sod hut just behind the site of the present Custom House. Batman returned in October, and built himself a log hut on Batman's Hill, now levelled to make room for Spencer Street Station. Meanwhile, other adventurous spirits were finding their way over from Tasmania, amongst them Henry Reed, at that time a zealous local preacher amongst the Methodists, who held a service

in one of the sod huts erected by Fawkner, and had the famous ex-convict, William Buckley, in his congregation.

Batman crossed the straits once more, and on his return in April 1836, he brought with him Joseph Orton, the chairman of the Tasmanian district, who came under instructions to see what could be done for the evangelization of the aborigines. On April 24 he conducted the first public religious service in Victoria, standing on the eastern slope of Batman's Hill. The Liturgy was read, the responses being given by the resident magistrate, Mr. James Simpson; the singing was led by Dr. Alexander Thompson, afterwards Mayor of Geelong; and Orton preached from: 'What shall I do to inherit eternal life?' In the afternoon he preached again, and had, in addition to the fifty white settlers, about fifty aboriginals in his congregation. He then went up to the head of Corio Bay and selected a site of 64,000 acres for an aboriginal mission station, which was subsequently granted by the Government for the mission, and was known as Buntingdale.

During the latter part of 1836 and 1837 several Methodists came over from Tasmania, amongst them George Lilly, J. J. Peers, the chief musician of Victorian Methodism, and W. Witton. A class of seven was formed under the leadership of Witton, and was held in his house in Lonsdale Street. A Sunday school was started in a house at the south end of Russell Street; and in 1838 the first chapel was built at the corner of Swanston and Little Flinders Street, at a cost of £250. It was a brick building 30 feet by 16, and afterwards became the kitchen of 'Champion's Hotel.' It was pulled down in 1905, and one of the original bricks is preserved in the museum of Queen's College. Benjamin Hurst and Francis Tuckfield were appointed to take charge of the Aboriginal Mission at Buntingdale. They arrived in Victoria in 1839 and 1838 respectively, and supplied the Melbourne pulpit once a month. About the same time Messrs. E. S. Parker and James Dredge, who had been appointed by the

Colonial Office as assistant protectors of the aborigines, arrived at Port Phillip. They were active Methodists; indeed, Parker was for a time in the ministry in England, and they rendered splendid service as local preachers. A letter, preserved in the library of Queen's College, was sent to the chairman of the Van Dieman's Land district by Dredge and Parker, urging the appointment of a minister. It is dated February 20, 1839, and states: '(1) This township contains a population of nearly 2,000 souls, with an Episcopal clergyman, a Presbyterian and an Independent minister, and church accommodation by the whole for about 500. (2) We have at present a congregation of about 100 persons, for whose accommodation we have nearly ready a temporary chapel, 32 feet by 16 feet. We have also a society of from twenty-five to thirty members. (3) We have made application to the Government for a grant of land on which to erect a substantial chapel and minister's house, and have a subscription list to the amount of nearly £350.'

The result of this letter was a second visit by Orton early in 1839, and a visit in November of the same year by Simpson, the minister in Launceston. The latter records that he found a population of 4,000; there were fifty members of the Methodist Society, and the chapel was overcrowded with worshippers. The Government had granted a piece of land for a chapel, conditionally on £300 being raised; and Simpson got the members together and induced six of them to guarantee £50 each in order to secure the site. He strongly urged the appointment of a minister, even if it should be necessary to take one away from Tasmania. 'I know not,' he writes, 'a finer field for usefulness in any of our British settlements in this part of the world.' The site granted by the Government was on the Eastern Hill, which was too remote from the centre of population to serve the need of the Methodists; Witton, with no little difficulty, secured an exchange for half an acre at the corner of Collins

Street and Queen Street, where the Bank of Australasia now stands, and the building of the chapel was forthwith commenced.

Orton, whose failing health had compelled him to ask for a furlough, nobly consented to delay his departure for England in order to take temporary charge in Melbourne. He arrived on October 3, 1840, and found a society of eighty members with four leaders and seven local preachers. He held the first Quarterly Meeting at his house in Russell Street on January 28, 1841, the members present being the Rev. Joseph Orton, and Messrs. Dredge, Thorpe, Witton, Wilkinson, Peers, Forster, Wellard, Crockett, Willoughby, and Smith. In April 1841 Samuel Wilkinson, the first resident Wesleyan minister appointed to Melbourne, arrived from Sydney. The new Collins Street Chapel was opened on June 24 of that year, the preachers being the Revs. W. Waterfield, J. Orton, Tuckfield, and Forbes. New chapels were determined on at Newton (Fitzroy), and the Brickfields (Brunswick). In 1842 Orton left for England, but died on the way off Cape Horn, and was buried at sea. The growth of Geelong claimed attention; and in 1842 James Dredge was sent there as a hired local preacher, and laboured successfully till 1846, when he left for England; but, like Orton, died before reaching its shores. The first Yarra Street Church was erected, or rather transferred, for it had been a weatherboard store, in 1842, and was opened on February 20 by Benjamin Hurst. The same year saw the first Methodist chapel erected in Portland; and in 1844 it appears on the plan of the Melbourne Circuit under the charge of Mr. Thomas Wilkinson.

In 1842 William Schofield was appointed to Melbourne, and was succeeded in 1845 by Edward Sweetman, who received as his assistant in 1847 William Lowe. At the Quarterly Meeting of July 1847, the two first candidates for the ministry from Victoria were nominated: John Christian Symons, who was associated with the foundation of the

Y.M.C.A. in London, and had come out as chaplain on the *Maitland*, and Robert C. Flockart. The membership had now reached 412 with fifty-one on trial in the whole of the colony; but in 1848 the numbers were dissected, and we find Melbourne 294; Geelong 129; Buntingdale two. The next year Portland Bay was made a separate circuit, with thirty-four members. In 1849 the ministers in Melbourne were H. H. Gaud and John Harcourt. There was thus steady progress during this period; the only drawback being the abandonment of the Aboriginal Mission at Buntingdale. Tuckfield worked there with unflagging zeal until 1848; the place was then sold and the mission relinquished.

In 1849 the Primitive Methodists sent John Ride to Melbourne; under his administration the church at the corner of Lygon and Latrobe Streets was built, and soon he was able to report a membership of forty.

In 1850 William Butters was appointed to Melbourne, and owing to the difficulty and expense of travelling to Sydney, Melbourne was made a separate district, though it was still under the general control of the chairman of the Sydney district, the Rev. W. B. Boyce. The first District Meeting was held on September 9, 1851. The ministers present were William Butters (chairman), F. Lewis (secretary), W. Lightbody, John Harcourt, and Samuel Waterhouse. Mr. Waterhouse was in charge of what was called the Bush Mission, which included Bacchus Marsh, Kilmore, Kyneton, and Mount Franklin. The returns showed 712 members, 1,283 Sunday scholars, and about 5,000 attendants on public worship. The property included the church and parsonage in Collins Street, a school in Lonsdale Street, where Wesley Church now stands, and churches at Collingwood, Brunswick, Williamstown, Great, Little, and East Brighton, Richmond, and Pentridge.

The discovery of gold in 1851 revolutionized the state of affairs in Victoria. Between 1851 and 1854 the population increased from 97,000 to 312,000, and a large proportion of

the newcomers were Methodist miners from Cornwall and the north of England. The sudden influx of immigrants was a severe tax upon the accommodation in Melbourne; and Butters, with the help of laymen like Walter Powell, Webb, Guthridge, Beaver, and others, built the Wesleyan Immigrants' Home in 1852, in which provision was made for the temporary housing of the new arrivals. It stood at the corner of Rathdown and Queensbury Streets, and for many years fulfilled the philanthropic intentions of its founders. The need for it having ceased, it was sold in 1881 for £4,388. The proceeds were lent to the Building Fund of the Methodist Ladies' College, the interest being paid to the trustees of the proposed Affiliated College as an endowment for the training of ministerial students. Butters lost no time in visiting the gold-fields, and services were begun, at first in tents or under the open sky, conducted by devoted laymen like James Sanderson, who preached the first Methodist sermon in Ballarat, Langsford of Castlemaine, John Boots, one of the first Methodists in South Australia, and James Warnock, of Maldon, the well-known 'Jimmy' Jeffrey, a Cornish local preacher, whose homely and pointed sermons were heard all over the gold-fields, Gillet, Moyle, James, and Fizelle of Bendigo, Jonathan Falder of Tarnagulla, Job Hansford of Dunolly, and George Middleton of Inglewood. The first resident minister on the gold-fields was J. C. Symons, who pitched his tent at Pennyweight Creek between Chewton and Castlemaine, or Forest Creek, as it was then called, in 1852. He was joined in a few weeks by J. Chapman, and as the result of their efforts the first gold-fields church was opened in July 1852 at Wesley Hill. T. B. Vipont went to Ballarat in 1853, and was followed by Theo. Taylor; J. W. Crisp preached the first sermon in Clunes; W. P. Wells followed Symons at Castlemaine; John Mewton founded the cause at Maldon; Bendigo was at first worked from Castlemaine, but in 1853 received its first minister in the person of Thomas Raston. In 1854 there were in the four gold-

field circuits 505 members, 727 Sunday scholars, and some 4,000 attendants on public worship.

In 1851 Joseph Townend, of the Wesleyan Methodist Association, afterwards the United Methodist Free Church, came to Melbourne, and began services in the Temperance Hall, Russell Street, and in the church in Albert Street, Collingwood. There were also causes in Kew, Brunswick, and Geelong, which Townend served with great zeal and wisdom.

The Rev. Robert Young visited Melbourne in 1853. He preached at Collins Street and at Geelong, and opened a new church at St. Kilda. He returned after a six months' tour in the islands, and was surprised at the rapid growth of the city in the interval. Omnibuses were running in the principal streets, a railway was in course of construction from the port, and many new buildings had been erected. He opened the church at Brunswick, and made a tour of the gold-fields. During his visit £600 was raised to pay the passage of six new ministers from England. As the result of his report to the British Conference, the plan for forming the Australasian and Polynesian Missions into a distinct and affiliated Conference was adopted. The returns from Victoria showed 20 circuits; 31 churches; 40 other preaching places; 15 ministers; 151 local preachers; 1,955 members, with 84 on trial; 3,507 Sunday scholars; 3,007 day scholars; and 18,897 attendants on public worship. Daniel J. Draper was appointed to the Melbourne East Circuit, and was elected chairman of the district. His colleagues in Melbourne were John Eggleston, J. C. Symons, William Hall, J. W. Crisp, and J. S. Waugh. Of the ministers on that station sheet, only one, Joseph Albiston, survives.

Draper, realizing his responsibilities as chairman, lost no time in visiting the gold-field circuits, and in the course of the year had toured the whole of the colony. The Conference of 1856, the first Melbourne Conference, recognized the importance of this work of general supervision, and released

Draper from circuit work, appointing him superintendent of the Immigrants' Home. To his truly apostolic labours Victorian Methodism is under an incalculable obligation. On August 26, 1857, the opening services of Wesley Church, Lonsdale Street, were begun. Draper read the morning prayers, and Butters preached from Zech. iv. 6, 7. Dr. Cairns (Presbyterian), Isaac New (Baptist), W. L. Binks, and Joseph Dare also took part in the opening services. Wesley Church took the place of the old Collins Street Church. The Collins Street site was sold for £40,000, of which, however, only £35,000 was actually paid. Of this sum £19,000 was allotted to Wesley Church, a site was bought in Bourke Street for £5,500, which was afterwards sold for £3,000, involving a loss of £2,500, and the remainder was divided between North Melbourne, St. Kilda, and Brunswick Street. It is easy to criticize after the event; had the trustees leased the Collins Street site, instead of parting with it outright, the finances of the Church would have been greatly benefited, as it is now worth ten times what the trustees then received. The stones of the old church were taken to North Melbourne and used in the building of the church, and the pews and galleries were also reinstated there.

The next years were characterized by a gracious revival, which, beginning at Brighton in the May of 1859, gradually spread to Melbourne and to the country districts. It arose spontaneously, and was carried on by the circuit ministers without any assistance at first from professional evangelists. Notable amongst those who were most successful in leading sinners to Christ was Joseph Dare, a born evangelist, whose name is still gratefully remembered by many of his sons in the gospel. The climax came in 1863 with the visits first of the Rev. William Taylor from California, and then of Matthew Burnett, the Yorkshire temperance advocate. Taylor began his work in Wesley Church, where hundreds were converted, and then visited Geelong, Ballarat, and other parts of the colony, with unbroken success. Amongst his

converts were numbered David O'Donnell, Thomas Adamson, Barnard Butchers, and Moses Bullas, who all became well-known ministers in the Methodist Church. Increases of hundreds of members were reported every year from 1859 to 1863, and the result of Taylor's work was seen in the increase of 1,705 recorded in 1864. During these seven years the membership more than doubled; in 1858 it was 2,194; in 1864, 8,088. Not the least of the factors in the prosperous condition of the Church were the visits of Dr. Jobson in 1861, and of Ebenezer Jenkins in 1863.

That same year was notable for the division of the district into three; Melbourne, Geelong and Ballarat, and Castlemaine and Sandhurst, and also for the celebration of the Jubilee of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. £5,000 was raised in Victoria as a thank-offering; the money being devoted partly to the establishment of a Church Building and Loan Fund, partly to the Fund for a Theological Institution, and partly to the initiation of a new mission. The last great enterprise with which Draper's name is associated was the founding of Wesley College. The foundation-stone was laid on January 4, 1865, by the Governor, Sir Charles Darling, and the college was opened in February 1866. One of the most generous donors to the Building Fund was Walter Powell, whose name is still associated with an annual scholarship. Draper sailed for England early in 1865, and during his visit secured the services of Dr. Corrigan, of Trinity College, Dublin, as the first head master. He left on his return voyage on January 5, 1866; on January 11 the *London* foundered in the Bay of Biscay, and all on board were lost save nineteen. Mr. and Mrs. Draper went down with the ship, spending their last hours in consoling their fellow passengers and pointing them to the Saviour. The news reached Melbourne on March 15 and plunged the whole city into sorrow, relieved only by the pride which the heroism of Mr. Draper inspired. A tablet was erected to his memory in Wesley Church, and a scholar-

ship was founded in his name at Wesley College. His Life, written by the Rev. J. C. Symons, is a worthy memorial of his work and character.

An important event in the development of Methodism during this period was the establishment in 1857 of *The Wesleyan Chronicle*, a weekly newspaper for the recording of Church matters and the discussion of religious questions. It was edited successively by Isaac Harding, William Hill, and J. C. Symons. In 1875 it was enlarged from quarto to folio size, and was rechristened *The Spectator*. For many years *The Spectator* was edited by Dr. Lorimer Fison, whose strong common sense and wide learning raised it to a commanding position amongst the religious journals of Victoria, a position which it has retained during the editorship of Richard Ditterich.

In 1870 Stephen's Education Act abolished the denominational primary schools and established a system of universal free and non-religious education. Up to this time the primary education of the community had been carried on by the Churches, and Methodism had taken her fair share of this work; at the time of the passing of the Act she had seventy day schools with 8,861 scholars. All the Churches, except the Roman Catholic, accepted the new system; whether wisely or not may be questioned. It has become more and more obvious that effective religious education cannot be given by the State; and it is doubtful whether the Sunday schools can at all adequately perform this service.

The General Conference of 1873 decided to divide the administration of the affairs of the Church amongst four Annual Conferences for New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania, South Australia, and New Zealand respectively, under the control of a General Australasian Conference, to meet triennially. Accordingly, the first Victoria and Tasmania Conference met in Wesley Church, Melbourne, on January 28, 1874, with John Cope as President and John Harcourt as Secretary. The returns showed 615 churches

and preaching-places; 102 ministers; 628 local preachers; 11,814 members; 36,548 Sunday scholars; and 83,278 attendants on public worship. Amongst the ministers present were John Watsford, the first Australian-born youth to enter the Methodist ministry, a successful missionary and a prince of evangelists; Joseph Albiston, distinguished father of a still more distinguished son; Henry Bath, profoundest and most eloquent of preachers; Edmund S. Bickford, afterwards to prove the most able and indefatigable of Home Missionary secretaries; Barnard Butchers, mighty in controversy; James W. Crisp, a man greatly beloved; Joseph Dare, now a supernumerary; Martin Dyson, the Hill of Australian Methodism; Alexander R. Edgar, fervent evangelist, and later founder of the Central Mission at Wesley Church; John Eggleston, winner of souls; Lorimer Fison, successful missionary and foremost amongst the anthropologists of Australia; William H. Fitchett, brilliant journalist, adroit controversialist, world-famed author, and Fernley Lecturer; Thomas Grove, most judicious of administrators; Francis Neale and Edward Wason Nye, both sons of the Manse and old Grove boys; William A. Quick, most courteous of gentlemen, and the founder of Queen's College; John C. Symons, whose brusque manner concealed the tenderest of hearts; Edwin I. Watkin, the fervid orator; James S. Waugh, Governor of Wesley College; Thomas Williams, author of *Fiji and the Fijians;* William Williams, judicious in counsel, and unflinching in duty; and many others who each did yeoman service for Methodism. Amongst those received into full Connexion was Thomas Adamson, destined to splendid service in connexion with the Church Building and Loan Fund, loyal to his heart's core to Methodism. The General Conference of 1875 adopted the principle of lay representation in the Conference; the Methodist Conference Act, 1876, gave the necessary legal sanction to the change; and in the Conference of 1877 the ministers were joined by an equal number of laymen, amongst whom were Richard Hodgson, Edward Oakley, Dr. Cutts,

J. T. Harcourt, Edward John, Thomas J. Crouch, Alfred J. Smith, John Bee, James Jamieson, John Keys, William Humble, Alexander Dennis, James Warnock, Richard Hocking, William Lancaster, Peter Learmonth, and Jonathan Best.

A far-reaching movement was initiated at the Conference of 1876, when John Watsford was appointed Home Mission secretary. In a country in which expansion is going on so rapidly as in Victoria, nothing is more necessary than a wise organization for occupying and sustaining new spheres of labour. Methodism, by reason of its free employment of lay agents and its Connexional system of finance, has exceptional advantages for this kind of work; but a wise and enthusiastic head is most important if the greatest possible gain is to be reaped. Such a man was John Watsford, and the work of which he had laid the foundations was carried on with brilliant success by Edmund S. Bickford, who took his place in 1886. 'In journeyings often, in perils in the wilderness,' this truly apostolical man gave himself body and soul to the task of providing the means of grace for those who were beyond the reach of the ordinary circuit administration; his lamented death in 1904 was undoubtedly due in part to his excessive labours. He had a like-minded successor, trained under his own direction, in Albert T. Holden, under whom the work is being prosecuted with ever-growing promise. During Mr. Bickford's term of office, the Livingstone Home for neglected children was founded at Cheltenham, as well as the Mintaro Home for girls. The former still continues its Christ-like work; but Mintaro, after some years of good service under the care of Thomas Adamson and his wife, had to be closed owing to the difficulty of getting a sufficient number of inmates. In 1912 the income of the Home Missionary Society amounted to £7,446; it was employing seventy-two home missionaries, who supplied forty-four stations and gave help in twenty-seven circuits; sixty-six children were admitted to the Livingstone Home, and it was reported that 680 children had passed through the Home.

But the city has its special needs as well as the country. The growth of the suburbs around Melbourne led to a gradual desertion of the city churches, whilst the population in their neighbourhood showed no disposition to come in. The news of the success of the Forward Movement in England suggested the application of similar methods; and in 1893 the Central Mission was established at Wesley Church, under the charge of Alexander R. Edgar. It was an immediate success; the church was crowded at the Pleasant Sunday Afternoons, and again at the evening services; and in course of time a Home for Fallen Women at South Yarra, an institute for the reform of alcoholic patients, a boys' farm at Burwood, and a hospice and men's shelter were instituted. After the consummation of Methodist union, the old Primitive Methodist Church in Lygon Street was incorporated in the mission; later the old churches at North Melbourne and at Brunswick Street were added, and a new mission was started in Collingwood in 1905, under the superintendency of T. S. B. Woodfull, a striking feature of which is the Free Kindergarten. In 1906 the old Cecil Street Church in South Melbourne became a mission, under the direction of Charles Tregear. In 1912 the membership in the various missions amounted to 2,048, and eleven ministers were employed in this branch of the work. Not the least of the many services rendered to the community by the Central Mission was the part it played in the agitation for the amendment of the Gambling and Licensing Laws. Sunday after Sunday Mr. W. H. Judkins and his helpers maintained an active protest against the inefficiency of the existing Acts and the slackness of their administration. Every device was used to silence the indefatigable little man, even to the point of threats of personal violence. Nothing, however, was able to daunt him; he persevered through evil report and good report until the passing of an amended Act was secured. In this crusade he sacrificed his own health; but he met the death-sentence of the physicians with the same unflinching courage which he

had shown in the rostrum of Wesley Church, and died in the full triumph of faith in 1912.

The Conference lost no time in endeavouring to complete its system of secondary and University education. In 1882 the Methodist Ladies' College at Hawthorn was opened, under the presidency of William H. Fitchett. Under his skilful management the college has had a career of ever-growing prosperity, and now numbers 345 pupils, of whom ninety-five are boarders, and a teaching staff of forty. The head masters have been Messrs. Frank Wheen, E. J. Corr, and Otto Krome. Steps were taken also to raise the necessary funds for the erection of a college to be affiliated with the University of Melbourne. William A. Quick took the lead in this effort, and as the result of his indefatigable exertions £6,000 was promised; this was supplemented by a grant of £13,000 from the Jubilee Fund, and the college was built and opened under the name of Queen's College in 1888, under the mastership of Edward H. Sugden, who came from England to take charge. The college has been three times enlarged, and now numbers sixty-seven resident and twenty-one non-resident students. Wesley College also made great progress during this period, and under the headmastership of Mr. L. A. Adamson has reached a position previously unequalled in its history, with a scholars' roll of 475, of whom 101 are boarders.

In 1886 it was resolved to celebrate the Jubilee of Victorian Methodism by raising a Thanksgiving Fund. John Watsford was appointed secretary, and as the result of his energetic advocacy a sum of £40,000 was realized. Of this sum £13,000 was set apart for the building of the Affiliated College; £4,000 was granted to the Local Preachers' Association for the help of local preachers in distressed circumstances; and the remainder was formed into a Loan Fund to assist in the building of churches and parsonages. Thanks largely to this effort, the Church was able to weather the financial storm of 1893, and no creditor of the Victorian

Methodist Church lost a single penny of principal or interest. Victoria followed the example of the mother country in celebrating the opening of the new century by raising a Thanksgiving Fund. William Williams was appointed secretary, and some £20,000 was contributed in Victoria and Tasmania. The money was expended in the reduction of Church debts and the relief of trusts which had been brought into difficulties during the financial crisis of 1893. Some part of it was devoted to the payment of the necessary preliminary expenses in the carrying out of Methodist union.

The movement towards the union of the various sections of the Methodist Church began during the sixties. In 1866 George Daniell moved a resolution in favour of union in the Victorian Conference, but it failed to find a seconder. It was not till 1884 that the General Conference passed a resolution 'commending the subject to the favourable consideration of the Annual Conferences, and directing them to open communications with other branches of the Methodist family in their respective colonies.' In 1888 the first actual union took place, when the one existing church of the Methodist New Connexion in Victoria was taken over by the Wesleyan Conference, and its able minister, William Shaw, received into the Wesleyan Church. The Conference of 1893 declared that in its judgement the glory of God in the extension of Christ's kingdom would be promoted by the organic union of the Methodist Churches in Victoria and Tasmania; but could not recommend that immediate steps be taken to secure it. The next Conference, however, was bolder; and the District Synods, having declared in favour of union, advised the adoption by the forthcoming General Conference of the basis of union which had been drawn up by a conference of representatives of the various Churches in 1892. Meanwhile, it suggested the formation of a Federal Council, with Dr. Watkin, who had been the most consistent and earnest advocate of union, as convener. These proposals were accepted and endorsed by the General Conference of

1894 with some modifications; and the Annual Conferences were authorized to carry union into effect in their respective States on the basis proposed. Active negotiations were at once entered into between the branches of the Methodist Church in Victoria and Tasmania; and at the Conference of 1898 it was resolved that union should be consummated in 1902.

There were still a few members of the Conference who thought that the proposal was premature; but they retired from the Conference before the vote was taken, and the motion was carried unanimously. Accordingly, the first Conference of the United Church was held in Wesley Church in 1902, Dr. Fitchett being President and Arthur Powell Secretary. The Wesleyan members took their places in the church, and then the representatives of the Primitive, Bible Christian, and United Methodist Free Churches marched in procession into their places, singing (*absit omen!*) 'Onward, Christian soldiers, marching as to war!' In spite of this militant opening, the Conference was one of great peace and harmony. The returns showed that the Wesleyan Church brought into the union 178 ministers and 22,151 members; the Primitives 37 ministers and 4,180 members; the U.M.F.C. 17 ministers and 1,619 members; and the Bible Christians 36 ministers and 2,684 members. The total membership in the United Church was reported as 30,674. Amongst the ministers who came into the United Conference from the junior Churches were the venerable evangelist Joseph Ross, William Hunt, President of the United Conference in 1908, Thomas Copeland, James H. Cain, William H. Chapman, Daniel Daley, George W. Harrison, Henry Heathershaw, Francis Mason, Alfred Madsen, John Seccomb, William J. Treloar, Edmund Turner, Henry Wallace, Henry Yeo, and many other good men and true, whose praise had been in their respective Churches, and whose gifts have been of the greatest service in the United Church. A series of great public meetings in the Exhibition

Building was held to celebrate the occasion; and the procession of the Sunday schools through the streets of Melbourne impressed upon the general public the beginning of the new epoch in Methodist history.

The successful accomplishment of Methodist union has stimulated the desire for a larger union still, embracing all the Protestant Churches of the State. Since 1904 committees have been sitting, and as the result a better feeling and more enlightened mutual understanding have been steadily growing. A great step forward was taken in 1913, when the Congress of the Union of Churches was summoned by Mr. W. Wooton, an earnest Congregationalist, and met in the Collins Street Congregational Church, under the presidency of Alexander M'Callum. All the Protestant Churches were represented, with the exception of the so-called Church of Christ, and the Society of Friends. The debates revealed the most brotherly feeling; plans were proposed for the co-education of candidates for the ministry, and for the prevention of over-lapping in Home Mission work, which are sure to bring about an improvement in these respects. Whilst there seemed little prospect of organic union between the Anglican and the Baptist Churches and the other Churches represented, there was a strong feeling that there was no insuperable barrier to the union within a reasonable time of the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists. Indeed, a very practical step had been already taken in the constitution by Act of Parliament in 1910 of the Melbourne College of Divinity, with power to confer the degrees of B.D. and D.D. and a diploma in theology. The college includes representatives of the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Congregational Churches, and no difficulty has yet arisen in the harmonious working of the Board.

Nothing has been more remarkable and hopeful of late years than the growth of enthusiasm for foreign missions. The wonderful meetings at the last Sydney General Conference stimulated zeal for this branch of the Church's work

throughout Australasia; and the feeling there aroused has been cherished and augmented by the work of the Laymen's Missionary movement. Under the leadership of laymen like F. J. Cato, J. W. Eggleston, Dr. Gault, Dr. Wilkinson, Robert Beckett, Aaron Danks, and others, the movement has made swift headway, and by the visits of its members to the various churches has stimulated them to increased interest and liberality. The contributions have increased from £5,662 in 1909 to £8,884 in 1913, and the tide is still rising. The legislation of the General Conference of 1913, by which representatives of the various Annual Conferences were added to the Mission Board, will greatly assist in the development of the missionary spirit throughout the Commonwealth.

Sunday-school affairs have received special attention during the last few years. In 1910 one of the most able of the younger ministers, John W. Grove, was set apart for the service of the Sunday School Department, and he was succeeded in 1912 by Horton H. Williams. These brethren have done splendid service in the reorganization of our Sunday-school work on the lines of modern development. The Conference has never ceased to urge the introduction of the Bible into the State schools, and has shown its practical sympathy by permitting one of its ministers, Joseph Nicholson, to devote his whole services to the League for the carrying out of that object.

Another interesting development of recent years has been the growth of the Methodist Book Dépôt. Originally located in a most unsuitable room at Wesley Church, it was first removed to better premises in Little Collins Street. Under the able management of Mr. G. B. Duff, the business increased so fast that it was resolved to build new premises on a corner block in the same street, and these were opened in 1913. They include a tea-room, the whole profits of which are devoted to foreign missions.

In this necessarily rapid survey of a century's work, much has been omitted and much merely indicated, where fuller

details would have been of advantage; too little honour has been done to the faithful men and women who under God have made the history of Methodism in Victoria and Tasmania. But enough has been recorded to show the manifest hand of the great Head of the Church in the founding and the progress of this branch of His Holy Catholic Church in these States. To His name alone be the glory, world without end. Amen.

CHAPTER III

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

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SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

Duke of York—Angas—First classes—First church—Arrival of Longbottom—Primitives—Critical times—Copper discoveries—Growth—State aid—Central Church in Adelaide—Gold rush—Extension—Draper—Wright—Way—Watsford—Taylor—Prince Alfred College—Bible Christians—Methodist New Connexion—Australian Conference—Annual and General Conferences—Lay representation—Western Australia—Palmerston—Other Methodist Churches—Uniform advance—Boards of union—Sentiment—Advance towards union—Critical stage—Plan of union—Subsequent expansion—Present position of Methodism.

CHAPTER III

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

From the rugged headland at the north-west extremity of Kangaroo Island, now occupied by the Cape Borda lighthouse, a watcher at sunset on July 26, 1836, might have seen an unusual sight, and perhaps heard an extraordinary sound. The white sails of a vessel making for Investigator's Straits had caught the rays of the declining sun. Presently its lights shone over the waste of waters, and from one of its cabins blended voices were raised in sacred song and earnest prayer. The vessel was the *Duke of York,* under Captain Morgan, bringing the first contingent of settlers to the new province of South Australia, with Mr. Samuel Stephens, the manager of the South Australian Company. The anchorage at Nepean Bay was reached on the following morning. A boat-load of passengers was set ashore, and their first act was to hold a thanksgiving service for the safe conclusion of their voyage, which the captain concluded with an extemporary prayer. Captain Morgan was an ardent Methodist, and Mr. Stephens was a son of the Rev. John Stephens, President of the British Conference in 1827. The five months' voyage of the *Duke of York* had been that of a tiny floating circuit, with its regular divine services on Sundays and week-nights, and its Sunday school for the children. The Captain's diary recorded that in the evening of the day of landing 'family worship' was held on board. The recognition of an overruling Providence in the manner described was spontaneous and sincere.

The prominence of Methodism- its spirit, principles, and institutions- in the earliest stages of South Australian colon-

ization was neither incidental nor accidental. No offshoot from the United Kingdom owed more to religious sentiments and philanthropic motives than did this adventure, unless it be the exodus of the Pilgrim Fathers to North America in the *Mayflower*. The project was undertaken less as a commercial enterprise than as a means of relieving the congested population in the old country, and of establishing a centre of moral influence together with intellectual light in the southern world. Its basis, though now universally approved, was then so startling a novelty as to provoke strong opposition. But for the confidence in it, and the energy of a group of large-minded and sagacious men, the scheme must have failed. Every member of this group deserves to be held in honourable memory; but for direct, active, personal, service George Fife Angas was easily first. When the proposal seemed about to collapse he made its success possible by forming the South Australian Company, of which he became chairman, incurring thereby heavy financial liability and still heavier personal responsibility. He knew that no system, however perfect, can be self-executing, and that more depends on the efficiency of the workman than upon the mechanical fitness of the works.

How Mr. Angas felt and discharged his duties may be seen in the following extract from his private journal. He wrote on January 26, 1836: 'I am now deeply engaged in the outfit of the three ships (which the Company had purchased) and in the onerous duty of appointing captains, officers, and crews. As far as is in my power in the appointment of managers, officers, and men for the Company, I have sought out and engaged those who fear God; and where I could not do this I took the next best I could. . . . I trust the present movement will lay the foundation of a new kingdom in truth and righteousness; and I pray that the power and influence put into my hands may be used for His glory and for the good of the people of South Australia.' This is a necessary explanation of how it came to pass that

among the pioneers there were so many earnest and devoted Christians, men who feared God and delighted in His service, whose influence powerfully affected the community, and is operative still.

The 'three ships' reached Kangaroo Island and disembarked their passengers in quick succession. As soon as the manager's house was erected it was used for divine services, which were afterwards held in a carpenter's shop, and conducted by Messrs. East and Boots. Not long after the arrival of the Surveyor-General, Colonel Light, Holdfast Bay was selected as the place of debarkation on the mainland; and there also the new arrivals built their altars for worship, even before they laid their hearths. Pending the survey of the Capital, everything was crude and temporary; but perhaps the primitive surroundings enhanced the privileges of praise and prayer. 'Like draws to like,' and when a move was made from the shores of Holdfast Bay to the banks of the River Torrens, a band of about twenty Methodists met for worship in one or other of the scattered tents that were dignified by the title of Buffalo Row. This was continued until Mr. Edward Stephens, a brother of the South Australia Company's first manager, placed a store-room, and afterwards his spacious kitchen, at their disposal. It was in the latter meeting-place on May 11, 1837, after due notice, that a Methodist society was formed, consisting of fifteen members, which was divided into male and female classes, John C. White and Jacob Abbot being appointed leaders.

Grand men were these in every sense of the word. Typical colonists, and withal full of zeal and knowledge. Mr. White had been a local preacher in London, and a candidate for the ministry, but his health failed. At Holdfast Bay he conducted the first Methodist service on the mainland, in the tent of Mr. Stephens; and his knowledge of Methodist law and usage qualified him for the practical superintendency of the infant church in Adelaide. Mr. Abbot was like-minded: sincere, ardent, and devout. At a later period his time was

fully given to Church work, and he became the pioneer Home Missionary, travelling incessantly among the scattered and remote settlers who were constantly pushing into what was then known as the bush. Both these good men outlived all their fellow members, and though their subsequent spheres of action were widely divided, the bond between them was never sundered. By an interesting coincidence, forty-four years to the very day after their appointment, they met in the Cathedral of South Australian Methodism at a sacramental service. Their residences were 1,000 miles apart; they had not seen each other for two-score years; and it may be imagined with what emotions they knelt together again at the table of the Lord.

The suitability of the Methodist system for evangelistic extension received in this case a striking illustration. Without waiting for ecclesiastical authority or depending on pastoral oversight, the men and women who had formed themselves into a society proceeded in as regular and orderly fashion as if they had both. Their piety was nourished by their class meetings. They arranged for public services, prayer-meetings, and a Sunday school. They appointed officers, examined and accredited local preachers, fixed the times of collections and Church meetings, prepared a 'plan,' and told off one of their number for special work among the aborigines. All this took place, it should be remembered, amid the inconveniences, and despite the difficulties inseparable from the formation of a new settlement, accentuated by the incessant disagreement among colonial officials on public questions.

Success is entailed wherever such principles and their animating spirit are translated into definite action. Numbers increased, both by immigration and conversion, so that ampler accommodation became a pressing necessity. The site chosen was in Hindley Street on an allotment leased from the South Australian Company. The story of this erection would form a prose epic. The building was of stone, but there was

difficulty about roof timbers; and accordingly, as soon as the walls were high enough, tarpaulins were stretched across, and in this condition the opening services were held on Sunday, March 13, 1838. The pioneer church of South Australia was 50 feet by 22, and its total cost £370; much of the labour expended upon it being gratuitous. The first permanent edifice in the new colony to be definitely consecrated to the service of God naturally received considerable public support. Better still, the first love-feast, on June 3, 1838, conducted by Mr. Abbot, was followed by the first of a long series of blessed revivals, in the course of which 'much people was added unto the Lord.' The growth of the congregation was such that in a short time every sitting was let, and the question of enlargement had to be seriously considered.

Meanwhile, though the infant church was making good use of its talents and opportunities, the need of a regularly appointed minister was felt with increasing intensity. It was made a matter of prayer to God and supplication to the constituted authorities. Though a clergyman of the Church of England and a Congregational minister were on the ground, no provision for religious ordinances had been made by the British Wesleyan Conference, perhaps because its entire work in the southern world was in charge of the Missionary Department. Application was made to the chairmen of the New South Wales and Tasmanian districts; and it is almost pathetic to read the appeals that were sent to them, to which they were unable to respond. The strong desire was gratified in an altogether unexpected way, the story of which can only be told here in briefest outline, though for many reasons it is worthy of preservation in fullest detail.

After several years service in India the Rev. William Longbottom was transferred in 1836 from Madras to Capetown for health reasons. Having recruited somewhat, he returned to India; but meanwhile had been stationed at Swan River, Western Australia. How to get there was the question; and a study of Mr. Longbottom's itinerary on the map is suggestive

of the contrast between then and now. He first proceeded to Mauritius, where he was delayed for nine weeks. Thence he obtained a passage to Hobart in Tasmania, and another long detention followed. At length, as the only opportunity of reaching his intended destination, he embarked with his wife and infant son on the *Fanny*, a cockle-shell of thirty-five tons, and set sail on June 9, 1838. Stormy weather was encountered, the vessel was driven out of her course, and about midnight on June 21 was cast ashore on the Coorang beach between the Murray mouth and Lacepede Bay. Though the *Fanny* was totally wrecked no lives were lost, the party was unmolested by aborigines, and after several weeks of most severe privation and hardship the shipwrecked minister and his family reached Adelaide on August 17.

Here he was received by the waiting church with affectionate enthusiasm as an angel of God. Provision was made for partly replacing the losses he had sustained. A sphere of usefulness lay ready to his hand, and no one thought of him proceeding to his Conference appointment. His labours were immediately successful; and the project of building a new and larger church received such an impetus that within little more than three months arrangements were completed for entering on this enterprise. There was a large amount of courageous confidence and sacrifice displayed in the new departure. The freehold of the Hindley Street property could not be obtained; but Mr. Edward Stephens, with characteristic generosity, gave an allotment measuring 70 feet by 90 in Gawler Place. The position was central, and Methodist interests in the Hindley Street premises having been disposed of to the Baptists, represented by Mr. McLaren, the second manager of the South Australian Company and father of the illustrious McLaren of Manchester, the change was resolved upon. Subscriptions increased, a design for a roomy and elegant though not ornate structure was obtained. The foundation-stone was laid by the Governor, Sir George Gawler, on November 7, 1838, and the building was formally

opened on July 7 of the following year, sermons being preached by the Revs. W. Longbottom, J. Drummond (Presbyterian), and T. A. Stow (Congregationalist).

Mr. Longbottom's labours were successful; but his health having again failed, he was obliged to retire to a less exhaustive sphere. A brief interregnum followed, during which Mr. White was left in charge, sustaining a responsibility he gladly relinquished on the arrival of the saintly John Eggleston in March 1840. Mr. Eggleston's ministry was distinguished by its holy zeal and converting power; but his physical strength, weakened by a horse accident, was unequal to the strain of his labours more abundant. He therefore sought a change, which took effect in 1842, his successor being the Rev. John Weatherstone. This appointment proved unfortunate for reasons that need not now be entered into. All the interests of South Australia suffered severe depression. A disastrous secession from the Church took place, and a more difficult situation was created, which was relieved by the return of the Rev. W. Longbottom to the former scene of his labours. Though still enfeebled in health he continued his useful services until September 1846, when the Rev. D. J. Draper took the burden off his shoulders. He continued to reside in Adelaide or its neighbourhood until July 1849, when his gentle spirit entered into rest.

The union of Methodism in 1900 was the confluence of three converging streams. Hitherto attention has been limited to the larger of the three, which started first; but reference must now be made to the respective origins of the others. It was on a Sunday afternoon in June 1840 that John Wiltshire, a local preacher, supported by his wife and relatives, conducted the first Primitive Methodist service in the Southern Hemisphere. The place was Light Square, Adelaide, and the novelty attracted a considerable congregation. To all inquirers the explanation was given: 'We are Primitive Methodists who have just come from England.' It was a

rallying call to others who had belonged to the same denomination, and on the following Sunday a class was formed consisting of eight members. For four years these earnest people held together, waiting for a minister to take charge of the work. Mr. Wiltshire was the leading spirit, zealous and ardent, urging both brothers and sisters to cultivate and exercise their gifts of exhortation. A sanctuary was erected in Elizabeth Street of the early colonial style of architecture; and at its first Quarterly Meeting in March 1841 the mission reported sixteen members, seven of whom were local preachers, and a Sunday school with twenty scholars.

In 1844 the Revs. J. Long and J. Wilson arrived to sustain and extend the work, and were welcomed with great joy. A better place of worship was needed in Adelaide; and Mr. Long laboured on its behalf with indefatigable industry, sometimes working with his own hands, while his wife collected subscriptions in the streets to purchase materials. Several preaching-places were opened in the suburbs of Adelaide, and a second centre of influence established at Mount Barker. Mr. Wilson was soon removed to New South Wales to commence a mission there; and Mr. Storr, who was sent to supply his place, was stationed at Mount Barker in 1848. By this time the Connexion had two circuits, six chapels, as many Sunday schools, with twenty-eight teachers and 227 scholars, and a Church membership of 139.

It is understood that some of those who helped to form the first Methodist society in Adelaide had been members of the Bible Christian Church in England; but then, and for several years afterwards, they deemed it wisest to cast in their lot with their Wesleyan Methodist brethren. The copper discoveries at Kapunda and Burra, however, attracted a number of immigrants from the British counties where the denomination was strongest. Included in a group of those who settled at Burra were Messrs. Blatchford, Halse, and Pellew, who were local preachers. These earnest men, with others, formed themselves into a church, sixteen persons being

present at the first class-meeting. They arranged for regular public services, took steps to build a place of worship, and sent a request to the Home Conference for ministers. This request was responded to by the appointment of the Revs. James Way and James Rowe, who reached South Australia in November 1850. They soon formed two extensive circuits, the southern with Mr. Way in the city, and the northern with Mr. Rowe at Burra. In both cases they found large and eager congregations waiting to hear the Word, active and zealous coadjutors to assist them in carrying on the work, and a spirit of expectancy which was in itself a presage of success.

This summary of origins, if such it may be called, clearly shows the distinct family likeness of Methodists under any name, and at the same time strongly suggests how largely the extension of Methodism is due to the lay agency it employs and inspires. In each case, as we have seen, the story, nearly as old as the Christian Church, was repeated. 'They therefore that were scattered abroad went about preaching the Word.' God was with them. His Spirit cheered their hearts, and His Providence directed their steps. All honour to such men and women! John C. White walked regularly for a long period from Glenelg to Adelaide and back to conduct services, sometimes travelling barefoot in the darkness to avoid missing the track, and gave up his position in the bank to quarry stone for the first chapel. John Wiltshire, gathering a company in the open air and watching over the little flock, was in some respects his counterpart. James Blatchford, who preached and held prayer-meetings weekly throughout the long voyage from England, and was known as 'the parson' on board, may be paralleled with Captain Morgan. These are typical names from the long catalogue of bright, brave, and faithful men and women who prepared the way of the Lord in this part of the Southern world, and whose names are written in heaven. 'They rest from their labours and their works do follow them.'

When the second half of the nineteenth century began there were three active and flourishing Methodist bodies in South Australia. Each of them had been established by godly and earnest laymen who had brought with them, and kept alive, a large measure of devout enthusiasm. They preached the doctrines they had tested, and observed the ordinances by which they had profited. Hence their lines of development and processes of organization presented much similarity. Though they differed materially in numerical strength, as in the periods of their respective local operations, they adhered to the essential principles of Methodism, and of necessity were alike influenced by the general conditions of their environment.

The province of South Australia had endured severe fluctuations in its general prosperity. Its political constitution was experimental, and proved unequal to the strain of actual trial. As defects became apparent in the plan, and friction occurred in the administrative machinery, there was inevitable trouble. As seen in the light of history, and in view of the novelty of the new departure in the work of colonization, the wonder is, not that mistakes were made and losses incurred, but that these were so few and limited. At the time, however, this was not, and could not be perceived. Accordingly, party feeling ran high. The social atmosphere was electric, and there was a sensitive touchiness in the body politic. Sentiments and feelings of this kind had their effect on Church affairs, and all the more in the domain of Methodism because of the agitation in the mother country. Local differences of opinion were subsequently liable to become serious disagreements, causing the wheels of the gospel chariot to drag. Happily for the welfare of the Church, the principal minister at the helm of its affairs at this critical juncture was an ecclesiastical statesman of the best type. Bold yet prudent, sagacious and enterprising, authoritative but conciliatory, fervent in piety, genial in disposition, and a born administrator, the Rev. Daniel J. Draper left an indelible impression during his eight years of service.

When that term began, in September 1846, the clouds which had overhung the Church and State had begun to roll away. The copper discoveries at Kapunda and Burra Burra, not long afterwards, introduced a rapid return of general prosperity, caused an influx of population, and stimulated the expansion of settlement. A considerable proportion of the persons who were attracted by the impetus of the mining industries hailed from Cornwall, in England, and brought with them their typical fervour. As early as 1847 Burra was visited by the Rev. John Harcourt, Mr. Draper's first colleague; and at the end of that year he personally opened the first chapel there, when there was no other place of worship within seventy miles. It was in the same locality that John Wiltshire, the Primitive Methodist pioneer, repeated his effort of Light Square in Adelaide, by gathering a company around him for an open-air service, and followed it up by cottage meetings. A chapel was built, and a membership of thirty, with five local preachers, was reported before a resident minister could be obtained. When the first Bible Christian ministers, the Revs. James Way and James Rowe, arrived, in November 1850, Mr. Rowe was stationed at Burra, and found on his arrival a strong and increasing church.

Governor Grey's policy of relieving central congestion by practically compelling cultivation of the land bore fruit; and with the expansion of settlement numerous preaching-places were opened in the neighbourhood of Adelaide. Farther afield Willunga, 30 miles to the south-west, and Mount Barker, 20 odd miles eastward, soon claimed and received attention. Churches were organized at both, the public services being almost exclusively conducted by local preachers. Some of these invaluable agents walked to their appointments as much as 30 miles each way. The first offshoots of the Adelaide Circuit were entitled North Mines, including Kapunda and Burra, 50 miles apart, and Willunga. Mount Barker was the head of the second Primitive Methodist circuit.

There were elements of weakness as well as strength in the early organization. It had the faults of its qualities. Sturdy individualism is a useful driving force under proper guidance, but may increase the damage of impact when there is a collision. An early recovery was made from the sharp set-back during the Weatherstone period; but there was greater and more prolonged trouble over the vexed question of State aid to religion, which was not settled till August 1851. The obnoxious principle, which had been introduced by Governor Robe, had been a burning question for five years, till it was repudiated by the first representative legislature. Public opinion was always against it; but in the church there was a strongly divided feeling on the question whether, the money being available, it should or should not be accepted and turned to good account. Agreement was not possible; but happily Mr. Draper's judicious, firm, and kindly management averted serious disaster. It was while this agitation continued that Mr. Draper embarked on the enterprise which has done more for Methodism in Adelaide and South Australia than any other building scheme ever launched. The story of its inception is worth repeating. Walking to and fro in his study while conversing with his most trusted friend, who afterwards became the G. O. M. of the Methodist laity, Mr. Draper exclaimed in his characteristic fashion: 'John Colton, we want a new chapel. We must have a new chapel. I'll give a hundred pounds if you'll give a hundred pounds.' Mr. Colton's laconic response was 'Done.' And if to be 'well begun is half done' the work was justified.

The work of collecting subscriptions was immediately entered upon. An admirable central site was secured. The foundation-stone was laid by Governor Young in July 1850, and the building was opened the following year, having cost over £6,000. Numerous additions were subsequently made to the premises. Galleries were erected and a fine organ (afterwards enlarged) was purchased in 1855. A spacious

lecture hall, class-rooms, manse, and caretaker's residence were added as required, and minor improvements effected. What has long been the cathedral of South Australian Methodism, and is now the head quarters of the Adelaide Central Mission, in regard to suitability for its purpose and completeness of appointments, holds an exceptionally high position. Many hundreds of churches have been erected since then, a few more costly, some more beautiful in external design and more ornate in internal appearance; but it would be difficult to name any of them in which a congregation of equal numbers can hear with greater ease and comfort, or the discourse of a preacher can be more effectively delivered. This is the true test, and it may be freely applied. No other ecclesiastical edifice in Adelaide has had so much effect on the social and religious life of the community. Hundreds of historic gatherings have taken place within its walls. Methodist union was not only debated, but settled under its roof. A host of religious, charitable, and philanthropic movements have there received impetus, and a multitude which no man can number has there been converted to God. When it is remembered that this luminous record began within fourteen years of the time when Adelaide was an unsurveyed, gum-tree-clothed plateau, the far-seeing wisdom and zeal which made it possible must elicit thankful admiration.

While this enterprise was being proceeded with, others were taken in hand. The times were relatively prosperous, population was increasing, and in all the Methodist Churches there was growing activity. An abrupt and severe, but happily only a temporary check to these pleasant conditions came in the latter half of 1851 through the auriferous discoveries in Victoria. In the month of August a veritable exodus of the male population began. It was stated that within three months after news of the Ballarat and Mount Alexander discoveries 15,000 men left South Australia for the gold-fields. The stampede continued until every interest seemed on the verge of ruin. Business places were closed,

farms left untilled, and dwellings empty. Congregations were scattered, Church income in many cases shrank to vanishing point, and every organization was dislocated.

It was not all loss to the Church of God; for South Australian Methodists, especially from the mining centres, became the pioneer evangelists on several of the Victorian diggings, where they are still held in honourable remembrance. Locally the reaction came with the return of successful 'diggers,' and the remittance of their earnings by others. The stream of gold revived business, and the influx of population from over-seas created a market for produce, the effect of which was to stimulate industrial activity. Accordingly, Church operations received a healthy impetus, in which all the Methodist denominations shared. At the Wesleyan Methodist District Meeting, though only four ministers were present, appointments were recommended for six, and the number asked for was eleven. About the same time the Bible Christian ministerial staff was strengthened, and preaching-places were shortly afterwards opened at Gawler Plains, Kapunda, and Auburn in the north; and at Willunga, Yankalilla, and Port Elliot in the south. Primitive Methodism received an opportune reinforcement from England in 1854, which provided for the reopening of stations that had been closed, and the formation of churches at North Adelaide, Beverly, Crafers, Glenelg, Port Gawler, and elsewhere.

Limitations of space prohibit detailed reference to the work of extension which characterized all three of the Methodist denominations. There was between them, no doubt, a good deal of rivalry, but it was mostly friendly, and not entirely to be deprecated. There was much similarity in the usual process. A group of like-minded persons in a given locality drew together and either established religious ordinances or solicited their supply. A class-meeting was instituted, a Sunday school formed, and a congregation gathered. A building, large or small, of temporary or permanent materials,

according to circumstances, became an early and imperative necessity, because there was no accommodation to be obtained otherwise. Without a fold the flock would be inadequately cared for, and possibly scattered.

Hence the work of development proceeded on parallel lines. Classes were formed into societies, societies grouped into circuits, and circuits into districts, the next stage being the local Conference. For the special conditions surrounding him, Mr. Draper was exceptionally qualified. Robust in frame, tireless in energy, full of zeal, not afraid of responsibility where it was justified, and withal prudent in counsel, he was well equipped for his task. Under his supervision as chairman of the district, within three years twenty-seven places of worship were erected and four ministers' residences, at a total cost of £15,000, and without an embarrassing pressure of debt. At the close of his term in 1855 public services were conducted in thirty-eight churches and thirty other preaching-places. Mr. Draper was succeeded by the Rev. William Butters, who was in many respects his counterpart. Mr. Butters was a singularly able administrator, and at the same time a man of extraordinary power in the pulpit. He had the joy of witnessing many conversions and rapid growth in every department. During his six years' term the number of churches was more than doubled, and there was a corresponding increase in Church membership.

Primitive Methodism did not recover from the gold-fields exodus quite so speedily; but its development received a powerful impetus by the arrival of additional ministers from England, prominent among whom was the Rev. J. G. Wright. His flaming zeal and unbounded faith carried him through or over every obstacle. At one time his circuit extended from Kapunda to Mount Remarkable, 150 miles; and his career was a kind of triumphal march. In 1856, the year of his arrival, though the denomination had only five ministers, twenty-five churches had been erected, and the membership had increased to 431. Generally similar progress had been

made by the Bible Christian Churches, under the superintendency of the Rev. James Way. The re-opening of closed churches, the establishment of other centres of influence, and growing success, was the legitimate reward of faithful service. Mr. Way's transparent sincerity and genuine devotion were a passport to the confidence of public men during the trying period of financial trouble; while his ability as a preacher and an administrator secured the success of the projects he undertook.

The seventh decade of the nineteenth century witnessed, not only a continuance of the extension work and the consolidation of its results, but the entrance also on new spheres of usefulness that have had blessed results. In 1862 the Rev. John Watsford was appointed to the Pirie Street circuit, and he had little more than commenced his ministry there when a most gracious revival took place, the influence of which extended far and wide. Mr. Watsford's emotional fervour rendered his impassioned appeals almost irresistible, and very many people were added to the Lord. The sacred fire spread to other circuits, and almost everywhere there was great rejoicing. About three years later the Rev. William Taylor, afterwards Bishop Taylor, of California, spent several months in South Australia, where, as in other parts of the continent, his labours were greatly blessed. A distinguishing feature of these showers of blessings in each case was the permanence of the work wrought, and its fruitfulness in raising up workers imbued with its spirit.

In territorial expansion also the period was remarkable, circuits being multiplied and new stations taken up, until the operations of the Church extended from Blinman in the far north to Mount Gambier in the distant south-east, and included Port Lincoln on the west of Spencer Gulf. New departures were varied and important. A fresh impulse was given to Sunday-school work, to the agencies of temperance reform, to young men's societies, and other auxiliaries. The pioneer of periodical literature was issued in the form of a

circuit magazine, which was adopted by the District Meeting of 1864, and continued until its supersession by a weekly Connexional paper ten years later, which is still issued. In the same year provision was made for the more adequate supply of religious literature by the establishment of a book-room. Both the sister Methodist Churches took similar action at a later period, each of them having its own periodical and book concern.

Much the most important event of this kind was the initiation of the college enterprise which has done so much for both Methodism and the State. Always recognized as desirable, the idea had been held in abeyance until September 1855; when, at an informal meeting convened by Mr. Watsford, a group of public-spirited laymen decided to purchase the highly eligible site which is now occupied. This was done; circumstances prevented immediate action, but the foundation-stone of the building was laid on November 5, 1867, by Prince Alfred, the Duke of Edinburgh, who gave his name to the college, and school work was begun in January 1869.

Prosperity attended the work of the sister Methodist Churches during the same period. The Bible Christian Mission, which had been established about 1855, became a separate district in 1860, with the Rev. James Rowe as its first superintendent. Established centres gained strength and influence, and new openings were entered into from Port Augusta to Mount Gambier. The Primitive Methodist Jubilee Church was built in 1860; and at North Adelaide progress was made towards the erection of the most commodious and handsome church belonging to the denomination, which was a centre of great influence during the ministrations of the Revs. Hugh Gilmour and J. D. Thompson.

In 1862 a fourth number of the illustrious Methodist sisterhood entered the field. The Methodist New Connexion, desiring to extend its missions, appointed the Rev. James Maughan to Adelaide. He gathered round him a number of those who had belonged to the body he represented, and the

church which still bears his name was erected in Franklin Street, Adelaide. He was cultured, versatile, and able; but found, as did other ministers who succeeded him, that there was little scope for extension. At length, over twenty years afterwards, the Missionary Committee of the Home Conference, having ascertained the facts of the situation from the Rev. E. Gratton, who was then in charge, wisely decided to direct its energies into more open fields. Union with the Bible Christian Church was accordingly effected in 1888, Mr. Gratton electing to personally unite with that body.

The Rev. W. L. Binks, who succeeded Mr. Watsford as Chairman of the South Australian district of the senior Church in 1868, though differing from his predecessors in several respects, was their equal in talent, zeal, and ability. His services elsewhere were recognised by his appointment as President of the Australasian Conference in 1869. He laboured successively in the Archer Street, Pirie Street, and Kent Town circuits, and everywhere the work of the Lord prospered in his hands. As the first President of Prince Alfred College heavy responsibilities devolved upon him, and as first President of the South Australian Conference of his Church in 1874 he conducted its business with wise regard to the future.

It may be noted that from the arrival of Mr. Draper in 1846 to take the oversight of an infant and struggling Church, which had been weakened by internal dissension, besides having to contend with the special difficulties of its position, to the time when in 1874 it had become sufficiently numerous and strong to have a conference of its own, four ministers had successively sustained the serious responsibility of its general supervision. Only three changes had taken place in the highest office during twenty-eight years. There was thus comparatively unbroken continuity of administration, to which, under the blessing of God, may be ascribed the prosperity that had been enjoyed. Churches had increased to 160, with 100 other preaching-places. These were supplied by thirty-six ministers, including probationers, and 280 local

preachers. The membership had risen to 4,700, and the attendants to over 32,000. These figures apply exclusively to the Wesleyan Methodist section. Truly the little one had become a thousand, suggesting the comment: 'What hath God wrought!'

Methodism has always been distinguished by its missionary spirit, of which the Churches in the southern world may be described as the product, while they have received and cherished it as part of their heritage. In the earlier days the work was included within the sphere of Missionary Departments of the Home Conferences, which appointed ministers and arranged for general supervision. For a number of years the ministers were nominally missionaries, and to some extent their relations with their respective organizations at home were continued. We have already seen that in South Australia the pioneering work was begun, and the foundations were laid, without waiting for official authority or sanction, and how the process of development and organization was carried on. By the middle of last century the work in Australasia and Polynesia had grown to such magnitude that the British Wesleyan Methodist Conference became convinced that a change in its management was necessary. The time had arrived for the Australasian Churches to be invested with local control, and the management of the South Sea Missions to be placed in their charge.

In order to effect the necessary arrangements the Rev. Robert Young was sent as a deputation. He reached Adelaide in January 1853, went on to Melbourne and Sydney, and the proposals with which he was charged met with general acceptance. He reported to the British Conference of the same year, which adopted a plan for constituting an Australian Conference, of which the Adelaide district formed a part. This was a great advance in the direction of self-government; for the District Meeting, instead of being held at irregular intervals, became an annual fixture. It had the management of affairs within its own boundaries, and the

initiation and guidance of local movements for Church extension. It prepared a provisional station sheet for the appointments of its ministers, elected its representative to the Conference, and sent recommendations to that body, which every fourth year held its sessions in Adelaide.

The first Australasian Conference was held at Sydney in January 1855, South Australia being represented by the Rev. D. J. Draper. At that time each colony formed a district, except New Zealand, which had been divided. The records of the Conference are both valuable and interesting. They contain a complete statement of the Church properties then acquired, which in the case of South Australia covers nearly six closely-printed pages. They also show that the Conference was alive to the augmented efficiency rendered possible under the new system. Resolutions were adopted recommending the formation of a Church Extension or Home Mission Fund, to take the place of the Contingent Fund, and also of a Chapel and Building Fund. Though composed of ministers only, the Conference recommended the appointment of district committees, consisting of equal numbers of ministers and laymen, to manage their funds. In these resolutions a further instalment of self-government was provided for; and in them may be seen the germ of the present Financial District Synod and Representative Conference.

While this arrangement continued the administration of local affairs developed upon the District Meeting, the duties of which became increasingly onerous as the area of occupation extended. There was growth in every direction, and such movements of population as taxed the resources of the Church Extension Fund and the Committee for the supply of religious ordinances. The nine circuits of 1855 had increased to sixteen ten years afterwards, and to twenty-two in 1870. They extended from Blinman in the far north to Mount Gambier in the south-east. The district was confessedly unwieldy, and its effective oversight by a single chairman difficult; but division did not seem practicable.

Meanwhile, a similar problem had presented itself for solution in New South Wales and Victoria, and at the Annual Conference of 1862 effect was given to the resolutions of these districts by dividing the former into five and the latter into three. While this adjustment had its advantages, it did away with the general administration of affairs in which the districts had common interests. Thus it fostered the desire for a system of annual and general conferences which gradually acquired both form and favour. This plan was recommended as early as 1858 by the Melbourne District Meeting, but though occasionally referred to, remained in abeyance till the Conference of 1872, when, with sundry alterations and amendments it was forwarded to the British Conference and Missionary Committee for their approval and sanction.

This plan was not regarded with very much favour in South Australia, the apprehension being freely expressed that in the event of its complete isolation, the numerical smallness of its ministerial staff would greatly hamper the working of an itinerant system. The benefits derived from frequent interchanges with the Eastern districts would be lost, and the Connexional bond be weakened. These arguments had sufficient weight to cause provisions for such interchanges to be included in the functions of the General Conference, and the plan as altered and amended, having been adopted by the Conference of 1873 and received the sanction of the British Conference, came into operation the following year. The South Australian district was divided into two: the southern and the northern, and its first Annual Conference was held in 1874.

This Conference, like its predecessors, was composed of ministers only; but the right of laymen to take an active share in the business management, and the advantages of their doing so, had been recognized long before. Opportunities had been made by the appointment of Connexional and missionary committees, which included all the ministers within the bounds of the district or Conference, with an equal number

of laymen. To these committees, as to the Financial District Meetings, composed of ministers and stewards, additional subjects were allotted from time to time, and their resolutions were adopted *en bloc* by the Conference, in order to give them legal effect. Into the constitution of these committees, however, the representative element had not been incorporated. To remedy this and other defects, recommendations were forwarded to the first General Conference of 1875, which amended the original plan; and the British Conference having done its part, the revised constitution was acted upon at the second General Conference in 1878. The Annual Conference of 1879 accordingly consisted of ministers and lay representatives in equal numbers, the latter having been elected by their respective Quarterly Meetings.

Substantially this constitution is still that of Australasian Methodism, though modifications of its details have been made from time to time. Many of these have increased the functions and responsibilities of lay representatives, and after the experience of nearly forty years the effectiveness of the system is its justification. The stage of self-government was reached by an evolutionary process, in which the germination of great principles may be traced from inception to fruition. Its history was unmarked by any injurious agitation, and was accompanied by an increasing measure of vitality and power. Incidentally, as it were, the new departure of 1874 imposed a somewhat heavy responsibility on the South Australian Conference, for West Australia was included as one of its districts. The connexion was inevitable, for at that time there were only three ministers and 118 Church members in the West. It was compelled by geography, was understood to be little more than nominal and temporary, but it continued for twenty-six years, during the latter part of which period it was neither nominal nor trifling. When the great influx of population took place as the result of auriferous discoveries, with rapid church extension as its consequence, it was to the South Australian Conference that the demands naturally came

for ministerial supplies. Until 1900, therefore, two-thirds of the continent of Australia were comprised within the territorial area of the numerically smallest of its Conferences.

A more direct addition to financial responsibility was undertaken at about the same time by the establishment of a mission at Port Darwin in the Northern Territory. The extensive tract of country, comprising about 523,600 square miles, had been attached to South Australia several years before as a recognition of the successful exploring energy which had traversed the interior of the continent. The transcontinental telegraph line had been constructed, establishing communication between London and Adelaide. After much failure and delay, a site for the future capital had been chosen, and the survey of land completed. The country was believed to be a land of promise, exceptionally rich in natural resources and commercial possibilities. It attracted population to such an extent that in 1873 there were said to be 5,000 white people in Palmerston and the neighbourhood. In the middle of that year the chairman of the southern district convened a meeting which undertook to raise funds for preliminary expenses, and a minister was sent. Accordingly, on the stations of the first Conference there appeared: 'Palmerston, A. J. Bogle.' The hopes then cherished have not been realized. The prospects of the territory have always been bright, but its actual position invariably discouraging. Many changes in administration have taken place; but through cloud and sunshine the Methodist flag has been kept flying, often, and for long periods, as the only representative of Protestant evangelical Christianity in that part of the world. What the itinerant system rendered possible in the South Australian Conference for many years was illustrated by a serious proposal, actually made during the work of stationing, that a minister be transferred from Kalgoorlie to Palmerston. Had this been carried into effect, he with his family would have had to travel through, or by, Perth, Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, and Brisbane, to reach his appointment. Translated into

European terms it would have been equal to a removal from Moscow to Constantinople, via Paris, London, Lisbon, Gibraltar, and Naples! Yet the burden was uncomplainingly borne.

It is unnecessary to trace the evolutionary process of self-government in the other Methodist Churches with the same degree of particularity as in the older body, because it would be re-traversing the same, or similar, ground. There was a strong family likeness all through. Commencing, as it were, spontaneously, they sought recognition and ministerial assistance from their respective Home Conferences. Waxing stronger, they declined to continue dependent, and sought freedom of action, in order to fulfil their mission and strengthen their influence in the community. There was no weakening of attachment to the parent stock, but a manifestation of inherent vitality in their seeking and gradually developing the principle and power of self-government.

In the Primitive Methodist Church the first General Assembly was held in 1856, to deliberate on the question of 'our becoming at once a self-sustaining body.' Three years afterwards at the District Meeting it was resolved to proceed with the erection of the Jubilee Memorial Church at Morphett Street, Adelaide, which gave the denomination a better position. Meanwhile, extension was rapidly proceeding. The district was divided at one time, but subsequently re-united; and in 1890 the first Primitive Methodist Inter-Colonial Conference of Australia was held in Adelaide.

Within five years from the time when the Rev. James Way landed at Adelaide with the Rev. James Rowe as his colleague, the Bible Christian Societies and circuits had so far increased as to warrant their organization into a district. The process of extension and consolidation continued on similar lines as in the other Methodist bodies, and each annual District Meeting recorded an advance. As the sphere of labour enlarged, the desirability of division (the districts being united in an Annual Conference), was realized, and the meeting of 1874

passed a resolution asking the British Conference to effect this change. That Conference having suggested as an alternative the formation of an Australian Conference to include all the colonial districts, in 1875 the request was repeated and urged as necessary to secure (*a*) greater stability and security, (*b*) greater safety in legislation, (*c*) greater expedition, because in any matter, such as the sale of property, requiring the decision of Conference, action was delayed for nine months. This appeal was revived the following year, and the result was that, permission having been obtained, the first Conference, composed of ministers and laymen in equal numbers, was held in February 1877.

In each of the three Methodist churches the attainment of self-governing functions and responsibility was accompanied by the spirit of enterprise and zeal for God. To describe in detail the manifestations and results which followed would over-run our space and involve tedious repetition. A comprehensive survey shows that there was uniformity of impulse, of alertness in perceiving and readiness to embrace opportunities of usefulness, while there was little dissimilarity in actual process. This was seen, not only in the principal centres of population where more and larger churches were built as required, but also in the country districts. The extension of settlement under such circumstances as the opening of the Wallaroo and Moonta copper mines on Yorke Peninsula in the sixties, the immigration of farmers to the northern areas in the seventies, and later to other parts, were felt to be calls for service that had to be responded to. So also when the discoveries of silver took place at Silverton and Broken Hill, east of the South Australian border at the Barrier, colonial geography did not constitute an obstacle; but South Australian Methodism provided for and included a populous district in New South Wales, which is still under its charge. There was naturally much similarity in financial arrangements through their being devised for similar purposes, and general funds for Home Mission church building

were constituted and managed on nearly parallel lines. Wesley's maxim 'go to those who need you most' was observed in the provision for the outlying regions by organizations that were alike in intention, though perhaps differently named.

Prince Alfred College had been established, not only for the purpose of supplying secular education, but also as an institution for training candidates for the ministry. The Bible Christian Conference, with the same object in view, availed itself of the facilities which Union College provided, and afterwards established Way College. This institution, founded in the early nineties, was attractive from the first; and in the seventh annual report announced that 800 students had already passed through its portals. The same denomination proved its missionary zeal by establishing a mission in China, the Rev. E. J. Piper and Mrs. Piper being its earliest agents. Thus within three-score years of the time when the first Methodist sermon was preached and the first class-meeting held on South Australian soil there were three strong, effective, and self-governing Churches firmly established. They were identical in doctrine, similar in organization and discipline, and alike in their fruitfulness under the blessing of God.

The Methodist Church in South Australia, as it now exists, is the product of an evolutionary process, impelled and guided by the Providence and Spirit of God. Its union cannot be attributed to any individual or group of individuals. Those who advocated it, and whose advocacy was successful, of course did their share; but those who opposed it were equally conscientious, and perhaps their opposition contributed in no small degree to the satisfactoriness of the final result, by preventing rash and premature action. When union was effected, both parties were loyal and faithful to its provisions, striving in perfect harmony to advance the interests of the Kingdom of God.

Having traced the earlier stages of the evolution, the pioneering, the development and organization, and the degree of self-government attained in each case, the resemblances are obvious. There was no local breach to heal or body of seceders to reconcile. Whatever preferences and prejudices existed had their roots in another hemisphere, and there was no sufficient reason for transplanting and perpetuating them. The three bodies were doing the same work in the same way, and there was no doubt that they could do it better, and more of it, collectively than separately. As their operations ramified they became interlaced, as it were. Families intermarried, workers interchanged spheres, thus practically obliterating distinctions. At the same time, over-lapping of effort, producing friction and waste of energy, generated impatience with the divisions which were their cause. Thus uniting forces of much potency were constantly at work, from which the movement derived impetus.

When organic union became a live question the Primitive Methodist and Bible Christian Churches were numerically and otherwise nearly equal to each other in strength, and together were about equal to the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Though this proportion was not by any means exact, it was near enough to govern the ratio of representation in consultative committees, &c., when appointed. It followed that, by common consent, the propriety of overtures proceeding from the larger body was generally recognized. The relative proportion of Minor Methodism—to use the convenient and current term—being higher in South Australia than elsewhere, may at least partly account for the prominent part that Conference took in the general movement.

There was, on the whole, a stronger desire for union in the Minor Methodist Churches than in the older body; because they felt the need of more complete self-government and of closer inter-colonial relations, which it would supply; consequently, the progress of the movement depended mainly on the action of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference. This,

however, was contingent on the approval and sanction of the General Conference, which met triennially, and therefore long delay was involved. The favourable sentiment in Minor Methodism was shown by the union of the Bible Christian and New Connexion Churches, and the proposals for a further union which were seriously entertained, and only relinquished because the more complete scheme was considered to be worth waiting for. Accordingly, the history of the proceedings is to be found principally in the records of the Annual and General Conferences of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. The initiative devolved on these bodies, which understood enough of the feelings elsewhere to prevent them from proposing what would be unacceptable.

When the constitution of an Australian Wesleyan Methodist Church was established, the way was prepared for Church union in the southern world. The first General Conference of that body removed the one insurmountable obstacle by providing for lay representation in the Annual and General Conferences of 1877. From that time organic union became possible, and being made possible was inevitable. Other changes of a less important character were made from time to time which brought regulations and administrative methods more into line; so that when the time for union arrived, extremely little concession was required either on one side or the other.

At the first South Australian Conference in 1874 the President referred to the new scheme as facilitating closer relations, and the importance of cultivating brotherly associations; and at the General Conference held in Adelaide in 1881 the earliest definite overture was made. The Conference by resolution declared 'its readiness to consider any well-devised scheme that may come before it for effecting a union' of the Methodist Churches. Such a scheme having been carried into effect in Canada, the General Conference of 1884, on South Australian initiative, commended it to the favourable considerations of the Annual Conferences. This Conference took the further

step of directing them to open communications with the other branches of the Methodist family in their respective localities, to do certain other things, and report the result.

The next General Conference urged the necessity of practical co-operation; but for some years the union movement was practically hung up, because attention was largely absorbed by the extremely important question of Church membership and the disastrous secession in Tonga. Pending the settlement of the domestic difficulties there was little encouragement to deal with external relations. The membership question was considered so serious and vital that, having been discussed by the Conference of 1888, the next Conference was fixed for two years afterwards, in order to abbreviate the period of agitation before an acceptable solution of the problem was found.

The interval was not merely one of marking time. Pursuant to the direction of the General Conference, representative committees met from time to time. In them useful preliminary work was done and general interest was kept alive. When the membership question was out of the way the movement greatly increased in energy. A Victorian committee having prepared a basis of union, it was submitted to and revised by the Annual Conferences; and when the General Conference of 1894 met in Adelaide it was expected, with good reason, that the union question would be settled for good and all. The debate which took place was historic for its ability and spirit as well as its results. Large numbers of ministers and members of other Churches were interested listeners during the discussion, and at its close a numerously signed letter from them was sent to the Conference expressing appreciation of its Christian and brotherly character. By a large majority the Conference adopted the basis of union, authorized the Annual Conferences to effect union upon it, and provided for the establishment of federal councils to complete the necessary arrangements.

Thenceforward the work of effecting union was in the hands

of the local Conferences. The information gathered by the joint committees in previous years was comprehensive and fairly complete. It showed that there would not be any inseparable difficulties in arranging details such as the boundaries of circuits and districts, the employment of ministers, &c. The basis of union having been frankly accepted by the Primitive Methodist and Bible Christian Conferences, it became their duty to obtain such sanction from the Home authorities as was required. They appointed representatives to the Federal Council, the constitution and functions of which were defined by the Conference of 1895. The same Conference requested the Council to obtain certain information and take a vote on the general question; but the proposal being somewhat indefinite, was not found practicable.

What may be deemed the critical stage of the movement was entered upon by the Conference of 1896, which instructed its representatives on the Federal Council to prepare a draft plan, to be submitted with accompanying information to the members of the Church, the trustees of Church properties, and the Quarterly Meeting, for their approval or otherwise; records of the votes to be taken, the Primitive Methodist and Bible Christian representatives being requested to concur in this arrangement. It was further resolved that should the vote be generally favourable to union, and a two-thirds vote in favour be carried at the Conference of 1897, a united meeting of the Conference should be held to consider the whole question, and, if practicable, define the conditions and time of union.

As the result of this procedure the views of the principal officials and of the members of the Churches were ascertained. When the report of the Federal Council was presented at the Conference of 1897 it was found that the proportion of affirmative to negative votes averaged nearly four to one, and was fairly uniform. The confirmatory vote of the Conference was carried by sixty-nine votes to twenty-six, a considerable margin over the required two-thirds. A united meeting of

the three Conferences was held on March 2, and proved to be a season of exceptional spiritual power. The termination of the long debate was a blessed relief, and divine guidance was devoutly acknowledged. Resolutions covering the entire field of future action were adopted with great unanimity; and though the date of union could not then be fixed, it was anticipated that the first Conference might be held in 1899 or 1900. Similar assemblies of the Conferences were held in the two following years, and in pursuance of an honourable understanding, the minutes of their proceedings were adopted by the several Conferences as if their individual acts. Meanwhile, the detail work was dealt with by the Federal Council and united action taken in some particulars. The chief cause of delay was the method of providing for the claims of supernumerary ministers and ministers' widows, whose sources of income would be necessarily transferred.

Arrangements were so far advanced that at the Conference of 1899 the Federal Council was authorized to complete the financial arrangements required by the General Conference. Subject to this completion the date of union was fixed for January 1, 1900, the first United Conference to begin on February 27, 1901. The Council was instructed to prepare a plan of union, which the Presidents of the respective Conferences were empowered to sign, for presentation to the President of the General Conference. This formality was complied with in the presence of a large congregation on August 14, 1899. The original plan with its three signatures and the pen used by the signatories are cherished possessions of the present writer. As he attended every meeting of the joint committees and of the Federal Council, was secretary of each of the assemblies of the uniting Conferences, and President of the first United Conference, he had exceptional opportunities for observation, and feels it a privilege, as well as a duty, to record here that no compromise on doctrine or surrender of principle ever came even into sight from first to last.

The date of union had incidentally one peculiar advantage. The General Conference of 1897 had separated West Australia from South Australia, constituting it an Annual Conference, the first Conference to be held in 1900. The union having taken effect, that new Conference, including both Primitive Methodist and Bible Christian ministers who had been loaned to the district, entered on its career without having to face any trouble over this question. The actual union of the Churches having been thus consummated, and representatives elected by the Quarterly Meetings in anticipation, both ministers and laymen from the previously separate bodies met on exactly the same terms when the Conference assembled, and the business proceeded with entire smoothness and regularity. All that remained to be done was the passing of a Methodist Union Act by the local Legislature for securing the properties and other purposes, which was obtained without the slightest difficulty.

Such in brief outline is the genesis of the union of the Methodist Church in South Australia, and it has had no exodus. No one impartially reviewing its results can doubt that it has had the blessing of God. The absence of friction in working, of unbrotherly feeling, of jealousy, and prejudice has been an immense benefit. Difficulties have had to be dealt with, especially in relation to a few burdened trusts and the re-arrangement of circuits, but there has been no repudiation, and never a whisper of secession. Conservation of force, economy of labour, development of energy, and a consecrated spirit of enterprise, by the divine blessing have yielded rich returns. These general observations may be supplemented by a few illustrative details. The period since union was accomplished is shown to have been one of expansion and progress in almost every direction by the following summary of statistics. They are taken from the *Minutes* of the Conferences of 1900 and 1913, in each case being compiled from the returns to the District Synods of the preceding year.

	1900.	1913.	Increase.
Churches, other preaching-places, and schoolrooms . .	740	861	121
Ministers (including preachers on trial)	132	158	26
Home missionaries . . .	7	24	17
Church members . . .	15,426	20,764	5,338
Attendants on public worship .	76,359	85,892	9,433

The above summary by no means represents all the activities of the Church or the whole of its agencies. Movements of the population, and especially the opening of great agricultural areas, have called for the extension of Home Missions, which have become a special department. The merging of congregations temporarily diminished the number of churches in actual use; but as the result of new erections and enlargements the accommodation has been largely increased. Sunday-school work, which in this as in other countries was languishing, has greatly revived, and is now prospering as never before. The two great colleges under the control of the Church occupy a foremost place among such institutions. Prince Alfred College has a record of academic successes which it would not be easy to parallel anywhere, and of which all connected with it have good reason to be proud. Its influence on the life of the community cannot possibly be estimated. Its *alumni* are conspicuous in politics, commerce, literature, and the learned professions. The establishment in which Way College had its brilliant career has changed its name and purpose, to increase its usefulness, and as the Methodist Ladies' College, fills with eminent advantage a place that was left vacant too long.

The Conference returns indicate that more than one-fifth of the population of the State is under Methodist influence; but the census returns show that a still higher proportion of the people call themselves Methodists. The responsibilities of this position, and the possibility of usefulness connected therewith, are fully appreciated. A department of social service diligently utilizes available means for moral reform,

reporting annually to the Conference. In this respect the Church always has been true to its earliest traditions, when, with only a single minister on the ground, it initiated movements and organizations which are still operating. Its policy throughout has been, and still is, to render needed service irrespective of denominational honour or advantage; but every social reformer recognizes the valuable moral leverage which United Methodism is able to supply.

It seems unnecessary to say more concerning the financial condition of the Church than that there is no cause for anxiety anywhere; and that its funds, whether for home or foreign work, are generously sustained. To tabulate spiritual results would be impossible; but the retrospect affords ample cause for gratitude. A comprehensive survey of present conditions prompts an endorsement of Wesley's confident and inspiring words: 'The best of all is, God is with us.'

CHAPTER IV

WEST AUSTRALIA

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SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

First Methodist service—Building—Nourished by laity—Smithies—Fremantle—Mission to aborigines—Made a district—Albany—Perth Wesley—Slow progress—Effects of affiliation—Death of Hardey—President's visit—Lowe—Campbell—Jubilee—Murchison gold-fields — Rowe — Gold-fields — Sisterhood — Union — Wesley Church extension—West Australian Conference—English settlers —Home missions—Connexional Organization Funds—Gain in numbers.

CHAPTER IV

WEST AUSTRALIA

THE establishment of Methodism in West Australia practically synchronizes with the foundation of the colony. One of the earliest vessels to reach the Swan River settlement was the barque *Tranby*, which left Hull on September 9, 1829, and arrived at Fremantle in February 1830. This vessel was chartered by two English Wesleyan families, the Hardeys and the Clarksons, who were accompanied by Mr. G. Johnson and several other Methodist people. Arriving at Fremantle, which then consisted of one wooden house, a bacchanalian resort, and a forest of canvas, the party erected their tents, and forthwith raised an altar. A simple ordinance of divine worship was instituted amid the babel of noise and confusion prevailing throughout the surrounding settlement. This was the first Methodist service in the colony. Governor Stirling, anxious to locate the little group of settlers near the capital, granted them the Peninsula Reserve, situated on the Swan River between Perth and Guildford. Here religious meetings were at once established under the leadership of Mr. Joseph Hardey, who had for many years been a local preacher in Yorkshire. Occasional services were also conducted at Perth and Guildford. Shortly afterwards, Perth was chosen as the central basis of religious operations. At first, for want of a building, worship was conducted in the open air under a large jarrah-tree, which grew on the site now occupied by Messrs. Sandover & Co., in Hay Street. Amongst others participating in these early services were, notably, Mr. and Mrs. J. Inkpen and Mr. Henry Trigg. A class-meeting was now organized, and Mr. Inkpen appointed the first leader. In

January 1833 further devoted allies arrived in the colony, including Messrs. George Shenton and Charles and Bernard Clarkson.

It was now felt that the time had come for the erection of a suitable building for Church purposes. Accordingly, a meeting was held in Perth on January 22, 1834, when it was unanimously resolved to erect a 'chapel' at the joint expense of the subscribers, the property to be held in shares of £2 each, Messrs. Joseph Hardey, George Johnson, George Lazenby, Stephen Knight, and James Lockyer being appointed a committee of management. On May 12, 1834, a piece of land, having a frontage of 40 feet to Murray Street, by a depth of 80 feet, was purchased for the sum of £5 from Mr. James Inkpen, whereon a building, 30 feet by 18 feet, was forthwith erected, and formally opened for divine worship, on the evening of June 22, 1834, by Mr. Joseph Hardey. On the afternoon of the same day, however, the premises were utilized as a Sunday school under the superintendency of Mr. Inkpen. The officers and teachers then enrolled were: Messrs. G. Lazenby, G. Johnson, J. Clarkson, H. Trigg, R. Clarence, W. Knight, J. W. Hardey, F. F. Armstrong, and James Inkpen, with Mesdames Hulton and Trigg. The preachers at this time included Messrs. Joseph Hardey, J. W. Hardey, G. Lazenby, H. Trigg, and B. Clarkson.

Thus a society was formed, a church erected, regular services appointed, a Sunday school established, and Methodism duly organized, with good promise of strength and permanence. The pressing need of a spiritual adviser and head was obvious, though the sagacity and eminent fitness of the recognized leaders of the movement were exceptional. No time was lost in reporting the state of affairs to the English Wesleyan Missionary Society, accompanying the information by an appeal for a minister to be sent to preside over the interests of the infant cause. For seven years repeated applications appear to have been made in vain; and when at length the request was granted, and the Rev. William

Longbottom appointed by the British authorities of 1837 to Swan River, the long-cherished hopes were strangely frustrated and deferred. Mr. Longbottom never reached his appointed circuit. After a remarkable series of vicissitudes, his voyage terminated in his being cast ashore near Encounter Bay in South Australia, where he elected to remain, to become the pioneer missionary of the sister State. Thus, for upwards of ten years, Methodism in West Australia was nursed and nourished solely by its laity. In 1839, however, the Rev. John Smithies was appointed to Swan River; and after traversing half the circumference of the globe, from Newfoundland to Perth, in due course he entered upon his labours, much to the gratification of the Perth Methodists. It was not until June 1840 that Mr. Smithies reached his circuit. He arrived at Fremantle by the ship *Prima Donna* on Sunday, June 5, and found Messrs. Lazenby and Inkpen awaiting him. Having taken the minister in charge, his friends conveyed their quarry to Perth in a small rowing boat, reaching their destination in time for evening service. Mr. Smithies opened his commission in the Subscription Chapel, preaching on the aptly chosen text: 'Unto me who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ.'

For sixteen years Mr. Smithies was stationed in the western colony, from 1839 to 1855, when the Australasian Conference appointed him to another sphere of labour. Soon after his arrival Mr. Smithies took steps towards erecting a church at Fremantle. On July 19 he held a service in the Court House, Fremantle, at the close of which a meeting was held, when it was decided to build a chapel, towards which £170 was subscribed in the room. On September 9, 1840, the foundation-stone was laid by Governor Hutt. The function was witnessed by over 300 spectators, one-sixth of the entire population of the colony, and nine boats were requisitioned to accommodate the Perth contingent taking part in the ceremony. In Perth the demands of the flourishing cause

soon necessitated enlarged premises. Consequently, in 1842 a new church fronting William Street was erected. This building was later superseded by Wesley Church, but long served for Sunday-school and other purposes, being familiarly known as Wesley Hall, and was only demolished when the present Queen's Hall was built.

Under Mr. Smithies' superintendence a mission to the aborigines was undertaken; and for some years the organization did excellent service. It was conducted first at Perth, then at Waneroo, and finally at York, directed practically by Mr. F. F. Armstrong, who was for many years the Aborigines' Protection Officer of the Government. About £12,000 in all was expended on this undertaking, and among its most prominent supporters was Mr. George Shenton, who joined the Methodist Church shortly after Mr. Smithies' arrival; and who, by strength of personality, loyal service, and generous gifts, won a place of high regard and honour, and remained an earnest local preacher, class-leader, and prominent officer until his untimely decease ended a truly great career. Associated with this native mission was also Mr. F. Waldeck, who was for many years a loyal Church officer and devoted Sunday-school superintendent, and whose children's children are to-day among the worthiest people in the State. The importance of the central agricultural district, with the thriving town of York as its centre, had by this time suggested its occupancy. This desirable issue eventuated when, in 1852, the Rev. W. Lowe arrived in Perth, thus releasing Mr. Smithies, who immediately proceeded to York and laid the foundations of the strong and abiding Methodist interests there.

When, in 1855, the Australasian Conference was formed, Methodism had been operative in the western colony for a quarter of a century. Its rate of progress, however, had scarcely fulfilled the high hopes born of the favourable auspices of its inauguration. According to the statistics supplied to the Conference, there were at that time 2 churches;

4 other preaching-places; 2 ministers; 3 local preachers; 4 class-leaders; 67 members; 2 Sunday schools; 20 teachers; 150 scholars; with 450 attendants on public worship. The constitution of the first Australasian Conference, which commenced its sessions in Sydney, January 15, 1855, and the recognition therein of West Australia as one of the districts under its jurisdiction, form an important chronological event in the annals herein reviewed. And although in West Australia the next succeeding eighteen years were neither remarkable for revolutionary changes in ecclesiastical administration nor conspicuous for phenomenal achievements in numerical progress, they nevertheless registered steady results as the reward of labour faithfully discharged under severely limited circumstances.

Four West Australian circuits appeared on the *Minutes* of the 1855 Conference, viz. Perth, York, Fremantle, and King George's Sound. Of these, two only had actual being, and to them the ministers appointed were: Perth, Samuel Hardey (chairman of the district); York, William Lowe. Opposite the remaining two stations, which existed in the realm of the ideal only, the legend 'One Wanted' was affixed, and stood so printed for two years, when their circuit numbers were withdrawn, to be followed a year later by the disappearance of their names altogether. In 1859 Mr. Lowe was transferred to Tasmania, the Rev. Charles Clay being appointed to York. Three years later the Rev. Samuel Hardey left the colony for South Africa, and Mr. Clay was removed to Perth, where he ministered for two years, and was succeeded by the Rev. W. Bond, Mr. Clay returning to York as chairman of the district.

During the sixties a successful effort was made to establish Methodism in Albany. Some years earlier a number of adherents of the Wesleyan Church had settled there, and cottage meetings and a Sunday school had been organized, mainly through the labours of Mr. and Mrs. John Uglow, who, in 1862, gave a block of land for the erection of a church.

A trust was formed, and evidently the people had a mind to work, for a church costing £247 was proposed, undertaken, and completed in 1863 free of debt. Under such auguries commenced the Methodist history of the south-west, a history of much encouragement and growing significance, though the first decade was not without its disappointments and hopes deferred. For seven years the Church services were, perforce, supplied by local preachers and occasional visiting ministers. Concurrently with this extension of Methodism in the south-west a similar expansion was being realized in the north-west; and in 1865 a circuit was formed at Gwalla Mine (Geraldton), when the Rev. T. Laurance commenced there his faithful and honoured ministry. The Rev. W. Lowe returned to the Perth circuit in 1866, and the following year the Rev. W. Traylen took charge of York.

Under the guidance of the Rev. W. Lowe, in April 1867, the Perth trustees purchased land at the corner of Hay and William Streets, with the view of erecting a yet more commodious sanctuary, the building then used, after twenty-five years' service, being too straitened for existing demands. Plans for the nave of a new church of commodious dimensions and Gothic design were prepared, and building operations commenced, his Excellency the Governor, J. S. Hampton, Esq., laying the foundation-stone. In April 1870 the Perth Wesley Church was dedicated, a veritable monument of the faith and enterprise, the loyalty and liberality, of a generation whose memory cannot willingly be permitted to die. This portion of the edifice cost £4,000, three-fourths of which were immediately raised, the Shenton family subscribing £1,500, and the Hardey family £600.

During this period the Church's interests at York and Geraldton were consolidated and extended; and in this connexion a vast debt of obligation must be acknowledged to the labours of laymen like John Henry Monger and Charles Crowthers, as well as the successively zealous ministers. In 1871 Albany was made a mission station, and the Rev. J. B.

Atkins, of the Irish Conference, was sent by the Missionary Society to take charge of the infant cause. During Mr. Atkins' ministry of seven years the church was enlarged to accommodate the growing congregation, and an aborigines' mission was also undertaken. The district reported for the year 1872 the following returns: churches 10; other preaching-places 9; ministers 4; local preachers 5; class-leaders 9; teachers 71; scholars 502; attendants 1,380.

Numerically, at least, the progress made during the forty years following the inception of Methodism in West Australia was, apparently, but slight. For this, perhaps, reason may be found partly in the relatively small population and slow development of the colony, partly in the difficulties of administering the affairs of the Connexion, owing to the enormous distances by which the circuits were separated—York was 60 miles east, Albany 255 miles south, and Geraldton 300 miles north of the metropolitan centre—and partly also in the disabilities involved by the divided control of the western district, which was under the English Board of Missions, and so remained for many years later; but was at the same time, in a vague sort of way, part of the Australasian system of Methodism, being in most practical matters governed by it.

With the year 1873 began a new condition of government in Australasian Methodism, which, while not of the same commanding importance to West Australia as to the several other colonies, was, nevertheless, of considerable significance, sufficient, at least, to create the sense of enlarged ideals and to mark the initiation of fresh enterprises. The Australasian Methodist Church had from 1855 been governed by one Annual Conference, meeting in the principal cities. In 1873 a new constitution was granted, whereby four separate and self-administering conferences were created, with a General Conference, whose functions were of legislative rather than administrative character, meeting every three or four years. West Australia was attached to the South Australia

Conference, but the association was not of precisely the same nature as in the cases of Queensland and Tasmania. For the unique position of West Australia two principal facts were accountable. In the first place, separated as it was by 1,500 miles of coastline from the centre and seat of its ecclesiastical government, obviously its affairs could not be administered effectively outside its own borders. Consequently, from the first its reports and statistics were kept separately, and, in effect, its District Meeting was practically a self-governing conference. Only formally, and for legal purposes, did its appointments and other general business come before the South Australia Conference, of which, in the new constitution, it was technically a part. A second differentiating factor lay in the somewhat special relation of West Australian Methodism to the English Board of Missions, in accordance with which the new constitution provided: 'That West Australia stand on our minutes in connexion with the South Australia Conference, but it shall be understood that the expense of the mission shall be borne, and ministers supplied to it, as hitherto, by the committee in England.'

Nevertheless, this affiliation to the South Australia Conference proved productive of inestimable good to western Methodism. A new and enlarged sense of interest in West Australian affairs was at once created, which rapidly assumed most generous proportions and character. The stimulus afforded to Western Methodism by the establishment of these new relations is reflected in the quickened devotion, zeal, and liberality which immediately found characteristic demonstration. In Perth the Wesley Church debt, which at the time of opening (1870) stood at £1,000, was in 1874 entirely liquidated, and a scheme inaugurated for the provision of a choir gallery and pipe organ, completed two years later at a cost of £600, free of debt. Geraldton also felt the impact of a new spirit. Under Mr. Werth's arresting ministry results of a most encouraging nature were witnessed, including a large acquisition of both members and hearers, the erection

of a new church at Back Flats, and the securing of a further site of land for Church purposes. Throughout the colony the consciousness of Methodism thrilled and throbbed with an instinct of rare loyalty and noble liberality, in the presence of which every fraction of Church debt disappeared. Surely a unique situation! Concurrently with these unparalleled gains, the year 1875 registered an irreparable loss in the removal, by death, of Joseph Hardey, the zealous founder, sagacious leader, and ardent supporter of West Australian Methodism. On the morning of September 1 sudden failure of the heart prostrated him, from which he never rallied. Yet his reason remained unclouded to the end, and with admonitions and counsels, remarkable for their patriarchal character and spiritual content, the father and saint crossed the river dry-shod. No man ever more literally illustrated Charles Wesley's *obiter dictum:* 'Our people die well.' Of few can it be said with greater pertinence: 'He being dead yet speaketh.' By his exemplary piety, his strenuous service, his personal and posthumous benefactions, he made Methodism his debtor to a degree not yet estimated.

The year 1878 saw Mr. Lowe stationed at York, Mr. Traylen at Perth, with Mr. Laurance, whose return to the western district afforded the utmost satisfaction to his countless friends. Albany, which for seven years had been supplied by Mr. Atkins, and then for a brief period by Mr. Higgins, was now hopefully anticipating the appointment of the Rev. T. Bird from Scotland. Upon his arrival, however, the exigencies of the Geraldton circuit demanded Mr. Bird's service in the north, Mr. Werth being removed to Perth in consequence of a physical breakdown, necessitating Mr. Laurance's temporary superannuation. It was not until two years later, therefore, that the desire of Albany for a resident minister, independent of the Missionary Society, was realized. Nevertheless, mainly through the instrumentality of Mr. and Mrs. John Robinson, who, settling in Albany in 1878, actively identified themselves with the Methodist cause, the circuit

was immediately constituted, solid foundations were laid, upon which the already conceived ideal should permanently rest; and in 1880 the Rev. J. A. Mouland took charge of the circuit, which then had a membership of eighteen. It is little to say that the continuous history of the Church in Albany from that time to the present has been incalculably influenced and largely determined by the fleckless devotion, practical insight, and unstinted liberality of Mr. Robinson, whose deep and contagious interest has been shared by a strong band of worthy co-workers, notably Messrs. George Thomas, John Norman, and A. H. Dickson. Electing temporarily to reside at Northampton, Mr. Laurance greatly assisted in the establishment of Methodist interests there in 1880. His physical rehabilitation and Connexional changes, however, brought him, with Mr. Mouland, to Perth in the following year, Mr. Werth removing to Albany.

A tangible evidence of the reality of the Connexional nexus, and of the growing interest of the South Australia Conference in the western district, was demonstrated in 1881 in the visit of the President of the Conference, the Rev. J. B. Stephenson, whose extended tour of two months included an itinerary embracing every circuit in the colony. Not least among the many results attained by this official visitation was the creation of a new perception of Methodism's ecclesiastical ideal as a practical polity. The bonds of Connexionalism were immediately and indefinitely strengthened, reciprocal ties were established, and henceforth the South Australia Conference manifested, not only a keen appreciation of its great western district's needs, but also a profound sense of responsibility for its welfare.

Following upon Mr. Stephenson's visit, a stimulus to religious activity generally was imparted by the mission of Mr. Matthew Burnett, which, extending over a period of six months, exerted a powerful influence on the moral and spiritual sense of the entire community. In consequence of the continued illness of the Rev. W. Lowe, the Synod of 1883

was held at York, when Mr. Lowe intimated his intention of retiring from active work. In acceding to Mr. Lowe's request, the succeeding Conference recognized his 'honourable and useful ministry, extending over forty years, in connexion with Australian Methodism'; and recorded 'its deep sense of respect for his blameless character, his evangelical labours, the effective administration of the circuits in which he had travelled, and of the affairs of the West Australia district.' The Rev. W. Campbell was chosen to succeed Mr. Lowe as chairman of the district, and stationed in Perth. His advent had the utmost significance for Methodism in the colony at this juncture. True to the evangelical instincts of his Church, Mr. Campbell at once sought fresh fields for religious operation and occupancy; and in July 1884, in response to a largely signed petition, he dispatched his colleague, Mr. Mouland, to organize a Methodist cause in Bunbury. In this new venture Mr. W. Lowe took the most active part, and has ever maintained a deep and loyal interest in the Church's welfare, especially throughout the south-west of the colony, where his endeavours have been ably supported by Mr. Gibbs and a host of others. At the next ensuing Conference Bunbury was made a circuit, and from this centre Augusta, Bridgetown, Preston, Ferguson, and Brunswick were successfully missioned. The Bunbury church was opened on April 11, 1886, by the Rev. W. Campbell, and its subsequent history has proved well worthy of the prophecies then indulged. At various other centres of the colony consistent progress was being made. At Fremantle, under the vigorous ministry of the Rev. V. Roberts, an enlargement of the church was found necessary; at Guildford a new church was erected, to which the Rev. C. H. Nield was appointed; while in the Geraldton circuit, as the fruit of earnest labour, the Rev. M. Bullas saw a new church opened at Dongara, and an assistant minister, the Rev. E. Holliday, stationed thereat.

By an inscrutable providence, Mr. Campbell's ministry in West Australia was of brief duration, only a short three

years; still sufficiently long to stamp the personality of the man on all the institutions with which he had to do. He discharged his onerous duties with a remarkable diligence, and achieved a large measure of success. A man of considerable intellectual power, of vigorous and original mind, vision, clarity, and strength, marked his administrative labours and public utterances, enforced by the influence of his private life and character. His sudden death, on the last Sunday of 1886, smote the community with a sense of overwhelming shock, and created a profound impression on the public mind. A day crowned with solemn and manifold ministerial services closed as usual, but the servant lay down to die; and ere another morning dawned Mr. Campbell was not, for God had need of him elsewhere.

The vacancy created presented a problem not easy of solution; but the Conference generously sent the Rev. P. C. Thomas, whose temperament and gifts well fitted him for the position. Genial, sympathetic, industrious, and patient, he quickly won a place of high regard. To the general regret of all concerned, Mr. Thomas was compelled, by a physical prostration, to return to South Australia after three years' faithful service. Under his oversight, in 1887, the Newcastle and Northam circuit was established, and the Rev. H. Faull appointed thereto; Fremantle, with Jarrahdale, was also divided from the Perth circuit; and in the following year a new church was built at the thriving port at a cost of £2,000. A similar enterprise was undertaken at York at a cost of £1,100, and parsonages were erected at Perth, Guildford, and Dongara, the latter place, owing to its distance from Geraldton, having been constituted a circuit. The statistical returns presented at the close of this period were: churches 12; other preaching-places 32; ministers 10; local preachers 8; class-leaders 9; members 242; Sunday-school teachers 139; Sunday-school scholars 1,174; attendants 3,215. Cost of Church property £18,364; debt £2,557.

The year 1890 was an *annus mirabilis* in the history of

West Australia generally, and its Methodism particularly. First, it was signalized by the proclamation of a new constitution for the colony. The discovery of gold in 1885 had been followed by the opening up of areas of auriferous country, whose enormous wealth speedily attracted thousands of speculative and industrial immigrants. Vast social changes were presaged and rapidly realized. What the future held none could foresee or forecast; but with the inauguration of self-government, the new political and providential conditions combined to suggest the need of a Forward Methodist movement. This date was historic also as the occasion of Methodism's Jubilee celebration, the official recognition dating from the Church's organization by the Rev. W. Smithies in 1840, although its services had commenced ten years earlier.

The year opened with the arrival of the Revs. J. Y. Simpson and W. A. Potts. Mr. Simpson made an admirable successor to the Rev. P. C. Thomas, from whom he markedly differed in type, but whose devotion and zeal he reproduced, with commanding ability and effectiveness, in a ministry of inestimable value to the entire colony. Under his direction the Yilgarn gold-fields were visited by the Rev. H. C. George of York, the result of which was the establishment of a mission at Southern Cross, with Mr. Carmichael as home missionary. The district of Beverley and Mount Barker was also constituted a home mission station; and the following District Meeting appointed the Rev. J. N. Mills to inspect the Murchison gold-fields, with a view to this centre becoming also a Methodist occupation. The isolation of hundreds of miners from the ordinances of religion greatly moved the heart of Mr. Mills, and his long journeyings and severe hardships eloquently testified to the evangelistic passion which inspired them. A serious breakdown in health was the result, and two years later this heroic servant of God laid down his earthly task.

On May 19, 1891, the Rev. William Lowe passed away, in the forty-seventh year of his ministry. His connexion with

West Australia began in 1852. A subsequent appointment in Tasmania for seven years was followed by his return, in 1866, to West Australia, where he spent the remainder of his days. Twelve years of his ministry were devoted to the Perth circuit, and the remainder to York, where, after superannuation, he lived and died. As the official memoir said, he 'will be long remembered as a man of excellent disposition, a brother and friend, a good and faithful servant of our Lord Jesus Christ.' Mr. Lowe nobly served his Church through a long day with conspicuous fidelity and fervency. His preaching was earnest and spiritual, marked by directness of application, and invariably of practical character. He ruled with a kind, yet firm hand; and his wise administration abundantly justified his singularly lengthy appointment as chairman of the western district for seventeen years. A few months later the York cause was again afflicted, in the death of the Hon. J. H. Monger, whose long, honourable, and generous connexion with his Church remains a gracious memory.

At this time the interests in Perth and the provinces were steadily consolidating, and new churches were erected at Brisbane Street (Perth), Albany, and Northam. The Rev. A. J. Barclay's timely arrival marked the commencement at Dongara of a ministry of gracious effectiveness and abiding strength. After three years' service, Mr. Simpson's return to South Australia was rendered imperative by severe domestic affliction. Mr. Simpson was immediately succeeded by the Rev. G. E. Rowe, who, appreciating to the full the peculiar conditions operating during 'the roaring nineties,' spared no effort to make Methodism a living force and prominent factor in the strangely complicated life of the new community. With intuitive discernment and penetrative foresight, Mr. Rowe combined a bold initiative, a wise adaptation, and statesmanlike administration. The times were marked by rapid movement, kaleidoscopic change, and startling surprise. A unique situation had been suddenly created, presenting numerous doors of service. The Methodist community shared

Mr. Rowe's perception of the strategy of the opportunity, and magnificently responded to its call. John Wesley's direction: 'Go always, not only to those who want you, but to those who want you most,' found a striking exposition; and that trait of the Methodist genius produced its natural result. Stationed at Perth, where the pressure of the new situation was most acutely felt, Mr. Rowe sought first to strengthen and lengthen the central Connexions. Wesley Church was organized upon an institutional plan, in which no means were spared to meet the spiritual and social needs of the occasion; and new societies were formed, thus extending the circuit boundaries. A suburban Methodism suddenly sprang into vigorous being, and causes like Charles Street and Brisbane Street strengthened and consolidated; while new enterprises like Claremont, Subiaco, Victoria Park, Cottesloe Beach, Leederville, and Ord Street were established.

The gold-fields problem had, by this time, emerged with a pertinence and prominence that taxed every resource of the district and Conference to grapple adequately with it. In 1893 the Rev. A. C. Plane was sent to the Murchison; while the Rev. T. Trestrail was dispatched to blaze the track to Coolgardie, and so provide the miners with religious ordinances. At the same time, the tin-fields at Greenbushes, and the coal-fields at Collie, were visited and organized for Methodist enterprise by the Rev. J. G. Mitchell; while at the timber-fields of Jarrahdale and Lion Mills home missions were established. Events moved rapidly; and it was only a matter of months, and services were provided for Kalgoorlie, Kanowna, and Great Boulder, with other adjacent settlements. Before the close of 1895 new churches were built at Midland Junction, North Fremantle, Southern Cross, Cue, Day Dawn, Jarrahdale, Kalgoorlie, Kanowna, Great Boulder, and Green Hills. Of necessity a new embarrassment was born of this activity, and the imperative need of ministers to man the fresh fields taken up became increasingly and acutely felt. But nobly did South Australia respond to the needs of her sister

colony; and during the next few years the ranks of the local ministry were reinforced by a phalanx of new men, including the Revs. A. S. J. Fry, F. S. Finch, O. Stevenson, R. Dunstan, H. Wilkinson, W. H. Hodge, A. W. Bray, C. A. Jenkins, J. G. Jenkin, W. Corly Butler, A. Sussex, T. A. James, T. Pollard James, G. E. Wheatley, and W. A. Hay. They were young, strong men, whose ideals lay in front of them, and to whose strenuous labours and contagious enthusiasm as pioneers and pathfinders, as ministers and organizers, the present position of Methodism in the State is largely due. The official life of the Church was being gradually enriched, too, by the infusion of fresh blood, as supplied by the arrival of capable laymen like Messrs. T. Hewitson, E. Pope, J. P. Walton, I. W. Goss, J. S. Battye, and F. A. Graham; men of Connexional outlook and aptitudes, and who at once shared the responsible burden so heroically borne hitherto by stalwarts like Sir George Shenton, Hon. R. W. Hardey, and Messrs. R. D. Hardey, G. Johnson, J. Robinson, A. Helmich, T. R. Lowe, J. W. Langsford, G. B. Humble, H. E. Mofflin, W. J. Stewart, and A. Gorrie.

The social conditions created in the early nineties presented many problems to the Churches, and demanded a speedy, broad, and humane solution. The inevitable concomitants of the siege furnish a by no means extravagant parallel to the situation presented for a time in both the metropolis and on the gold-fields of the western colony. Sickness and disease, waste and vice, poverty and distress, were some of the forms of misery which accompanied the phenomenal gold discoveries and their subsequent exploitation. To meet such exigencies, the Church, under Mr. Rowe's leadership, organized various movements, notably a sisterhood, whose aims were the relief of immediate distress and the nursing of the sick poor. The need of the work was matched only by its success. In less than three years the movement was represented by thirteen trained nurses, whose service was gratuitously given. Together with specialized knowledge and skill, they went with

soulful sympathy and practical relief. Apart from the Sisters' Home in Perth, branches were established at Fremantle, York, Northam, Southern Cross, Kalgoorlie, Boulder, Menzies, and Cue, and maintained by voluntary contributions.

While these extraordinary demands were being met, the ordinary work of the Church was prosecuted with enthusiasm and unprecedented result. To accommodate the worshippers at Wesley Church, Perth, extensions, including galleries, were undertaken at a cost of £1,500. A new church was also built at Claremont, which was soon to become head of a flourishing circuit. At Albany, the Rev. J. A. Jeffrey's ministry was crowned with most encouraging and indubitable signs of divine favour. At Fremantle, the Rev. W. A. Potts saw four new churches built within the bounds of that circuit: Cottesloe Beach, North Fremantle, South Fremantle, and Plympton. By the Conference of 1896 Kalgoorlie was made a circuit, and a plan of federated service agreed upon between the Wesleyan Methodists, the Primitive Methodists, and Bible Christian Churches. The two latter communions, at the request of members and adherents in the west, had sent from South Australia the Revs. T. Allan, A. J. Burt, and J. Dingle, who established churches at Norseman, Kalgoorlie, Coolgardie, Kanowna, and Bunbury. Mr. Burt being invalided home, the Rev. R. J. Daddow supplied his sphere for one year, and was succeeded by the Rev. J. E. Stone. Later, Mr. Dingle was exchanged for the Rev. J. Tiller. Happily for Methodist interests generally, Methodist union was anticipated; and when this was finally consummated, there was, in consequence of a wise provision and tactful administration, little to adjust and nothing to undo.

In 1896 Mr. Rowe inaugurated a mission for the local Chinese, with the Rev. Paul Soon Quong as catechist. This branch of much-needed service was, and continues to be, not the least successful of the many agencies of Wesley Church. During the same year the Rev. J. G. Jenkin saw a commodious church erected at Menzies amid prospects of con-

siderable promise; and the Rev. R. Dunstan, then at Geraldton, opened Yalgoo and Mount Magnet. A year later, and Guildford, under the Rev. T. Bird, erected the present handsome sanctuary at a cost of £2,000. This era of expansion and experiment, of missionary enterprise and church-building, finds its consummation in the adoption, by the Wesley Church trustees and Conference, of an enterprise whose magnitude was equalled only by its magnificence. The purchase of the last remaining vacant block of land in William Street, between Hay and Murray Streets, secured to Wesley Church one of the finest sites in the city. With sanctified sagacity the trustees then initiated a progressive building scheme, which, when complete, will provide for the adequate accommodation and efficient equipment of a modern central mission.

A review of the decade's operations is fittingly brought to a close by allusion to an event, the historical value of which is of the utmost importance, though by no means yet easy to estimate. The Synod of 1897 requested the General Conference to constitute West Australia a separate, self-governing conference. Without traversing the grounds on which this plea was based, it is here sufficient to say that the General Conference, which that year assembled in Auckland, acceded to this desire, and fixed the year 1900 as the date for the new conference of West Australia to come into existence.

Some estimate of the work accomplished during this period is suggested by the following statistical returns, as supplied to the Conference of 1900, which for such purpose are here compared with those of 1890:

	Churches.	Ministers.	Local Preachers.	Leaders.	Members.	Teachers.	Scholars.	Attendants.
1900	57	28	105	40	1,945	579	5,723	17,251
1890	12	10	8	9	242	139	1,174	3,215
Increase	45	18	97	31	1,703	440	4,549	14,036

The first West Australia Conference was opened on March 20, 1900, by the Rev. H. T. Burgess, LL.D., President of the General Conference, whose inspiring presence and public utterances, combined with his special knowledge of Methodist constitutional law and history, were of invaluable service at so important a juncture. The Rev. G. E. Rowe was installed as President, with the Rev. T. Bird as Secretary. The new era was ushered in amid great enthusiasm and with high hopes, hopes which the succeeding thirteen years have gone far towards realizing. So near to hand, however, are the events of this period that only a general survey of the position attained may be here attempted. The primary work of extension has proceeded with undiminished vigour and unparalleled result. Within the metropolitan district, societies have been established and churches erected at Bayswater, Maylands, Rosalie, North Perth, Ord Street, Hope Street (Fremantle), Caversham, West Guildford, Mundijong, Subiaco, Schafer Street, Jollimont, West Claremont, Cannington, Welshpool, and Victoria Park; and new circuits formed at West Perth, East Perth, East Fremantle, Claremont, Subiaco, Maylands, Victoria Park, Midland Junction, and Cottesloe. On the gold-fields the work has been prosecuted with no less earnest enterprise, though of necessity the results cannot be of such permanent nature and ultimate value. Tangible evidence of the vitality of Methodism in the mining centres may be seen in the churches built therein during this period, among which must be instanced Brown Hill, Burbanks, Broad Arrow, Mount Morgan, Laverton, Day Dawn, East Boulder, Lakeside, Trafalge, Norseman, Lawlers, Queens (Boulder), Sandstone, Lancefield, Meekatharra, Bullfinch, Marvel Loch, Hopetown, Ravensthorpe, with Collie in the coal-fields.

Up to this period a home mission had been largely synonomous with a mining centre; but with the settlement of stable mining towns, the establishment of circuits rapidly succeeded. Then, with the dawn of the new century, the point of incidence in home mission operations suddenly changed. A new line

of geographical advance was struck. The opening up of vast areas of rich, fertile land revealed the possession of resources, the potentialities of which were simply incalculable. Thousands of selections were no sooner surveyed and thrown open than taken up. The silence of the bush was broken by the ring of the settler's axe, and its solitude made social by rapidly rising towns and hamlets. A new impulse seized the people; and with the facilities afforded by means of assisted immigration, there commenced that steady flow of English agriculturalists, artisans, and labourers, which for many years to come is likely to know no diminution. To the Methodist Church the new development brought new tasks; but God, who presents His problems to His people, finds also the solution. And to follow the settler with the ordinances of religion was seen to be a plain, imperative duty, which could brook no dallying. Accordingly, the home mission committee proposed a plan of campaign additional to that already in operation, the strategic wisdom of which has been demonstrably justified. An enlarged home mission policy was then adopted, which has already grown to a significance of numerical and spiritual dimensions not only historically gratifying, but prophetically great. The consciousness of Western Methodism was seized with a sense of new responsibility, when, after a tour of inspection, including the whole of the great southern district, the Rev. T. Allan urged a bold forward policy. The Church, thus challenged, rose at once to the demands of the occasion; and her response has grown in proportion to the accelerating momentum of the need. Under the leadership of Mr. Allan and his successors, the Revs. F. S. Finch and A. J. Barclay, a network of circuits and home mission stations now links up most of the settled areas with religious organizations. In this activity the labours of the immediate past and present home mission treasurers, the late Mr. T. R. Lowe and Mr. J. P. Walton, have been both quantatively and qualitatively great.

Some suggestion of recent undertakings in the agricultural

and timber districts is conveyed by a glance at the interests already firmly established, and the well-equipped churches built within the last thirteen years at Northam, Georgina, Mundijong, Yarloop, Moora, Waroona, and Yardarino. The occupation of the great southern district is an exploit of intrepid courage, strenuous toil, and marvellous achievement. On this vast area, extending from Beverley to Mount Barker, Methodism was represented in 1902 by one solitary minister. To-day it includes seven circuits, Beverley, Pingelly, Brookton, Narrogin, Katanning, Wagin, and Dumbleyong; and five home mission stations, Tambelup, Mount Barker, Wickepin, Kojonup, and Denmark, with substantial church premises at Narrogin, Cuballing, Tambelup, Pingelly, Katanning, East Popanyinning, Marwongo, Wagin, Brookton, Mount Barker, Dumbleyong, and Collannilling. Such is the present outcome of the work enterprised by the Revs. H. Morrell, J. Weir, A. J. Lance, W. R. Lang, and R. R. Fleming in 1904. A parallel instance is supplied by the central district. In the year 1905 Kellerberrin was the only circuit between Northam and Southern Cross. To-day there are four circuits, Kellerberrin, Dangin, Meckering, and Dowerin; three home missions, Goomalling, Bruce Rock, and Merriden; with churches at Kellerberrin, Wael, Goomalling, Meckering, Kununoppin, Dangin, Dowerin, and South Carolling.

Concurrently with these developments in mission extension and circuit consolidation, the work of Connexional organization has proceeded in various directions. In 1900 a book dépôt was established, and a growing literary need is being well supplied. A Sunday-school Union was formed in 1903, and is achieving most excellent results. In secondary education a long-felt desire was gratified when, in 1908, the Methodist Ladies' College was established. Under the direction of Miss Maud Connell, M.A., and Miss Gertrude Walton, B.A., the college has already won a high place in the regard of educationalists and the public generally. The obvious necessity of a Methodist newspaper had been interpreted in

a private journalistic undertaking in a previous decade. In 1909 the Conference commenced the publication of *The Western Methodist*, which, under the able editorship of the Rev. J. Snell and his successor, the Rev. C. A. Jenkins, has admirably served our interests. The philanthropic note has never been wanting in Methodism's evangel. This was specially emphasized in 1911, when the Methodist home for children was conceived. Under the sympathetic leadership of the Revs. A. W. Bray and T. Allan, with the notable assistance of Mr. J. Robinson, who has generously donated £500 to the fund, and Mr. A. Crawford, treasurer, the establishment of the home is immediately assured. The insistent call for further ministerial training found some answer in 1912, when a Provisional Theological Institution was established. Exigencies of Connexional content hitherto difficult of treatment are being wisely met in the Rev. A. J. Barclay's appointment as Connexional agent. In this connexion may be noticed the passing of the Methodist Church Property Trust Act, and the Methodist Church Model Deed Act, in 1912, in the preparation of which the Rev. H. Youngman, D.D., whose visit to the State afforded the utmost gratification, rendered generous and conspicuous service.

Appropriately here, though in briefest word, may be recognized the various funds which have grown into prominence proportionately with interests of local character. In addition to the purely Connexional funds based on a fixed levy, or the funds built on annual subscription, as foreign missions, home missions, &c., the following Conference funds have been successively established: Twentieth Century Thanksgiving Fund, Loan Fund, Sustentation Fund, and a fund to aid distressed trusts.

This survey would be obviously incomplete without some reference to the vicissitudes and losses which have left the mark of suffering on the annals of this period. The faith and loyalty of Methodists have been tested by the emergence of more than ordinarily difficult situations, the character and

magnitude of which have at times overwhelmed the smitten Church. Happily, the dismay and humiliation of the hour have been followed by the sense of a great triumph, great peace, and great hope. The Church has been irreparably impoverished by the death of some of her noblest sons. The Revs. T. Bird and W. Burridge were both ex-presidents and men of commanding powers; and now that in our councils we are bereft of the wise leadership and loyal comradeship of laymen like the late Sir George Shenton, Hon. R. W. Hardey, T. R. Lowe, and J. B. Allen, B.A., our corporate life is much the poorer. Be it remembered, however, that while God carries off His workers, He carries on His work. Herein is the saying true: 'Other men laboured, and ye are entered into their labours.' While chastened by the losses of the past thirteen years, with devout gratitude do we recount its gains, as represented by the following numerical statement compiled from the returns as furnished to the Synods of 1913:

	Churches.	Ministers.	Local Preachers.	Leaders.	Members.	Teachers.	Scholars.	Attendants.
1913	110	53	251	68	5,012	981	9,711	34,348
1900	57	28	105	40	1,945	579	5,723	17,251
Increase	53	25	146	28	3,067	402	3,988	17,097

CHAPTER V

QUEENSLAND

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SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

Description of State—A Macedonian cry—Moore—Brisbane—Ipswich —Queensland District—Financial independence—Central Mission buildings — Queensland Conference — Jubilee—Towards union—Bible Christians—Primitives—Harvey Memorial—Union—Growth —Property—Home Missions—King's College—Numbers.

CHAPTER V

QUEENSLAND

The State of Queensland, situated on the north-east coast of Australia, is the third largest on the continent. The coastline is upwards of 2,000 miles, and includes an area of 670,500 square miles. The northern portion is well within the tropics; but even here there are stretches of elevated table-land with a temperate climate, good rainfall, and productive soil. The products are mainly primary of many sorts, direct from the soil. The vast western areas are occupied with ever-increasing herds of cattle and horses and flocks of sheep. The extensive scrub and forests supply a great variety of useful and beautiful timbers in immense quantities. Coal is abundant and widely distributed. Minerals of all grades, precious metals, gold, silver, copper, tin, and exquisite gems of several kinds are freely obtained. On the coast sugar-growing is largely carried on, with the cultivation of tropical and sub-tropical fruits, such as bananas, pine-apples, paw-paws, oranges, and lemons. Maize is freely grown in many districts, dairying is a large and growing industry, while considerable areas in the south are productive of wheat and kindred cereals. The varied resources of the State are only at the beginning of their development, and are the earnest of a greatness in process of realization.

The present population is about 640,000. The capital city, Brisbane, is almost at the extreme south, a few miles up the river. Unlike the other States, there are several large coastal towns which do their own trade with the outer world, and are gateways to extensive hinterlands. From these ports independent systems of railway have reached out, and these

are now being linked up, both along the coast, and towards the western border. A good system of free education has been established, with frequent High and Grammar Schools, and a recently constituted University. Good order, safety, and peace are well maintained over all the territory. In earlier years Queensland was known as Moreton Bay, and formed part of the colony of New South Wales. From 1826 to 1840 it was used as a convict settlement. Only a few lingering traces of that era now remain. An independent colony was constituted in 1859, when the population was about 28,000. Of these 6,000 lived in Brisbane and the neighbourhood, which then contained twelve churches, the same number of public-houses, and as many policemen.

The beginnings of Methodism in the State are not now traceable. The very names of those whose warm hearts enjoyed the experience and longed for the fellowship of Methodists have been forgotten. As was often the case, there were Methodists among the soldiers, and a certain Corporal Fursman may be identified as an active but fading figure in the mists. A young man of ardent and sympathetic spirit, pitying the condition of the children, gathered some of them into a Sunday school. In the *Minutes* of the Wesleyan Conference of 1846 this line appears: 'Moreton Bay; One requested.' What longing hearts joined in the utterance of that Macedonian cry is written among the secrets to be revealed. The desire for help brought its fulfilment. The call was heard.

No minister was available. But in 1847 a young married man of Windsor (N. S. W.) had his heart deeply stirred by the call and claims of Fiji, and while waiting for his commission as a missionary consented to go to Moreton Bay as a catechist. William Moore arrived with his wife, who is still living, towards the end of 1847, to begin a work involving not a little privation and hardship, but a work destined to prosper. Services were held in a building in Queen Street, near the present *Telegraph* newspaper office. These

premises, owned by Mr. Little, had been used as an auction mart. The first tea meeting was held on Boxing Day of that year, and proved a great event. Prayer-meetings were held, and a class established. The first class-book, treasured among the archives and recovered from Tasmania, is an interesting possession. A grant of land in Albert and Adelaide Streets was obtained from the Government, and a brick church built, at a cost of £150. This was opened in 1849, a Presbyterian minister conducting one of the services. Later, a small brick cottage of four rooms was erected on the same site, fronting Burnett Lane, in which one of the stewards lived for a time. It was afterwards occupied by several ministers as a parsonage, until the two-storied building was erected on the beautiful site on Wickham Terrace, acquired by the Rev. S. Wilkinson.

The Rev. W. Moore visited Ipswich, then known as Limestone, and commenced services. It is remembered that the first Methodist hymn sung there was sung in the open air under a tree—

> O for a thousand tongues to sing
> My great Redeemer's praise,
> The glories of my God and King,
> The triumphs of His grace!

From Ipswich the cause extended to Warwick and Toowoomba, rising towns above the range on the beautiful and fertile Darling Downs. When Mr. Moore left for Fiji, where he became a famous missionary, he was followed for one year by the Rev. W. Lightbody, who was succeeded by the Rev. John Watsford, who had just returned from a brief term in the same mission field. Mr. Watsford, a native of Parramatta, had a notable career as an evangelist, and lived long in the honour and affections of the Connexion as the venerable 'Father Watsford.' His stay in Brisbane was short, his place being supplied by the Rev. J. G. Millard, his colleague at Ipswich.

In 1856 a new church was built at Albert Street, Brisbane,

and in 1858 at Ipswich. These buildings were spoken of as two of the finest then held by the Connexion, Ipswich having the preference. Much assistance was given to the growing cause by the Rev. G. Poole, a retired West Indian missionary, and his son, a chemist, who was zealous in good works. The Rev. Nathaniel Turner, a former successful missionary in New Zealand and Tonga, settled in Brisbane, where members of his family already resided. For many years he rendered conspicuous help in establishing and extending the sacred cause. His son, Hon. J. S. Turner, M.L.C., was a trustee of Albert Street Church, and long acted as organist.

A separate Queensland district was formed in 1863, with the Rev. Joseph H. Fletcher as chairman, who afterwards became Principal of Newington College. He was a minister of rare gifts, culture, and devotion. Three circuits only were included in the district, viz. Brisbane, Ipswich, and Warwick. During Mr. Fletcher's term, the Home Mission Society was founded, the first money contributed being used for bringing three young ministers from England. Maryborough and Rockhampton, opened about this time, have had continued progress. The Rev. B. Dixon, one of the new men, was sent to Bowen. Ill when he arrived, he preached on two Sundays with much earnest impressiveness, and then died, his grave being the only visible memorial of that brief beginning.

Monetary assistance also had previously been received from the English Missionary Society. It was felt that this should now cease, and the Methodism of the State must rely upon itself. It was proposed to give a final amount of £1,000 to form a permanent fund, on condition that £500 be added by local effort. The Hon. F. T. Brentnall was then the vigorous and efficient chairman of the district, and his Honour Sir Arthur Rutledge, K.C., the eloquent preacher at the Valley. Their appeal brought a sum of £550, £250 of which was devoted to the establishment of a book dépôt,

which has had a continuous career of usefulness, though troubled at times by the depressions of business.

The valuable Albert Street site, in the heart of the city, was sold in 1887 with all its buildings, to make room for business premises. A new and more elevated site, a little further up the same street, on the opposite side, was acquired, and the present stately and beautiful church erected. It is acknowledged to be the most beautiful Methodist church in Australia. The site cost £10,000, the building about £14,000, organ and furniture another £5,000. The accommodation is about 1,000. It is comfortable and chaste. At its side is the Albert Hall, a two-storied brick building costing £4,000, and used for a variety of purposes. And there is also a commodious wooden building, which did duty as a temporary church, and is now known as the Social Hall. These fine premises are the home of the Central Methodist Mission, whose superintendent is the Rev. G. E. Rowe. For eight years his varied capabilities, energy, and resource have been rewarded with continued success. The present Valley church was built about the same time, superseding a smaller and plainer building. The Rev. J. A. Nolan was then superintendent and chairman of the district. The Hon. James Cowlishaw, M.L.C., who was one of the leading trustees, has in many ways generously contributed to the progress of that Church. In 1889 the district was divided into the south and north districts. The latter included Rockhampton with Mount Morgan, Peak Downs, Townsville, Charters Towers, and Croydon, with two other stations yet to occupy. The Rev. C. W. Graham was appointed chairman.

In 1893 the Queensland Conference was constituted, having been authorized by the preceding General Conference held in Sydney in 1891. It had long been felt that the colony was too extensive and too far remote from Sydney to permit of its growing needs being sufficiently known to receive fair treatment, and that larger powers of self-government would be to

the advantage of Methodism. There were now twenty ministers, three supernumeraries, and ten probationers on the ground; 1,981 members, with eighty-six on trial; eighty-five Sunday schools with 806 teachers and 7,261 scholars; and 15,440 adherents. The Home Mission income was about £500, the enthusiastic and energetic secretary for some years previously having been the Rev. W. Halse Rogers. The Loan Fund had been increased to £2,635, and was the only means through which Connexional aid could be given to the erection of churches and parsonages. As the result of a Conference Memorial Fund, about £750 was added to the capital of the Loan Fund. The Conference was opened at a time of great rain. Heavy floods swept away numerous houses and great bridges. Traffic was dislocated, widespread devastation was caused, and for a while it was questioned whether it would be possible for the Conference to assemble. The Rev. R. Sellors, D.D., an ex-President of the Conference, and a former superintendent of Albert Street circuit, opened the Conference in place of the Rev. Dr. Kelynack, President of the General Conference, who had died. The Rev. H. Youngman, then stationed at Toowoomba, was elected President, and the Rev. J. Bowes Secretary of the first Conference.

The Jubilee of Methodism in the colony was celebrated in 1897. It was made possible to combine with that event the virtual achievement of Methodist union, although the formal union did not take place until the following year. The General Conference of 1894 had adopted a basis of union, leaving each annual conference to effect union on that basis as it became practicable. Queensland was the first of the Conferences to take complete action, although, from a series of mischances, the parliamentary validation of the union was delayed for some years, creating considerable trouble. But in the jubilee year the matter was in such a position as to make a united celebration possible. A strong deputation from the south came to assist. The Wesleyan Church was

represented by the Revs. Dr. Morley, President of the General Conference, Dr. H. T. Burgess, Dr. W. H. Fitchett, and W. G. Taylor; the Primitive Methodist Church by the Revs. T. Copeland, J. Nairn, and Hon. J. Blanksby, M.L.C. A series of meetings was held, reaching a large proportion of the circuits, the work generally received an impetus, and the way for actual union was greatly prepared.

Four branches of Methodism existed in Queensland, although the union was practically confined to two. A Bible Christian Mission was commenced in 1866, when the Rev. W. Woolcock arrived, in response to an appeal to England from certain members of that denomination. The neighbourhood of Red Hill, Brisbane, became the centre of operations, and a few small churches were built in the country. Mr. Woolcock resigned after some years, and attached himself to the Wesleyan Church. The mission did not prosper; overtures were made to the Wesleyan Church to take it over, and after some negotiation this was done in 1895. There were then three ministers, the eldest of whom retired, the two younger leaving for elsewhere.

The United Free Methodist Churches were represented by a few Churches and two ministers in Brisbane and the neighbourhood. These Churches acting independently, only two small ones came into the union. Others became attached to the Congregationalists. The Rev. W. Osborne Lilley, the leading minister, retired soon after, and the denomination ceased to exist.

The Primitive Methodist Church had its beginning in Queensland at the end of 1860. Until that time the members in the colony associated with the Wesleyans. An advertisement in one of the papers asked these members to make themselves known to the denominational authorities in Sydney. In response to the urgent request of the members in Brisbane, the Rev. Thomas Colley was sent to gather them together and to minister to their spiritual needs. The signal gun announcing the arrival of his boat was heard by the

congregation at worship on Sunday morning, and some of its members went forth to meet him. The first services were held in a disused Presbyterian church in Creek Street. A little later Mr. James Graham gave land in Windmill Street, the Valley, on which the first church was built. It cost £200, and was entirely paid for. In 1862 land was secured in Adelaide Street, in the centre of the city, and a church and parsonage built. Mr. Colley having been transferred to Rockhampton in 1863, the Rev. J. Buckle succeeded him in Brisbane, entering upon a long course of vigorous and extensive labour, reaching to Ipswich, Gympie, and Maryborough. He took steps to build the Miner's Bethel, a plain, bark building, the first church on the Gympie gold-fields. The substantial churches at Leichhardt Street, Spring Hill, and Brunswick Street, New Farm, Brisbane, were built in following years. The Rev. Robert Hartley, who won a name of rare renown in the central district for piety and unselfish devotion to the people, arrived in Rockhampton in October 1864, and continued there until he died in 1892.

His son, Mr. Stewart Hartley, became one of the leading citizens of that prosperous city, and was ever a loyal and liberal supporter of the Fitzroy Street Church. That church was eventually sold, and what is now known as ' The Hartley Memorial Church ' was built in Archer Street. In the early years heavy property debts proved a troublesome burden, and only now are they becoming less distressing. Additional ministers were introduced from England, and much missionary activity was displayed along the central railway line, and in the growing towns and mining centres of the north. Rockhampton was the natural base for these operations. For some time the Rev. James Williams had the responsibility and principal share of the work. Churches were planted at Charters Towers, Mackay, Cairns, Cooktown, Herberton, and further north. The Rev. William Powell, who arrived at an early period, has played a foremost part in the furtherance of the growth and extension of the denomination. The first

District Meeting was held in 1874. Until the consummation of union, the Church in Queensland was an integral part of the Connexion in England, and received a considerable subsidy from its missionary society.

The relative strength of the two Churches at the time of union may be estimated from the following figures:

	Wesleyan	Primitive Methodist	Total
Ministers . .	33	26	59
Members . .	2,513	2,335	4,848
Sabbath Schools	107	84	191
Teachers . . .	980	566	1,546
Scholars . . .	9,938	6,059	15,997
Adherents . .	19,177	12,651	31,828

Immediately after union adjustments in circuits and stations were made, and amalgamations took effect. Not only were circuits united, but congregations were amalgamated, making some churches superfluous. These have either been removed or sold for other purposes. One denomination being in possession of the whole field has made it possible to do away with overlapping, so far as Methodism is concerned, and to use the available resources of agents and money to greater advantage. The moral effect of union has proved beneficial within the Church itself; and it certainly has been manifest in the community at large. Since union there has been steady and constant growth, for which union is not altogether responsible, but which would not have been possible without it. There have been not a few grave difficulties to overcome; but they are now practically surmounted. Parting with the aid from England was a loss. The disparity between ministerial allowances and the variation of usage formed a problem in more than one direction. The greatest trouble arose in connexion with the Primitive Methodist properties. With few exceptions these properties were held by a corporation instead of local trustees, as in the case of

the Wesleyans. The delay in getting authority for the United Church to handle the affairs of the corporation led to an increase of debt; and when the time came for vesting the properties in local trustees, in many cases the liability was increased, even though a considerable amount was dealt with by the Connexion as a whole. That work being complete, there is now no case of serious difficulty in regard to property within the Conference. For the last few years a Connexional Fire Insurance Fund has been in existence. Most of the buildings are covered by the fund, and a reserve is being accumulated which gives sure promise of being a boon to the Connexion.

The growth of the State in recent years, largely by the opening up of agricultural areas and the dairying industry, has created the demand for vigorous home mission enterprise. This has been carried out by helping established circuits to extend their boundaries, and by establishing new stations to be worked independently, until they are strong enough to be recognized as circuits. The Rev. W. H. Harrison, who has been the energetic and efficient general secretary for many years, has been for some time set apart to superintend the operations of the society. He travels widely and continuously to direct the work and to secure funds. The annual income is a little over £2,000. The Church Building Loan Fund has now a capital of about £7,000.

The Queen Alexandra Children's Home at Hatherton, Coorparoo, Brisbane, was commenced at Indooroopilly a few years since in two cottages given by Mrs. McConnell. The location was inconvenient, and the present fine house being under offer, it was secured and furnished. About twenty children are now being cared for. A committee of ladies, with a gentlemen's advisory committee, manages the institution. A book dépôt for the sale of literature does a good business in the name of the Conference; and *The Methodist Leader*, a fortnightly publication, promotes the interests of the Connexion by circulating information and discussing current

questions of interest. It combined the two previous denominational papers, *The Christian Witness* and *The Christian Ensign*.

The latest institution of the Church is King's College, within the University. When the University was founded, it was felt that the time had come to do something more for the training of candidates for the ministry, and to provide a residential college for University students. The matter was discussed during the presidency of the Rev. F. Duesbury, the Rev. W. H. Harrison acting as secretary in the earlier stages. A scheme was prepared for consideration by the Synods and the Conference of 1912. A property was purchased at River Terrace, South Brisbane, overlooking the river, the Botanical Gardens, and the University on the other side. The existing house has become the master's residence, and a two-storied wing has been built for the accommodation of students. The scheme was adopted by the Conference, and a successful appeal made for £5,000, including gifts of £500 each from the family of the late Hon. John Archibald, M.L.C., and the Albert Street Church trustees. The Revs. F. Duesbury and Robert Stewart have been the secretaries, and their efforts have commanded the present measure of success. The master and principal is the Rev. M. Scott Fletcher, M.A., B.Litt., B.D., who was generously transferred by the New South Wales Conference to occupy a position for which he is admirably fitted. The college has been full from the beginning. It was formally opened at a brilliant ceremony in the open air under the auspices of the General Conference, the Governor, His Excellency Sir William MacGregor, G.C.M.G., Chancellor of the University, declaring the college open.

It only remains now to state that the present strength of the Church is indicated by the following figures presented to the Conference of 1913. Ministers 99; home missionaries 48; local preachers 430; members, or on probation, 10,000; Sunday-school teachers 2,041; Sunday-school scholars

20,000; adherents 54,000; churches 267; schoolrooms 21; parsonages 62. The organization which has grown to these proportions under such conditions during nearly seventy years of its history may be confidently expected, by the blessing of God, to become stronger and more widespread; and while fitting men to live more worthily upon earth, make them meet for the abiding inheritance of the saints in light.

CHAPTER VI

NEW ZEALAND

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SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

Physical and political — Occupation — Missionaries—Auckland—Pitt Street — Six circuits — The Peninsula—Waikato—Gold—Thames River — Primitives —Wellington—United Methodists—Masterton and Wanganui—Rangitikei—Levin-Otaki— Napier — Hastings—Gisbourne—Taranaki—New Plymouth—Waimate plains—Rivalry —Nelson—Richmond—Blenheim —Westland — Reefton — Christchurch—Durham Street — South Canterbury—Ashburton — Bible Christians—Otago—Presbyterians—Dunedin—Oamaru—Invercargill — Hardship — Primitives — Colleges — Funds — Missions—Deaconesses—Independence—Union.

CHAPTER VI

NEW ZEALAND

The three principal islands of New Zealand have an area of 103,241 square miles. Its total territory is one-seventh less than that of Great Britain and Ireland. From North Cape to Stewart Island, it stretches through fourteen degrees of latitude, the total length of the coastline being 4,430 miles. In physical configuration, this 'brighter Britain of the south' differs from the three older Australian States. Port Jackson is the one great gateway of New South Wales, Port Phillip is the pride of Victoria, and Spencer Gulf the entrance to South Australia. Hence Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide are without rivals in their respective territories, as to population and influence. They were also the places from which settlement spread. In New Zealand it is not so. There are eight excellent harbours, and population has been more evenly distributed. For years her four chief cities ran a neck-and-neck race for the primacy. There are now two dozen towns, each having from 3,000 to 13,000 inhabitants, and most of them growing rapidly.

Prior to the proclamation of the colony in 1841, Europeans of various nationalities found their way thither. A few escaped convicts crossed from Australia, small parties of free immigrants started settlements, deserters from sailing ships took up life among the Maoris, and small whaling communities were established at Kororarika, Port Nicholson, Cloudy Bay, Port Cooper, and Waikouaiti. In 1838, 131 vessels entered the Bay of Islands. The white population numbered several hundreds. The formal British occupation did not grow from one centre. The six original provinces

were founded at different dates, and their founders had varied ideals. For many years communication between them was infrequent. The first colonists of Australia found an empty continent with scattered tribes of aborigines, to whom tillage was unknown. In New Zealand it was different. The North Island carried a large Maori population, and every acre had its owner. Native land laws were complicated and difficult for strangers to understand. Thus there came years of strife and bloodshed, by which settlement was retarded. Each province had local government, and the various communities developed on lines of their own.

These factors all had their influence in determining the places at which the first congregations gathered, and in helping or hindering the growth of organized Church life. Missionaries were glad to preach the gospel to their own countrymen settled near their stations; naturally they became their pastors. The Missionary Society, with commendable foresight and generosity, sustained these ministers in the small towns which sprang up. As the country became better known, and immigrants from Great Britain multiplied, the later-born Churches sent preachers to care for their members, and to expound their views of Church polity. To understand how they fared, their advantages and difficulties, and the result of their toil is now our aim. To get an intelligible view, we must follow the beginnings in the several provincial districts, until these merged into the larger ideal of nationhood and unity in Church life.

Auckland was much the largest of the provinces, comprising nearly half the North Island, and containing sixteen and a half million acres. The capital, with its suburbs, has a population of over one hundred thousand. It is beautifully situated. Owing to its command of the sea on either side of the isthmus, it was predestined to become a great commercial centre. It was the first seat of Government. For some years the population was small. Within the first year of its history

the Rev. J. Buller, the missionary at Kaipara, visited the settlement. On Sunday morning he preached in a sawpit at Mechanic's Bay, and in the evening in an auction-room. A few Methodists from Australia welcomed him. A class of thirteen was enrolled, and Mr. Gardiner, a local preacher, was appointed to conduct regular services. Before the first 400 immigrants from England arrived, in October 1842, a site was secured, a weatherboard church 40 feet by 25 built thereon, and opened in 1843, the whole cost being met. The quarterly contributions in 1845 were £2 1*s.* 6*d.* Adding the quarterly collection the sum increased eighteen months later to £16 9*s.* 2½*d.* In 1844, the Rev. Walter Lawry, then superintendent of missions, arrived. He was a man of strong personality, an able preacher, and a statesman. Next year Rev. Thomas Buddle, with the instincts of a theologian, the heart of a pastor, and mighty in prayer, became his colleague. Their ministry was greatly blessed. The church was enlarged, and still found too strait. In 1858 a brick church was built in High Street. For eighteen years it was filled. The preaching staff was strengthened by the Revs. Joseph H. Fletcher, cultured and winning, and Alexander Reid, a Boanerges. Conversions were frequent. Meantime, around the city other services were started. The Rev. Isaac Harding became superintendent in 1858, and promoted the building of churches at Freeman's Bay and Hobson Street.

In the early sixties, population poured in, and the city rapidly expanded. A large and commanding site at Pitt Street was acquired, and a capacious schoolroom with a brick church above was built. The Rev. J. Warren, who was the moving spirit and one of the largest contributors, preached the opening sermon in 1866. The total outlay was £11,000. Commercial depression set in, and a debt of £5,000 remained which was paid off eighteen years later. For forty-seven years Pitt Street Church has been the cathedral of Auckland Methodism. Probably £25,000 have been expended on it. A church was also erected in Grafton Road. Later, at the

suburbs of Mount Albert, Arch Hill, Kingsland, Newmarket, Henderson, Avondale, and at Devonport, Birkenhead, Takapuna, Birkdale, and Northcote, on the north shore, churches were erected. At Ponsonby a church was built in 1877, and the present attractive church took its place four years later. At Bayfield, Mr. Richard Hobbs built a church as his father's memorial, and at Remuera, Mr. Joseph Wilson presented one as a thank-offering. A City Mission, started in the early nineties in Union Street by Messrs. W. H. Smith, S. Parker, Beaumont, and others, did good work. Three years ago it found a home at Newton. Thus, from the modest start made in 1841, in Auckland City and its suburbs there are six circuits, twenty-four churches, 2,200 Church members, and congregations numbering over eight thousand.

To the north of Auckland is a peninsula 200 miles long, with country rugged and broken, and large tracts covered with dense forests. For years considerable areas were only used by kauri gum diggers. Settlers were induced to go there by free grants of land, but the want of roads imposed severe privations on the pioneers. In that area there are now five circuits and five home mission stations. To Whangarie a home missionary was sent in 1864, and the first churches were built three years later. Whangarie has greatly improved, and the coal mines at Hikurangi have developed. A Non-conformist Association, formed in England in 1862, brought out a number of immigrants from England, and placed them at Kaipara. Mr. Gittos, the missionary, counselled, enheartened, and preached to them for many years, thus starting Paparoa circuit. The kauri forests near Wairoa River, and the facilities of the river for navigation, led to the establishment of great saw-mills, with townships at Dargaville and Aratapu. Farmers took up land, and a circuit was organized. The cement works at Warkworth brought population. Helensville, Bay of Islands, Whangaroa, and Mongonui have still small populations, amongst whom the home missionaries do good work.

Onehunga, Otahuhu, Mangere, and Papakura townships, on the shores of Manukau Harbour, were constituted a circuit in 1850. Much of their prosperity was due to the Revs. Buttle, Warren, and W. J. Watkin, who settled there. Otahuhu, now a city suburb, was made the head of a circuit in 1910. From Manukau, preachers went to Pukekohe, Waiuku, Bombay, and Pokeno. In 1877 the Franklin circuit, now the largest in the Dominion, was established. At the close of the war of 1864, large areas of Maori land were confiscated in the Waikato, and military settlers placed there. Townships were laid out and farms occupied at Cambridge, Te Awamutu, and Hamilton. The Rev. J. S. Rishworth in 1865, and the Rev. J. Berry in 1867, did faithful and successful work. In that prosperous agricultural area there are now three circuits. The coal mines in the lower Waikato attracted people, and in 1906 Huntly and the adjacent places were constituted a circuit.

Captain Cook believed the Thames River would be the site of New Zealand's capital; hence the name. But until the rich gold discoveries of 1867, the residents were few. Then miners poured in by thousands. Grahamstown and Shortland became large towns, and churches were built at both places. From thence the gospel was carried to the mining districts of Paeroa and Waihi. Thames township, with 3,600 inhabitants, has now settled to its normal condition, with farms around it. A minister was sent to Tauranga in 1883. The upper Thames circuit owes much to the generous support of Mr. W. Shepherd Allen, who resided there for some years. To him also the opening of Rotorua as a Church centre is due. Opotiki was long difficult of access. Three years since, a minister was sent. Te Kuiti, a thriving township on the railway line, and Waimana, are the latest posts occupied. The progress of the Wesleyan Church throughout the province may be roughly gauged by the following figures. In 1874, at the first Conference, there were twenty-seven churches, with 573 Church members, and 5,351 adherents. In

1912 the churches numbered ninety-five, members 4,134, and adherents 19,580.

Primitive Methodism did good work, specially in and around Auckland. The Rev. R. Ward was welcomed as a visitor in 1849 by members who had come from England. Two years later he became their minister, and the parent church in Edward Street was built. In 1865 Sheridan Street in Freeman's Bay was opened, to be superseded by Franklin Road Church some years later. Minister and members being zealous for extension, Primitive Methodist churches were the first buildings for public worship in Newton, Eden Terrace, Morningside, Waterview, Mount Roskill, and Hobsonville. Congregations were also gathered at the Thames and Waihi, and later at Cambridge and Hamilton. In 1912 they reported seven circuits and 3,494 worshippers. To Mr. D. Goldie much credit is due. For many years he has thought and toiled for the Church, the Building Fund and Connexional Insurance Fund being organized by him. The United Methodist Free Church was started in 1872, its first minister, the Rev. G. H. Turner, being able and popular. The former Wesleyan church in Hobson Street became their home. A branch church was built at Mount Eden. The members united with the Wesleyans in 1896.

For forty years the city of Wellington has been the head of a district, comprising a majority of the circuits in the former Wellington Province, with those of Hawke's Bay and Gisbourne. Around the city rugged hills stretch for 40 miles. Beyond the Hutt Valley lies the Rimutaka Range, and in Hawke's Bay the Ruahine Mountains. The remainder of the territory is agricultural or pastoral country. Since the railways were built, settlers have multiplied, and townships have sprung up in every direction.

Wellington Methodism dates from the foundation of the Port Nicholson settlement. On January 25, 1840, the Rev. J. Buller, who had travelled overland from Kaipara, preached

on the *Aurora,* the first emigrant vessel. Mr. Udy, a local preacher, and other Cornish Methodists were among the passengers. Mr. C. Hunt and Mr. J. Swan came next. Their church home was found on the Te Aro flat, at the corner of Cuba and Manners Streets. Thither came the Rev. John Aldred, the first minister. A wooden church was built by voluntary labour. In 1845 it was superseded by a brick edifice, at the dedication of which all the town was present. Destroyed by earthquake in 1850, a larger building of wood took its place, and for seventeen years the people worshipped there. When Wellington became the colonial capital, in 1865, population poured in, and large numbers found employment in harbour reclamation and building. An ornate wooden church, seating 800 persons, with a conspicuous spire, was opened in 1868. Eleven years later it was accidentally burned. Land was purchased in Taranaki Street, and the present commodious sanctuary, with its extensive and well-planned school buildings erected. The Rev. W. Kirk, the superintendent when the two last-named churches were built, was well read, exceedingly energetic, and intensely evangelistic. No minister was more beloved, and none so deeply stamped his impress on Wellington Methodism. Under the Rev. T. Buddle's superintendency in 1872, churches were built at Thorndon and Adelaide Road. As South Wellington grew, the congregation at Adelaide Road sought a better site, and Newtown church was built. Kilburnie followed later. Still the population was in advance of the accommodation. Seven years since, a Church Extension Committee was formed, the fruit of which is seen in the neat suburban churches of Brooklyn, Karori, and Island Bay. A Central Mission, with a morning service in Herbert Street and an evening service in the theatre, was commenced in 1909. The original circuit is now five circuits.

The Primitive Methodists have been active in the city and suburbs since the year 1847. Sydney Street, Thorndon, the central church for years, was very prosperous. Webb Street,

Te Aro, the first outgrowth, soon became the most important. Its alert office-bearers acquired sites in Newtown and several of the Bays beyond and opened churches. Not a little of their success was due to the enterprise of the Rev. J. Dawson, and the financial help and statesmanship of the Hon. C. M. Luke. In February 1913 the denomination brought into the union three Wellington circuits. The United Free Methodist Church, organized in 1876 in Courtenay Place, continued for twenty years, with the Rev. H. B. Redstone as minister. Admirably situated in one of Wellington's broadest streets, it was an ideal site for the Central Mission Hall. Unfortunately, when the Free Methodists joined the Wesleyans in 1896, the property was sold, and the members joined the Taranaki Street congregation.

In the Hutt, where the first settlers prospered, churches were built in the early forties at Lower Hutt and Taita. In 1865 a church was opened in Wainuiomata, and some years later another at Whiteman's. The erection of woollen mills and refrigerating works brought a large population to Petone. Services were at once organized, and with the growth of the town, which now has a population of 6,600, the Church prospered. A minister was located at the Hutt in 1842.

During the fifties, enterprising men travelled round the coast, and established sheep stations on the fertile Wairarapa plains. Small farms were surveyed, and in the bush at Masterton, Carterton, and Greytown, and on the plains at Featherstone, townships sprang up. In 1867 the Rev. J. S. Rishworth became the first minister. Success crowned his efforts. Masterton is now a prosperous town of 5,000 people. Eketahuna circuit was opened by Methodists from Masterton. In the midst of a forest, the Bayliss brothers, both local preachers, preached in their own house. Helpers and residents also went from Masterton. The first church was opened in 1889. The town of Wanganui has a population of 12,000. In 1848, the Revs. Stannard and Kirk, on their way to Maori stations, accompanied by John Hobbs,

were wrecked at the mouth of the river. They preached to the few townspeople on the Sunday. The first church was opened at Ridgway Street in 1860, the site being levelled by the voluntary labour of soldiers of the 65th Regiment. By a gift of £700 from the mission funds, the excellent site in the Avenue was secured, and in 1873 Trinity Church was erected. The plant is now very complete. During the seventies, services were started at Brunswick, Kai Iwi, Springvale, and Upokongaro. Aramoho becoming a railway centre and the site of the freezing works, a church and parsonage were built. A Primitive Methodist church was also erected in the town, and another at Easttown.

Forty-five years since, the Rangitikei district was dense bush or tio-tio-covered plains. In 1871 a minister was appointed there; and within six years three churches were built. The attractive church at Marton, opened in 1893, is largely due to the Rev. T. Fee's energy. For some years the circuit was a struggling one, but Marton is now the centre of a prosperous wheat-growing district. The building of the Auckland railway has opened up the upper reaches of the Rangitikei River. The forest has been felled, and Taihape, Waimarino, and Taumaranui have become prosperous townships, with good farms around.

Three circuits and a home mission station have been organized in the fertile country between the Rangitikei and Manawatu rivers. In the early seventies a number of Wellington, Hutt, and Richmond residents acquired a block of land on the eastern side of the Rangitikei, and led by Mr. Sanson, a local preacher, they founded the township of Sanson and Rongotea. An English company, known as the Manchester Association, purchased a large area, and Feilding, the principal town, rapidly sprang into importance. The opening of a road from Masterton through the 70-mile bush, and the Wellington-Manawatu railway made Palmerston North the largest town of the district, with a population of 11,000. The Primitive Methodists were at

work in the same locality. In 1874 they started services at Foxton, and extending to Feilding, Halcombe, and Hunterville. In 1892 the Bible Christians sent a minister to Palmerston North, and a church was built in Cuba Street. Palmerston has now two good circuits; while Feilding, Foxton, Sanson, and Kimbolton are all progressive.

The Levin-Otaki circuit represents rapid but substantial growth. The directors of the Manawatu railway, who wisely secured the fee simple of the land, threw it open for selection. Saw-millers were soon at work, and farmers took up land. The Methodists among the first arrivals were enterprising and liberal. Within six years from 1891 churches were opened at Otaki, Levin, Manakau, and Paraparauma, three being dedicated by the Rev. G. S. Harper, then a supernumerary at Palmerston. In Hawke's Bay sheep-farmers took up stations, and in 1855 the town of Napier was laid out. Two years later an acre in Clive Square was bought as a church site for £25. Thirty years later it was worth £2,000. The attempt to form a circuit in 1861 proved abortive, and the half-finished church was sold. Ten years later the Rev. H. B. Redstone of the United Methodist Free Church built a church and gathered a congregation in Emerson Street. The Wesleyans still pressing for a minister, the Rev. J. S. Smalley was appointed in 1874, and a church was opened in January.

Services were begun at Hastings in 1878, and the town now rivals Napier in population. Three other circuits were commenced by the United Methodist Free Church. At Waipawa the foundation was laid by the Rev. Robert Taylor in 1870, at Woodville by the Rev. J. W. Worboys, and the Rev. J. W. Griffin was the first minister at Pahiatua. The first settlers were poor. The Hicks Fund (the gift of a Cornish gentleman) was used to help in church building. Dannevirke was a little bush township in the midst of a forest. Mr. Worboys visited it when the roads were knee-deep in mud. The Wesleyan Conference sent Mr. M. K. Gilmour, now chairman of the Papuan district, there in 1899. He laid a good foundation,

and built a church. Dannevirke and Norsewood, as their names indicate, were started by Scandinavian immigrants in the seventies. Soon after Mr. Smalley's appointment to Napier, Mr. G. W. Russell went to Poverty Bay as a home missionary, where he held services with good results. Gisbourne was then a small town, but its importance was foreseen. Frequent changes of ministers, nine in twelve years, prevented progress. During the Rev. Josiah Ward's term, the position was retrieved. A new church and parsonage were built, and the past five years have shown a decided advance. With a population of 8,000 in Gisbourne itself, and with excellent land around, further rapid growth may be expected.

Not without warrant, Taranaki claims the title of the Garden of New Zealand. As pasture country for sheep and cattle the coast districts are unrivalled, while the inland downs are fitted for the growth of cereals. For thirty-five years there were serious Maori troubles. Around New Plymouth the settlers had more than once to vacate their farms. All through the province they had to fight for their hearths and homes. This, and the want of roads, retarded progress. New Plymouth was founded by immigrants from Devon and Cornwall, of whom a goodly proportion had been connected with Methodism in the fatherland. Mr. H. Gilbert, a Bible Christian and a local preacher, who came by the first vessel, was welcomed by the Rev. C. Creed, and preached the following Sunday. Desiring Christian fellowship, he attended a class-meeting in Mr. Creed's house. Within twelve months the class was so large that it was divided. Services were started in a raupo hut. In 1843 a stone church, built by the Congregationalists, was purchased. In 1856 the Liardet Street site was secured, and the Rev. Samuel Ironside opened the church there. For two years prior to the war, the congregation enjoyed the preaching of the Rev. Joseph H. Fletcher. When peace was restored, the Rev. Alexander

Reid became the minister. The church was enlarged, a pipe organ obtained, and additions made to the schoolroom. Great revivals were witnessed during the superintendency of the Revs. W. Kirk and F. W. Isitt. In 1898 the present handsome sanctuary was built, at a cost of £2,300. In honour of the beloved missionary who had lived there for ten years, and was shot by the Maoris, it is known as the Whiteley Memorial Church. A second church in the town has since been built. Of the town population nearly one-fifth are adherents of the Church.

Waitara residents hoped that the river there would become the port of Taranaki. That hope has been only partially realized. The Rev. J. Crump preached at Waitara in 1872. In 1875 a small church from Bell Road was removed there. Subsequently, a better site was secured and a new church built. At Inglewood one Monday morning in the year 1876, a number of workers from New Plymouth and Waitara, aided by local residents, began the building of a church. It was opened the following Sunday. The roads were so bad that some of the congregation preferred to go barefooted till near the building. Five years later a new and larger church took its place. Lepperton, Midhurst, Huirangi, Waipuku, and other places soon obtained sanctuaries of their own. The evangelistic spirit has always prevailed. Eighty persons found peace at Waitara in 1884, and eleven years later there was a revival through the whole district. At the southern end of the province, the Wanganui ministers held the first Methodist services. At Carlyle, now known as Patea, Mr. Harding preached in 1867. After the failure of Titokowaru's raid, the Rev. W. Morley and Mr. Stannard paid monthly visits, preaching also at the blockhouses at Waitotara, Waverley, and Kakaramea. Patea church was built in 1875, and a minister resided there for twelve years. The town has not fulfilled its early promise, and it is now a home mission station.

On the famous Waimate plains, many thousands of acres

of rich land were confiscated after the native rebellion, and the Hawera township was founded. Its growth has been steady and continuous. The Patea minister and the Rev. T. G. Hammond cared for the spiritual needs of its early residents, and for those of the townships near by. The Church has always had its devoted members, generous givers, and able local preachers. At Manaia, Okaiawa, Kaponga, Otakeho, Normanby, Opunake, and other places churches were organized. Three other circuits, Manaia, Kaponga, and Cape Egmont, have been carved out of the ground thus occupied. Stratford and Eltham are later developments. Stratford was a very small settlement in a heavily timbered district. The key to a large tract of country stretching up to the Wanganui River, and an important railway centre, it soon attracted the attention of dairy farmers. The Rev. J. T. Pinfold conducted services there in 1889, but unfortunately they were discontinued. A circuit, however, was formed in 1894 and a church built. In other townships near by congregations were gathered, Eltham claiming attention. Both towns are now prosperous.

Among the first arrivals in New Plymouth were a number of Primitive Methodists, some of whom gained considerable worldly substance. They found their way into the newly settled districts. Ardently attached to their Church, they sought to extend it, and for twenty-five years there was sometimes keen rivalry between them and the Wesleyans. The Rev. R. Ward on his arrival in 1884 found a number of Bible Christians, who had commenced services in the open air. They had already sent to England for a minister, but recognizing in Mr. Ward a kindred spirit, five local preachers and all the members joined the Primitive Methodists. Thus reinforced, the New Plymouth Church increased in importance and became a denominational stronghold. Mr. Bellringer, for many years prominent among its members, is of high standing in the community, successfully filling many civic offices. At Bell Block, Tataraimaka, and other settlements, services were begun. After the war, churches were started at

Waitara and Inglewood. Their preachers held the first services at Stratford, Eltham, and other places. Itinerant and local preachers vied in spreading the evangel, and success crowned their efforts. When in March 1913 these places became part of the Methodist Church of the Dominion, they brought into it in Taranaki fourteen churches and 2,130 hearers.

Nelson City, with Dun Mountain in the rear, watered by the Maitai River, is pleasantly situated, and has always been a favourite place of residence. Founded by the New Zealand Company, the *Fifeshire* brought surveyors and labourers in February 1841. Two other vessels shortly after landed a number of immigrants. To-day, within the city limits, there is a population of 8,000. The Rev. S. Ironside came from Cloudy Bay mission in 1842, to be welcomed by Mr. Green, Mr. Hough, a local preacher, having already held services. Mr. Ironside preached on the river bank, and as he preached, the people shouted for joy. The Company gave an acre of land near the present Custom House, and a church seating 200 people was built. Within six years, services were established at Wakapuaka and the villages of Waimea. Mr. Ironside took charge in 1849, to be followed by the Rev. John Warren eight years later, whose choice diction and able sermons attracted large congregations. The old church, damaged by earthquake, was sold, and a new church, costing £2,197, was opened in 1858. Conversions were frequent. Robert Lucas, trained in Bristol Methodism, was an ideal steward. After forty years, the first church was replaced by the present elegant one, and later the parsonage and schoolrooms were added. For thirty-two years, the Nelson pastor has had charge of the one congregation.

On the Waimea plains townships were laid out, and in the early days of Stoke, Waimea Village, Spring Grove, and Wakefield, where the best features of English village Methodism were reproduced. With the newer places of

Appleby, Hope, Ranzau, and Foxhill, these were detached from Nelson in 1881, and constituted the Richmond circuit. Fruit culture has largely displaced farming. At Richmond in 1913 a modern and attractive-looking church took the place of one built in 1876. Across the bay are fertile lands formerly used for hop-growing, while hills previously deemed barren are covered with orchards. A small church, built in 1844 at Motueka, was supplied by 'Father' Andrews for many years. The Motueka circuit from 1869 has had a chequered history, but the flag has been kept flying.

Early arrivals in Nelson took up land on the rich and well-watered Wairau plains. In 1859 that territory, with but 1,000 residents, became the province of Marlborough. At Blenheim, its capital, Methodist families, who were among the first residents, were loyal to their Church, and 'strengthened each other's hands in God.' The Rev. J. W. Wallis was appointed in 1865, and the church built six months later was removed to Sinclair Street on account of floods. Sinclair Street site being resumed by the Government for railway purposes, a third church, much larger, was built. It was destroyed by fire when near completion. Meanwhile, two acres in High Street had been acquired, and on that site, the best in the town, the present commodious sanctuary was built in 1881. Blenheim, with a population of 3,700, has now one of the best suites of church buildings in the Dominion. At the growing town of Picton an attractive church took the place of the earlier structure. At Seddon, 30 miles south of Blenheim, a church has also been built, and a home missionary stationed. Half-way between Blenheim and Nelson small townships were started many years since, which also have churches.

Before the year 1860 Westland was almost a *terra incognita*, the settlers being few and scattered. The rich gold finds of 1865 changed that; for within a few months 40,000 people landed. In Revell Street, Hokitika, it was said 'every other building was a store, and the alternate one an hotel.'

Three men unearthed £4,000 worth of gold in one day, and the excitement became intense. At Mr. Buller's suggestion the Christchurch circuit liberated the Rev. G. S. Harper for service there. Young, enthusiastic, a good open-air preacher, he did splendid work, and in five months churches were built at Hokitika, Ross, and Kanieri. Rich finds near Greymouth necessitated prompt action there, and Mr. Cannell was placed in charge, and a church was opened in January 1868. The following year Hokitika and Greymouth each had a married minister. For a dozen years these circuits were most prosperous. Amongst the converts were two young men, Mr. P. C. Thomas and Mr. P. W. Fairclough, both of whom became ministers and eventually Presidents of their Conference. As gold mining languished, coal mining and a large timber trade made Greymouth a busy port. Hokitika, with a diminished population, still holds its own.

The United Methodist Free Church did good work in Westland during the sixties and early seventies. The pioneer, the Rev. Joseph White, advised by Mr. Harper, began work among the 3,000 miners at Charleston and Brighton. After a few years those fields were deserted. But Westport coal mines had been started, and with the harbour facilities a prosperous town grew up, to which Mr. White removed. A Wesleyan minister being sent in 1894, the two congregations were combined. At Reefton four Wesleyans held services in 1872, and built a church. No minister being available, the building was purchased by the Free Methodists. After the union Mr. Pinfold cared for the properties, and provided for the liquidation of the debt. Reefton circuit, which has had the fluctuations of a mining community, is now prosperous. The coal deposits in Westland are valuable and widespread. On the opening of the mines at Denniston Hill, a considerable population was attracted there, amongst them being several Primitive Methodist families. A circuit was formed in 1892, and since then there have been further extensions.

Canterbury Province is a rectangular block stretching from the Hurunui River to the Waitaki, and from the sea on the east to the Alpine range on the west. Nine million acres of land, much of it rich and nearly all cultivable, made it a tempting field for colonization. Enterprising men took up sheep and cattle stations on Bank's Peninsula in the early forties, and there was a French settlement in Akaroa. In 1848 the Canterbury Association, formed in England, purchased the New Zealand and French company's rights, and in December 1850 the first immigrants landed. Lyttleton and Christchurch had already been laid out, and the cultivation of the soil was at once commenced. Eight years later, with 7,000 people, the public revenue was £96,000. When the task of making the Lyttleton tunnel was undertaken there were 20,000 people only. The opening of this tunnel increased the grain exports fourteenfold in one year. In no part of the Dominion has there been more steady and substantial progress than here.

It was intended to make the settlement a Church of England preserve, and to this end every immigrant had to secure a certificate from his parish clergyman. Notwithstanding this proviso, some Methodists were in the first ships, who, during the voyage and on arrival, sang hymns and held prayer-meetings. Some petty persecution was attempted, but the Methodists claimed the right of Britons to worship God in their own way. Mr. H. Flavell, a local preacher, preached the first Methodist sermon in Christchurch in 1851. The same year the Rev. James Watkin came from Wellington, holding services in a carpenter's shop in Lyttleton and in Mr. J. Philpott's hut at Christchurch. At Christchurch preaching services were also held in the house of Mr. D. Lewis. On his way to Waikouaiti the Rev. W. Kirk being detained in Lyttleton while his vessel was under repair, Mr. Watkin consented to his detention for a few months, when he edified the faithful, and saw many brought to God.

Mr. John Broughton, one of the converts, presented an excellent site in High Street, Christchurch; and in a stable, the only place available, cleansed and whitewashed for the occasion, the foundation stone-laying was celebrated. On Easter Sunday, in the year 1854, Mr. Aldred opened the church, then the largest building in the city. At Lyttleton, where Mr. Kirk had been working, the church was completed in 1855. At Riccarton and Kaiapoi services were also commenced, and congregations were gathered at Papanui, Woodend, and Ellis's Island. A handsome wooden church took the place of the earlier one in High Street in 1859, and it was soon filled.

The Rev. J. Buller, who succeeded Mr. Aldred in 1860, was robust, energetic, and hopeful, with a capacity for leadership. He soon made his influence felt. Immigrants, then arriving in large numbers, were welcomed and counselled, prayer bands were organized, young men were trained as local preachers, and many other places occupied. Mr. Buller's crowning work in the 'city of the plains' was the erection of Durham Street Church. The church at High Street, then too small, was sold, and a contract let for a handsome stone church with schoolroom attached to seat 1,200 persons, and to cost £12,000. One-fourth of this amount was borrowed at 15 per cent. The undertaking was heroic; but it was wise, and it was successfully carried out. The church was opened on Christmas Day, 1864, with great rejoicing. This property has been the pride and joy of Canterbury Methodism. It is the great gathering-place on special occasions, and it is a place of holy memories. The spacious schoolroom was added in 1874, and the church has been renovated, the interior remodelled, and a more powerful organ obtained. Altogether the sum of £30,000 has been expended. Well filled in the morning, and crowded in the evening, suburban churches subsequently depleted the congregation. These altered conditions have now been recognized, and the historic building is again being filled.

In the earlier years at Durham Street there were several able and generous laymen, who, backed by a strong body of trustees, were always ready to help in forward movements. This church has been the scene of many wonderful revivals, which gather around the names of Bishop Taylor and the resident ministers in 1871, 1878, and 1881. The Rev. T. Buddle, who succeeded Mr. Buller, was a great organizer. Circuit divisions were made, suburban churches multiplied, and better buildings replaced those first erected. At Lyttleton an attractive church was built. In Sydenham, Waltham and Harper Street churches became one in the central stone church in Colombo Road. East Belt was replaced by a larger brick church in 1882. The beautiful sanctuary built on land given by Mr. Peacock succeeded the primitive church at St. Albans, and this was superseded by the handsome church in Papanui Road. Churches were also built at Papanui, Knightstown, Shirley, Riccarton, Riccarton Village, Freiston, Woolston, and Heathcote Valley. In the five circuits in Christchurch there were twenty-six churches in 1912, with 8,000 persons as worshippers. That means one in ten in the city and suburbs, with every fourth name out of the ten on the membership roll.

Country Methodists emulated the zeal of the city. A good church was built at Kaiapoi in 1860, where the present Sunday school stands. Ten years later a new one took its place. The Rev. G. S. Harper, the first minister, saw many conversions. The Kaiapoi congregation cared for the children. It built the first modern Sunday school in the province, with provision for separate class-rooms. Woodend church was almost coeval with Kaiapoi. Ohoka, Swannanoa, Clarkville, Raithby, Southbrook, Ashley Bank, Leithfield, and Amberley churches marked the onward march; Rangiora, Sefton, Horreville, Waikuku, and Cheviot coming afterwards. The Free Methodists of Rangiora, Oxford, and Cust amalgamated with the Wesleyans in 1896. In the villages south of Christchurch there are three strong

circuits, Springston, Tai Tapu, and Leeston. Three Methodist farmers bought land near the Springs station in 1864, and at once started services. Not content to 'eat their morsel alone,' the local preachers went far and wide, and in two years seven churches were erected. New and better buildings have since taken the place of the earlier ones. Bible Christian churches were opened at Kimberley, Prebbleton, Templeton, and Halswell. Many years ago they became part of the circuits already in existence.

Some circuits in South Canterbury had not the stimulus that the northern circuits enjoyed in their formative period. From the Rangitata River to the Waitaki was a wide stretch of treeless plain. Cobb's coach was the only means of communication with Christchurch. A small steamer traded to Timaru, which was then a small town. Now there is a well-protected harbour where the open roadstead existed. Waimate, Temaka, and Geraldine, now borough towns, were then remote outposts. Happily, in each place there were devoted men who held meetings for Christian fellowship, while the local preachers proclaimed the gospel. In 1865 the Rev. J. B. Richardson was sent to Timaru. He found 'a people prepared of the Lord,' and was soon known throughout a circuit 50 miles long. Ten years later six churches had been built. Pareora, Fairview, Kingsdown, Waimataitai, around Timaru, Nukuroa near Waimate, and Waitohi, 5 miles from Temuka, all have places of worship. Temuka and Waimate soon became circuits.

Originally taken up as sheep runs, the opening of the railway from Christchurch to Dunedin inaugurated a new era in central Canterbury. The leases of station areas expiring in 1875, the stations were divided into farms, which were eagerly competed for. Business men, farmers, and school teachers, earnest workers and Methodists, settled in the country and at Ashburton. Ministers and local preachers from Christchurch conducted services, and the work was so promising that a minister was appointed, and churches and

parsonages were built at Ashburton and Willowby. Commercial depression came with heavy debts, and for a time there was a struggle. But the people did not lose heart; and under the leadership of the Rev. W. Keall the difficulties were surmounted, and great activity and blessing followed. Churches have been erected at Wakanui, Waterton, Lowcliffe, Hinds, and Tinwald and further afield; and Methven and Mayfield now have churches of their own. The church and schoolroom at Baring Square are on the best site in Ashburton. Ashburton is the centre of a prohibition district. Prohibition is reported to be of much advantage to business.

Though Christchurch has always been a strong Wesleyan centre, the minor Methodist churches were established there. Mr. George Booth, of the United Methodist Free Church, commenced services in 1860, and built a church in Rangiora. Removing to Addington three years later, his co-religionists gathered round him, founding churches there and at Richmond and Lincoln Road. The Rev. M. Baxter, who came from England as superintendent, was followed by the Rev. S. Macfarlane, and at St. Asaph Street, Christchurch, two churches were built in succession. When the last was destroyed by fire, the church in Durham Street South took its place. An honoured local preacher, Mr. E. Reed, organized a Bible Christian Church in 1877, the first services being held in a hall. A small church was built in Lower High Street, and the first ministers were the Revs. Keast, Crewes, and Wilson. In 1886 the Rev. John Orchard, a tireless worker, took charge, and aided by funds from England, the Lower High Street church was erected. Churches were also built at Addington, Belfast, Marshlands, and Little River. With the union of 1896 these became part of the Durham Street and Sydenham circuits.

The Primitive Methodists worshipped with the Wesleyans for many years. But they cherished their early attachments, and when a large contingent of members arrived with the

immigrants they resolved to secure their own Church organization. In the year 1872 the Rev. R. Ward came to Christchurch as their minister, and Cambridge Terrace Church was their head quarters. Great activity was shown. The members of the Rudd family, who settled at Greendale, were earnest and devout, and laid the foundations of a good circuit. Josiah Ward also made a good beginning at Timaru and Temuka, and two circuits were the result. At Geraldine the Wesleyan congregation was absorbed, and there was a small congregation in Waimate. They were the first to hold services in the Ashburton district.

The province of Otago is in perfect contrast to Canterbury. Its great lakes and the west coast fiords present strong scenic attractions. From the Waitaki River to Palmerston is a stretch of country eminently suitable for wheat growing. Beyond the hills, which, from Blueskin southwards, encircle Port Chalmers harbour and Dunedin City, are the fertile Taieri and Clutha plains. The greater portion of Southland is also an extensive plain, and considerable portions of it were heavily timbered. Inland, the country is broken. The great rivers are also an outstanding feature, and the Wakatipu plateau is a natural sanatorium. This settlement was planned by a committee of laymen belonging to the Free Church of Scotland. This committee purchased 400,000 acres from the New Zealand Company. The first immigrants arrived in 1848. At the end of ten years the population only totalled 7,500. The settlers had many hardships, and so primitive was the community that for seven years postage stamps were unknown. The aim of the promoters was to make this area another Scotland, with true-blue Presbyterians only. In this they failed; but the land and money coming to the Presbyterian Church from the proceeds of land reserves gave it means of support and extension which no other denomination can hope for.

The Methodists, however, claim priority. The Rev. James

Watkin opened a Maori mission station at Waikouaiti in 1840, travelling as far as Clutha to preach to the few white residents; and when the *Philip Laing* dropped anchor in Port Chalmers, the Rev. Charles Creed, the Wesleyan missionary, was there to welcome the Scottish strangers, and to preach to them the next evening. Mr. Wright, a Ludlow local preacher, also arrived in 1857, and in his house in George Street, Dunedin, the first class-meeting was held. Aided by Mr. Bacon, a Primitive Methodist, public services were also held at Dunedin, Port Chalmers, and Pelichet Bay. The Waikouaiti missionaries fostered the infant Church. Since then Methodism has had a place, a name, and a history in Otago of which there is no reason to be ashamed.

The gold discoveries of 1861 brought rapid and startling changes. Miners crowded every steamer from Australia, 3,000 landing one day. They tramped to Gabriel's Gully, to Dunstan, Wakatipu, and elsewhere, being known for a time as the 'new iniquities,' to distinguish them from the 'old identities.' Dunedin became a bustling city with a cosmopolitan population. The Rev. J. Buller, who visited and preached there, accepted a church site on Bell Hill, Dowling Street, and organized services until the Rev. Isaac Harding, the first minister, arrived from Auckland in 1862. Full of energy, and an attractive speaker, he drew large congregations. The morning services were held in a tent in Stafford Street, and the evening services in Old Knox Church. A heavy gale wrecked the church when near completion. Nothing daunted, another contract was let, and the church was duly opened. Mr. Harding seemed ubiquitous. He preached at Oamaru, Gabriel's Gully, and Invercargill. Within six months he and his young colleague at Port Chalmers had a circuit extending from Tuapeka to Waikouaiti. It was a great blow to Otago Methodism when Mr. Harding was removed to Wellington after two years' service. His successor, Mr. Aldred, unceasing in toil, soon broke down. The Rev. A. R. Fitchett, appointed in 1867,

was young, popular, and resourceful. The Dowling Street cutting had left the church perched on a hill. Obviously the place was unsuitable, and Moray Street site was therefore acquired, and Trinity Church and schoolroom built, at a cost of £5,000. Though a heavy debt was left, the scheme was a success. For forty-five years it has been the chief church of Otago Methodism, and no congregation has been more loyal or generous. A small church at Port Chalmers, built in 1855, was reopened and enlarged by the Rev. R. S. Bunn. Mr. Fitchett, who was eager for extension, commenced services at Broad Bay, Caversham, Blueskin, Merton, Palmerston, and Naseby, in which he was assisted by the Revs. H. Bull and D. McNicoll, his colleagues for a year. The circuit was then divided, and they were placed in charge of Port Chalmers and Waikouaiti.

For some years Dunedin had one church only and a preaching station at North-east Valley. In 1876 Mornington was occupied, and the Rev. J. J. Lewis took charge, also holding services at Linden and Roslyn. During the Rev. J. Berry's time South Dunedin grew rapidly, and the Sunday school flourished greatly. The church at Opoho was removed to Cargill Road, where the Sunday school now stands. The corner site opposite the church was purchased, and the mission hall built in 1893. Mornington made rapid strides. First a transept was added to the church, and this was superseded by a brick church; several other places also built churches. More recently a church, school, and parsonage have been built at St. Kilda, and the minister there has charge of Broad Bay. In 1890 the Rev. W. Ready opened the Bible Christian Mission in Dunedin. From open-air services he and his hearers moved to a hall in Stafford Street. Mr. Ready's work was so successful that during the latter part of his nine years' term an evening congregation of 1,800 filled the Garrison Hall. His successors also laboured diligently. Recently the congregation moved into a large hall in the Octagon. The fifty years' work is now

represented by five circuits, seven ministers, ten churches, and 4,790 worshippers.

Oamaru, the business centre of a thriving district, is a pleasant and prosperous town. Its growth was intermittent, commercial crises retarded it, and Church movements have been chequered. In Mr. Thomas Ferens' house at Sotford, on March 10, 1863, Mr. Harding preached in the morning, and at Oamaru in the evening. The first church was built in South Oamaru, and when that was sold, the present site in Eden Street was acquired, and the church opened in 1875. Parsonage and schoolroom followed. But heavy financial burdens were incurred, with which the members heroically struggled. Special help was given from the Loan Fund, and after long years the debt was discharged. The jubilee services were held amid great rejoicings in 1913. Enfield church has since been opened.

In 1861 the 1,500 people south of the Mataura demanded local self-government. The demand was granted, and Southland became a province, with Invercargill as the capital city. Sheep runs gave place to farms, and saw-millers came and established a large timber trade. Gold at Wakatipu, the Shotover, and Kawarau brought the miners. Invercargill now has a population of 15,000 in a 'No-License' district. The Rev. L. Harding, the first Wesleyan minister, arranged services, secured a site on the North Road, and opened a church on Christmas Day, 1863. In 1867 an Independent Anglican church was purchased in Leet Street, and North Road Church removed there for school purposes. Fifteen years later the new brick church of St. Paul's took the place of the weather-board structure. Services were held at the Bluff in the sixties. The surrounding townships were visited, and in 1885 there were fifteen places on the circuit plan. Unfortunately, many of these were subsequently abandoned. Riverton was well worked from the town. At South Invercargill, Teviot Street Church, opened in 1906, has become very prosperous.

The town of Gore, which now has a population of 3,000, was a village only in 1882. The Rev. J. N. Buttle, who was stationed there, saw a church built. Some years later a more central site was obtained, and a larger church and parsonage erected. Gore is now a thriving circuit. Otautau, with the townships around, has also prospered. Around Wakatipu, drawn by the flush of gold-mining, there were many Methodists, some of whom remain. There are churches also at Queenstown and Arrowtown. Milton, Balclutha, Lawrence, Roxburgh, Cromwell, and Mosgiel are the other centres of the Church's work. The smallest of these is Cromwell, with 600 people, and Mosgiel, with three times that number, is the largest. In each place there are worshippers who are strong in their attachment to Methodism and liberal in their support. Heroic work was done in these localities in the early days. At Teviot, for example, the Rev. W. B. Marten worked in a circuit with five preaching-places and an area of 68 miles by 45. In winter the tracks were almost impassable. The first quarter's receipts were £8 18*s*. Living in a miner's sod hut, his generous host would accept no payment for board and lodging, and thus he was able to subsist. He saw many remarkable conversions. The people of Balclutha and Milton enjoyed religion, and were ready for every good work. Cromwell was opened by the Bible Christians in 1887. Through the establishment of woollen mills, Mosgiel has become very prosperous. These circuits are moderate in size, and they well repay attention. No better training ground for young ministers could be found.

In and around Dunedin and Invercargill the Primitive Methodists provoked the Wesleyans 'to love and good works.' Mr. G. Froggatt was one of the stalwarts in Invercargill. In conjunction with Mr. Perkins he started services, and the Rev. B. J. Westbrook was appointed minister in 1872. The following year Don Street Church was opened. Well worked and centrally situated, it carried the gospel to the outlying settlements. At the Bluff a church was built

in 1879, and it is now a self-supporting circuit. In South Invercargill the Ellis Road Church has a membership exceeding that of the parent congregation. Edendale, with six adjacent places, became a circuit in 1908. Dunedin was not entered until Dr. Antliff's visit in 1875, when a class of fifteen members was organized. The Rev. Josiah Ward, the first minister, cheerful and indefatigable, gathered members and workers. Unfortunately, the debt on St. John's Church was too heavy, and the church was sold. Dundas Street, North Dunedin, always had a strong and prosperous congregation. At Ravensbourne, Kew, Caversham, and Green Island, there was response, and churches were built. The old Wesleyan centre at Waikouaiti was re-occupied, and six smaller places associated therewith.

For more than two generations, from Mongonui in the north to the Bluff in the south, the message of 'a free, full, and present salvation' has been proclaimed. The churches have been watered with the dew of Heaven. Hundreds from the various congregations have been removed 'to the general assembly and Church of the first-born above.' Their children carry on the work their fathers began. The Dominion's population is now 1,000,000. Of that number one in every ten is associated with a Methodist congregation.

The Wesleyan ministers in Australia and the missionaries in the islands formed a proprietary company in 1848 to build a college for their children's education. Eight and a half acres of land were purchased in the centre of Auckland, and Wesley College was built. Ministers' children were boarders, but day scholars from the city also attended. For the thirty-five years the college was in operation it did excellent services. The Rev. J. H. Fletcher was the first head master. The land and buildings were given by the owners to the Church for the purpose of higher education. In the year 1865 half the property was sold, and the debt remaining was extinguished. In the eighties the college was let as a private school; but having

been enlarged and repaired, it was re-opened in 1895 as Prince Albert College. The year following a girls' college was erected, and both colleges were successful educationally. But the £7,000 required for building and alteration was borrowed, and to the regret of many the colleges were compelled to close. They were let as boarding-houses. As the sites are valuable, the Queen Street frontages have been leased for the erection of buildings. The proceeds, after providing for interest and a sinking fund, are held sacred for the purpose of the trust.

From the year 1876 the theological students for the ministry have been trained, first at Three Kings' College, subsequently at Prince Albert College, and latterly in rented premises at Auckland. The interest of a noble bequest of £12,000 by Mr. Probert of Auckland, given in the year 1893, together with £1,500 given by Mr. Emsly, a Yorkshire Methodist, provides the greater part of the funds necessary for maintenance. The Rev. C. H. Garland has been set apart as theological tutor, and steps are now being taken towards the erection of a Probert Hall in Auckland. The sum of £3,400 has already been subscribed.

The duty of initiating a Church Building and Loan Fund devolved upon the Rev. W. Morley in 1883, and £6,000 was raised. The Auckland Jubilee Fund added £1,000, and £1,500 came from the Emsly bequest. Seven years later £2,390 more was raised, and the capital is now £11,871. The benefits from this fund have been incalculable. The capital of the fund in the Primitive Methodist Church stands at £1,532. In the year 1899 guarantees for a Fire Insurance Fund were obtained from members of the Church, and the Loan Fund was made responsible for the sum of £2,000. The fund has been successfully worked, paying working expenses and accumulating a capital of £4,477. The Primitive Methodist Fund has a capital of £2,153.

All the Wesleyan ministers resident in New Zealand were members of the Australasian Supernumerary Fund. For the

benefit of the great majority who have joined the newly formed Supernumerary Fund in New Zealand, the sum of £60,413 16*s*. is to be paid to the New Zealand Fund as its share of the assets. The Primitive Methodist Church had its own fund. The capital of this fund, supplemented by private contributions, will be used to purchase for the ministers or their widows the benefits of the New Zealand Fund. The interest of a legacy of £1,000, left by Mr. Plampin of Wanganui, to aid specially needy cases, is also available.

Home missions are a prime necessity in a growing country. The demands increase yearly. A strong fund has been built up, and the Rev. T. G. Brooke has been set apart as secretary. In the year 1912, after paying £2,176 towards the maintenance of the Maori mission, £2,800 was voted to aid the dependent circuits and home mission stations. The ex-Primitive Methodist Church Home Mission income was £714. Foreign missions have always had a warm place in the affections of New Zealand Methodists. The Revs. Dr. George Brown, W. Fletcher, B.A., J. W. and T. J. Wallis, J. Rosewarne, J. H. Simmonds, W. Slade, J. A. Crump, S. B. Fellows, and J. W. Burton have gone from New Zealand circuits to the island groups of the Pacific. The Revs. M. K. Gilmour, W. W. Avery, F. Copeland, and W. J. Enticott are the present representatives in the mission field. The annual contributions increased from £1,235 in 1909 to £3,625 in 1912. The Rev. J. N. Buttle, the secretary, anticipates considerable help from the former Primitive Methodist Churches.

Deaconess work has been recognized as a necessity in Church life. Eleven sisters are now employed. Three of these were trained at the home provided by the Methodists of Christchurch, and three are now in residence. Methodism has lagged behind the Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Presbyterian Churches in the provision made for orphans and neglected children. At the Jubilee celebrations, donations were received for the founding of an orphanage. The dona-

tions then received, with interest added, now amount to £900. A legacy of £500, from Mrs. Knox of Auckland, has also been received. In March 1912 it was determined that the work should begin forthwith. A suitable house and grounds at Mount Albert, Auckland, worth £3,000, have since been given by a brother and sister, both members of the Church. Steps are now being taken to give a worthy start to the scheme projected at Christchurch.

Many years ago New Zealand's distance from Australia, the time and cost of adequate representation at the General Conference, and the desire to unite the various branches of Methodism in one strong Church, led to an agitation for independence. A proposal to this effect was defeated in the General Conference of 1881 by six votes only. Two years later the four Methodist Churches, agreeing unanimously that union was desirable, drafted a constitution. This constitution was rejected by the General Conference, on the twofold ground that it was too democratic, and that New Zealand's influence was needed in the Australasian Church. Meanwhile, the changes in policy sought by New Zealand were made. In Australia the union sentiment grew, and the General Conference of 1894 prepared a basis for union. This basis was accepted by the United Methodist Free Church and the Bible Christian Churches in New Zealand, and also by the Primitive Methodists in the Australian States. But the Primitive Methodists of New Zealand, averse to union with Australia, and desiring other constitutional changes, still held aloof. Negotiations were, however, resumed in 1910, and a constitution almost identical with that proposed in 1883 was agreed upon. The constitution provides that the admission, probation, and attainments of ministers in Synod and Conference be dealt with by a ministerial committee; that the stationing of the ministers be remitted entirely to the Representative Conference; that a layman be elected annually as Vice-President, and that hasty legislation be guarded

against by sending all new proposals to Synod, and thence for further reconsideration to the succeeding Conference. On this basis the General Conference of 1910, held in Adelaide, granted absolute independence, and the English Primitive Methodist Conference assented thereto.

The official courts of the two Churches in the Dominion voted for union on these terms by overwhelming majorities. On February 18, 1913, seventy-five ministers and laymen of the Primitive Methodist Church, and 193 of the Methodist Church met in their respective Conferences at Wellington and ratified the contract. At a large public meeting, at which the Governor presided, the formal resolution was signed by the appointed representatives, and union immediately took effect. The statistics of the uniting Churches were as follows: Methodist, 372 churches, 594 other preaching-places; 156 ministers; 23,896 members, and 76,419 adherents. Primitive Methodist, churches 81, other preaching-places 91; ministers 43; members 3,685; adherents 16,217. Total: ministers 199; churches 453; adherents 92,636.

Being duly constituted, the United Conference essayed the onerous task of rearranging the boundaries of forty-one circuits, and arranging for the number of ministers to be employed therein. Ten Synod districts were made, the circuits in each district being enumerated, and the ministers duly stationed. The utmost harmony prevailed throughout. With great expectations, it was resolved that a mission of inspiration and appeal should be held in all the churches, and that an outpouring of the Holy Spirit should be sought. Their co-religionists the world over will unite in pleading that for the Methodists of New Zealand the prayer of Moses for Israel may be fulfilled: 'The Lord God of your fathers make you a thousand times so many more as ye are, and bless you as He hath promised.'

PART IV
MISSIONARY

CHAPTER I

TONGA

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SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

Wonders—Handed over—The islands—The people—Discovery—Hebrews?—Religion—Political system—Women—Morals—London Missionary Society—Methodists—Nukualofa—Thomas—Tamaha converted—Revival—Tongatabu—Civil war—Waterhouse—George Tubou—Peace—Progress—Tongan Bible—Moulton—Tubou College—Bible revision—Baker—The Free Church—Reign of terror—Banished—Baker deported—Death of King—Recent work—Death of Moulton—British Protectorate.

CHAPTER I

TONGA

The record of a hundred years reveals the transforming power of the gospel in India, China, and other lands. But the evangelization of these places is far from complete, for the difficulties seem to increase with the advance of time and the growth of education. The story of mission enterprise and success in Tonga is second to none in its revelation of the power of the gospel, whereby a whilom heathen nation with the temperament of, and bias to, brutality and cruelty, became Christianized, as it were, in a day. It is not yet a hundred years since the gospel was first taken to these lovely islands of the fronded palm. It is but ninety-one years since the Rev. Walter Lawry commenced his ministerial labour. And yet it is quite sixty years since the group as a whole accepted Christianity and heathenism was abolished. What wonders have been wrought within the short compass of thirty years!

And this field, the first of importance in Polynesian missionary effort, has itself proved a centre of gospel dissemination. Fiji, Samoa, Rotumah, New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands all admit their obligation to Tonga for help received. In the former three, Tonga took the initiative and paved the way for more extended and effective work, in the gracious results of which we rejoice to-day. The corollary of the disputed theory *ex nihilo nihil fit* finds its corroboration in the mission field, where the divine embryo acts under the dynamo of love. Life produces spiritual life, and the Source of such life condescends to use the willing heart and humble effort of His coloured followers. Of the truth of this, Tonga stands as a striking example.

The British Conference was directly responsible for the

founding of this important mission; but it worked at great disadvantage because of its remoteness. It was found opportune, therefore, as soon as the Conference was established in Australia, to hand over this island missionary enterprise to its oversight. This it did through the Rev. Robert Young, who visited Australia in 1853, making a tour of the mission fields. Nor has its judgement proved abortive, as subsequent results show. The following pages give a bird's-eye view of the history of this interesting people in their passage 'from death unto life, from the power of Satan unto God.'

Far from the ken of civilized man, buried away in the Pacific Ocean, a mere cluster of tiny specks on the map, standing between 18° and 23° south lat., and 173° and 176° west long., lies a group known as the Friendly Islands, now termed Tonga. It comprises more than a hundred and fifty islands, of which fifteen rise to a considerable height, thirty-five are moderately elevated, and the remainder low. There are three principal groups, Tonga or Tongatabu, with its elevated, picturesque, and fertile adjunct, Eua, situated to the south; Ha'abai in the centre; and Ha'afuluhao, known as Vava'u, in the north. Taking a direct line from Eua to Vava'u, the whole covers a distance of 200 miles, and contains 200 square miles. There are two other small but interesting islands lying outside this area, Niua Fo'ou (Keppel's), and Niua Tobutabu (Boscawen), in a northerly direction; while Plystaart Island limits the extent of the Tongan kingdom to the south. The soil is prolific, though the climate is humid and enervating, especially between December and March, the hurricane season. Otherwise, from April to September, fanned by the pleasant trade-wind, life is enjoyable, especially in Tongatabu. It is a land of the graceful and beneficent coco-nut palm. Yams, kumalas (the sweet potato), and all tropical fruits grow in abundance. A visitor cannot but be struck with the luxuriant growth, the exquisite variety, the blaze of colour, of trees and flowering shrubs. Land and sea are a picture of inexpressible beauty.

The people are joyous and light-hearted, with no care apparently to distress. Well made, pleasant in feature, and dignified, both men and women show a quiet courtesy of manner unlike the idea in vogue of a pagan and heathen people! The sound of the church-bells on the Sabbath and week-day; the hearty singing of well-known tunes; the halo of peace; the wharf-stacked produce waiting shipment to some European port; the stores on the beach; the uniform of officials, and the small trucks plying up and down from the custom-house to the wharf—these signs all betoken the passing of heathen days.

How long the Tongan had been in possession of his island habitat before his emergence from the dim past, it is impossible to say. The first notice of him appears in the journal of Tasman, who touched at Tongatabu in 1643. He saw no weapons of warfare. The people apparently lived in comparative peace. But earlier even than Tasman, Schouten and Lemaire, with their high-pooped Dutch vessels, anchored off Niua Tobutabu and repulsed an attack made by natives. In 1797 Wallis touched at Niua. But these latter navigators do not seem to have done more than pay a passing visit.

It was left to Captain Cook to give wider knowledge of the islands and people. Cook anchored in Maria Bay in 1773, and named the group the Friendly Islands. In the choice of this name this intrepid navigator showed misguided judgement, for behind their simulated friendship they were preparing to club him. In 1777 he paid a second visit. But the results of his first visit had a much higher issue than that for which his exploration was planned. In the providence of God it was made the medium of spiritual results. It led to the evangelization of a heathen people.

It is difficult to fix satisfactorily to what race the Tongans belong. Ethnologically there is a wide difference between the Fijian and the Tongan, so that the latter cannot belong to the great Melanesian race. While there is a sprinkling of the Malayan in the Tongan feature and caste, it is not a

suitable term. So also the term Polynesian. Thus the two have been hyphened—Malayo-Polynesian. But the latest cognomen of this race is *Sawaiori*, a word combining a syllable from each of the outstanding peoples so difficult to designate ethnologically, viz. *Sa*moa, Ha*wai*, and Ma*ori*.

In the writings of the early missionaries to Tonga, the resemblance of many Tongans in feature, custom, and practice to the Hebrew nation was noticed. The institution of the *tabu*, of first-fruits, of the priesthood, the division of the year into months, the intercalary being included, to which could be added the tradition of the flood, the identity of their great god Mau'i with Noah, and of one of the family of Tangaloa, another of their deities, with Tubal-Cain, suggest a pristine connexion with the Hebrew race. Whence came such ideas and records? History was handed down by word of mouth. The Tongan priest was the representative of the Levite, and was confined, like the physician, to certain families. So also with the bard, whose duty it was to hand down the ballads and traditions sacredly guarded.

And the argument of language is conclusive. When the Bible was translated the second time, Dr. Moulton, the translator, was struck with the resemblance of Tongan with Hebrew, a resemblance that amounted to identity, the only difference being that *the Tongan appeared to be the older form*. When this discovery was afterwards referred to a Hebrew authority in England, he frankly acknowledged it to be the case. This admission corroborated what the translator had long felt, that the Tongans were of the Hebrew race, and that they had come originally from the south of Arabia.

The religion of Tonga, as first known to the civilized world, incorporated no abstract principles of belief. It was rather a system of despotism, in which deities, ceremonies, and restrictions had been indefinitely multiplied, till it presented a chaos of dark superstition, into which the population

plunged headlong through slavish fear and ignorance. . . . No spirit of benevolence pervaded the system. It abounded in punishments for the present life, and in dark threatenings for the future' (Note, West's *Polynesia*, p. 255). Bulotu, the Tongan paradise, was reserved for the spirits of the departed chiefs and persons of rank, who became in turn the servants of the presiding genius of Bulotu. Of the fate of the poor tu'a (commoner), 'there was no certainty whatever; it was doubtful whether they had any souls at all' (Note ibid.). 'Savage rites and deities who delighted in mischief and blood; a cruel and rapacious priesthood; a despotic and oppressive government; inhuman faiths and absurd superstitions—under these the people were held in abject bondage. It was emphatically "a land of darkness and of the shadow of death" ' (Note ibid.). She had her 'gods many and lords many,' and they were continually being added to by the most trivial circumstances. The four principal were Mau'i, Hiule'o his younger brother, Tangaloa (the thunder-and-lightning-sender), and Hea-moana-'uli'uli (god of the sea). (Note.—For a detailed account of these deities see Lawry's *Journal*, Farmer's *Tonga*, and West's *Polynesia*.)

The higher gods did not consider lying, theft, adultery, or murder as crimes. These 'things of the world' were left for inferior gods to attend to. The only crime was sacrilege committed either on their temples or in an improper use of offerings. Until Christianity swept away the old beliefs with their institutions, there was a spiritual and a temporal king. The former, the Tu'itonga, was 'lord of the soil, and enjoyed divine honours in virtue of his immortal origin; but he had an ever-diminishing share in the government, and he could take no part in any civil quarrel . . . he was, in fact, the heaven-appointed sovereign in a limited monarchy. He was thus lord of the soil and of the men and of the first-fruits; and to no other chief was tribute paid but to the Tui Toga alone' (Note in Thomson's *Diversions of a Prime Minister*, pp. 291, 293). He was environed by a most rigid

tabu. His son was heir, but his daughter had even higher rank than father or brother. She was the Tu'i tonga fefine (female Tu'itonga), and her daughter became the Tamaha —the highest dignitary of all. The latter, the temporal sovereign, was the Tu'i Kanokubolu. He was burdened with the civil government, wielded the power of life and death, and ordered the tribute to be paid to the Tu'itonga. None but the son or grandson of the Tu'itonga could succeed to that dignity, and his mother must be the daughter of the Tu'i Kanokubolu.

In the early days Ha'abai and Vava'u and the two Niuas had their temporal kings. It was not until King George I had consolidated the groups under his sole rule that the authority of the Tu'i Kanokubolu was supreme for any considerable space of time. The sacred line has now passed, and the Tamaha is no longer. The high rank of the female issue has, no doubt, struck the reader. It is not hard, therefore, to explain the respect shown to woman. It is unmanly not to show consideration. Hence women are not subject to menial work or hard labour. Old age in both sexes is highly reverenced. 'It is said that there is hardly an instance in these islands of old age being wantonly insulted' (Note. Lawry's *Journal*).

Next to the king come the Hou'eiki (chiefs), high and low; the Mu'a, who occupy an intermediary rank between the Matabule and Hou'eiki. The Matabule, like our Master of Ceremonies, was in great evidence on feast-days. The Tu'a (commoner) was next, being the lowest rank, save the bobula (serf), over whom the chief had power of life and death. The latter has long been abolished. In times of peace the men followed agriculture, fishing, sinnet-plaiting, canoe house-building, and voyaging; the women made native cloth (*ngatu*), obtained by beating out the bark of the paper mulberry, fashioning it by adhesion into one piece, and marking it into fancy patterns with pigment obtained from the boiled bark of a tree. They also plaited baskets and

mats. Feasts, dances, and games were indulged in. Boxing, club-fighting, and wrestling matches were highly popular, the latter often ending seriously.

The ceremonies connected with the death of any prominent person were barbarous. The mourner's hair was shaved, and parts of the body were cut, bruised, or burned. The greater the affection, the greater the affliction. Feasts were invariably held after interment. Relatives and friends brought gifts, which were thrown into the common stock and distributed, and which were often a source of bitter quarrel and family feud. The morals of the Tongan, though not so debasing as those of other groups, were low enough. Polygamy was common. Infanticide was not practised. Children and aged people were treated with affection and respect, unknown elsewhere. Yet there was much lasciviousness and want of natural affection. Cannibalism was not characteristic of the Tongan. Instances of its practice point to the baneful influence of association with Fiji. Taking the highest level of excellence that devotees of the Tongan race may claim, there was still an appalling degree of the savage and barbaric. The character of the gods worshipped; the arbitrariness of the king and chiefs; the rites in sacrifice, sometimes of a human being; the power of superstition and sorcery—all paint a dark picture. As the visitor views the change in this people, he well may ask: 'How has this been effected?' What follows will give the answer.

The first Christian mission to Tonga was organized by the London Missionary Society. The *Duff* sailed from England in 1796. Of the thirty missionaries on board, the majority were landed in Tahiti. Ten only had been allotted to Tonga, and they reached the island on April 12, 1797. From the character of its organization the mission was doomed to failure. Nearly all were mechanics, and arts and science are poor weapons to influence a people possessing gods and traditions. In 1800, after having passed through severe trials, the five remaining were glad to leave. Three

of the party were killed, Veeson deserted, and Nobbs left earlier on account of ill health.

The second effort was made by the Methodist Missionary Society. It thought with sorrow of the forsaken Friendly Islanders, and determined to revive the mission. But, before plans could be matured, the Rev. Walter Lawry, who then resided in New South Wales, made a similar experiment. He landed in 1822, but though well received, made little headway. He found the natives fickle and unreliable. After fourteen months' stay, as there seemed little hope of success, and Mrs. Lawry's health had failed, he returned to New South Wales. Once again the islands were isolated from religious influences.

Lawry appealed to the Missionary Society in England, and in 1825 the Rev. John Thomas was sent out, landing in June 1826. He was a pioneer to these heathen people, labouring there for a quarter of a century, and seeing them emerge from gloom into glorious dawn. When he arrived there was not a believer; when he left in 1851 nearly the whole group was nominally Christian. What other mission in so short a time shows such growth? But, at the first, it seemed a 'forlorn hope.' 'Ata, the chief of Hihifo, where Mr. Thomas resided, though feigning kindness, refused to accept the gospel. For nearly three years the only result was one conversion, that of Lolohea, a chief of importance, who was baptized by Mr. Thomas on January 29, 1829. Mr. Turner also baptized six converts the same year.

The point of least resistance seems to have been Nuku-'alofa. It was here that, two months before Mr. Thomas's arrival, two Tahitian native converts, *en route* for Fiji, had been left, their vessel having sprung a leak. Their influence aroused inquiry. Tubou, the chief, renounced his gods, built a church for Christian worship, and gave liberty of attendance to his subjects. His brother chiefs were irritated by this action, and persuaded him to return to his old faith by the promise that they would make him the Tu'i Kanoku-

bolu. In November 1827 the Revs. Nathaniel Turner and William Cross arrived, took up their residence in Nuku-'alofa, and commenced a school for adults and children. Mr. Thomas followed at Hihifo amid much opposition. The king was induced to return, and many persons followed his example.

The chiefs of neighbouring islands begged for missionaries. Finau in Vava'u, and Taufa'ahau in Ha'abai, were eager for help. The missionaries considered the advisability of Mr. Thomas remaining at Hihifo, when 'Ata was so obdurate and Ha'abai was urgently calling. They pleaded for further help. But there was financial shortage, and additional men could not be found. Mr. Thomas, therefore, sent a native, Peter Vi, who was ungraciously accepted by Taufa'ahau. Congregations increased, and in 1830 Taufa'ahau, with his wife and children, were publicly baptized.

An unexpected incident gave encouragement. A box washed up on the beach, the only remnant of an ill-fated schooner wrecked between Sydney and New Zealand, contained letters to the effect that reinforcements were coming and that Mr. Thomas might proceed at once to Ha'abai. How wonderful are the ways of Providence! He forthwith went and found that great things had been done. Taufa'ahau was a mighty power for good. Only three out of the eighteen islands had not embraced Christianity. The general change made work heavy, and Mr. Thomas' health broke down under the strain. But he recovered, and in 1831 the Revs. Peter Turner and James Watkin arrived. They then turned their attention to Vava'u, where the spirit of inquiry had been awakened by converts from Ha'abai. Taufa'ahau's visit brought a climax. He persuaded Finau, who had returned to heathenism after his request for help had been refused, to accept the *lotu*. He destroyed his idols, as Taufa'ahau had previously done, and burnt eighteen of their sacred houses. The opposition of his brother, who resented this

action, was quelled by Taufa'ahau *without bloodshed*—an unheard-of experience.

Tongatabu was slow in its religious progress, but the dilapidated idol-houses and enclosures was a fact of no small significance. Mr. Woon, lately arrived with Mr. Watkin, was busy with the new printing-press, and there was much to gladden the heart. But there was much also to sadden. Nathaniel Turner's removal on account of ill-health was a severe blow; the canoe disaster in 1832, when Mrs. Cross and twenty natives lost their lives, cast a dark shadow; and the hurricane, with devastation and famine in its wake, increased the strain. From 1831 to 1833 steady progress was reported. The year 1834 was marked by the conversion of the Tamaha. This was the final blow to idolatry. One hundred embraced the gospel with her. Vava'u was equally satisfactory. Through the death of Finau in 1833, the door was opened for the entry of Taufa'ahau, a much stronger personality. It was the wish of the dying monarch that he should succeed him, and the new king threw the weight of his influence on the side of Christianity. And yet, while Christianity was said to have been 'embraced,' true conversion was wanting. And this was a matter of concern to the missionaries.

In 1834 the 'baptism from above' came. Vava'u, the last to receive the messenger, was the first to receive the showers. Prayer-meetings gave impetus to the spiritual life of the members. The daily prayer of leaders at noon helped. On July 23 the congregation at Utui cried for mercy and refused to leave the building all night. Other villages were similarly affected. In one day 1,000 souls were converted. The whole island moved as with one impulse. School was abandoned, and six prayer-meetings were held each day. As one result, 2,362 were added to the membership, amongst them being Taufa'ahau, the King of Ha'abai and Vava'u, and his wife. Before the news reached Ha'abai, signs had been manifest there also. Nothing could

withstand the power. 'Chapel and yard' were 'crowded with seeking souls. One thousand bowing before God.' What a glorious sight! The highest chiefs felt the spell. Every day there were conversions. More than 2,000 were converted in Ha'abai. Last of all the revival reached Tongatabu. The story told of Ha'abai by one, Joel Mafileo, spread. A gracious outpouring was the immediate result, though numerically not as great as in the other two islands. The after-effects were a deeper spiritual life, a warmer attachment to the missionaries and the work of God, the Sabbath kept as a holy day, with better houses and improved land. The people were becoming 'more civilized, industrious, economical, and obedient.'

We can now leave Ha'abai and Vava'u, for the work there was one of progress. Taufa'ahau, who was more than ever a power for good, became a class-leader and a most acceptable local preacher. In 1835 he freed his slaves (*bobula*), and built a magnificent church in Lifuka (Ha'abai), an interesting feature being the communion-rail composed of handsomely carved spears, heirlooms of his family. At the foot of the pulpit stairs two beautifully carved clubs found their significant habitat. Their day of toil was done. The prosperity of this island was disturbed by two successive hurricanes of terrific force, again bringing famine and sickness. But the Church grew. Vava'u, too, was progressing, the people being taught by Mr. Thomas to do something for the support of the work. To both these islands Taufa-'ahau gave a code of laws, which, though imperfect, were a check on the arbitrary rule of the chief. Having a Christian basis, they aided the missionaries in enforcing a pure morality.

While Ha'abai and Vava'u were progressive, in Tongatabu a strong reaction amongst the aged chiefs and the priests, in their intense hatred for the changes, had taken place. This opposition circled around Bea and Houma. Both had relaxed their hostility to the *lotu*. Tu'ivakano's acceptance of Christianity, which he had previously renounced, brought

matters to a crisis. He was suddenly deposed, and such treatment was meted out to him by his foes that all Tonga was moved. War was imminent. The missionaries removed to Vava'u, Cross and Cargill having gone to Fiji, and Peter Turner to Samoa. The crisis was delayed during 1836 through shortage of food, but in 1837 the long-threatening cloud burst. The object was to uproot Christianity and depose the king whom they hated. Unable to cope with the larger forces of the enemy, Tubou sent for Taufa'ahau, his relative, and it was mainly due to his efforts that the rebels were defeated. The war retarded the spiritual growth of the Christians, but it had a beneficial effect on the heathen party, for they acknowledged the power of God in the victory. Once more peace reigned until 1840, when hostilities broke out afresh.

In the interim the mission recorded success. 'Ata was still a thorn in the flesh in Hihifo, where Stephen Rabone was bravely labouring, for he broke one of the clauses in the peace conditions that no one should be persecuted for his religion. Notwithstanding this, a royal wedding took place at Nuku'alofa—the first of a Christian nature, when two kings and queens, the Tamaha, and the highest chiefs of the land were present. Princess Charlotte, Taufa'ahau's daughter, was married to Tu'ibelehake, a chief of high rank and a local preacher.

Matters, however, were in an unsatisfactory state. In 1839 there was a plot to murder the king, but it was frustrated. The war-cloud was swiftly gathering. An unwarranted attack on some helpless Christians while at work precipitated matters. Taufa'ahau, therefore, was again sent for, and further overtures for peace were abortive. A plot against the Ha'abai king was discovered. With commendable patience Taufa'ahau delayed to strike, affording every opportunity to lay down arms, but without avail. Early one morning the attacking king was in possession of Fo'ui. The victory struck terror to the hearts of the enemy, and the

clemency which could pardon 500 prisoners did not minimize the effect. But hostilities were continued. Taufa'ahau, however, did not follow up his victory; he tried mild measures to bring about peace.

At this juncture Commodore Wilkes of the United States Exploring Party arrived. He attempted a conference of chiefs, but it miscarried; the opposing party failed to appear, sending a runaway convict instead. Guerilla warfare for six months ensued. Help was obtained from a British warship in command of Captain Croker. His tombstone on the seaward side of Zion Hill tells of a defective knowledge of native character, for which he paid the penalty, not with his own life alone, but also of that of some officers and men. The visit of Mr. Thomas and Mr. Tucker to the rebel fortress brought peace; which, if not all that could be desired, was on a more permanent basis than that previously obtained. As a consequence of the war, food was again scarce, and the Tongan Christian had to pass through the fire. It speaks well for the depth of his religion when it could be reported that there was 'a goodly population who stood the test and who came forth from the refining fire of affliction purified as gold and silver.' And Commodore Wilkes, no flatterer of missions, spoke well of the schools.

In 1841 the Rev. John Waterhouse, to whom had been delegated the oversight of the missions, visited Tonga. He brought about reconciliation between the king and Fatu, the treacherous chief of Mu'a. Fatu was afraid to go to Tubou, but if Tubou would come to him he would humble himself. Tubou went, and the kava-ring was the last act that ratified submission. The king granted a free pardon. Mr. Waterhouse was obliged to leave before a meeting of Tubou with the chief of Bea could be arranged. He passed through other groups of the Tongan kingdom, taking with him Mr. and Mrs. Tucker, who had been compelled to leave on account of health—a serious loss from an educational standpoint especially. With them, and with native teachers

from Niua Fo'ou, he passed to Rotumah and commenced the mission there. This island is now included in the Fijian district.

While pleased with the progress in the islands of the group, Mr. Waterhouse pointed out to the authorities the small progress in useful arts, and the need of better training for the native teachers. As a result of his visit, the next District Meeting resolved to commence a training institution, the Rev. Francis Wilson being in charge. Here he worked for some few years, remodelling the schools. In addition to creating a keen desire for reading, the institution was able to send young men to Niua Tobutabu, Niua Fo'ou, and Wallis Island. But this demand proved too much for Mr. Wilson, for his health gave way, and in March 1846 he died. He had the joy of knowing that another revival, similar to that of 1834, was in progress.

Prior to this an important change had taken place. King Josiah Tubou died in 1845, and Taufa'ahau, whom the king desired to succeed, had no rival. He now became George Tubou, the Tu'i Kanokubolu. This was the last blow to the heathen party in Tongatabu, for the new king took up his permanent residence in Nuku'alofa. The chiefs of one or two heathen forts refused to pay respect in the customary fashion—that of bringing gifts. Peace reigned for a while, though not for long. The refractory chiefs would not accept the change without an effort. They were determined to fight to the bitter end. It was the last stand of the party. Fortifications were repaired and culprits found in them a shelter. It was clear that their design was to overthrow the Government. Both king and missionaries used every effort to avoid collision. Constant visits were made to the rebels' camp, but all to no purpose. War was inevitable. Bea and Houma were the delinquents. They refused to level the fortifications and to live in towns and villages. It was open rebellion against the ruling authority, and religion had no part in the dispute. Heathens and Romanists were in the king's army

and that of the rebels. In his desire for peace and to avoid bloodshed, the king long delayed before making direct assault. He had a force at his command 10,000 strong, fully equal to the work of storming the fort and inflicting a crushing defeat upon the enemy. Houma yielded at last. The king's heralds proclaimed a free pardon 'for the sake of the *lotu*.' This had a powerful effect on Vaea the chief.

Bea was still obstinate. For five weeks after Houma's surrender the siege lasted. The king, on five occasions, offered terms of peace. He took advantage of the arrival of Sir Everard Home of H.M.S. *Calliope*, and solicited his help. A further offer of peace was made and practically refused, for the rebels demanded a missionary and the king's son as hostages. The king, however, was firm. After a little delay the chiefs submitted and were detained for the night. The next morning the Vavuans entered the fort. The king and Sir Everard arrived in hot haste and saved the lives of all. The fort was sacked, but the king was merciful and kind. The attempt to obtain retribution for damage to the priest's property, in the inquiry conducted by Captain Belland a few months later, absolutely failed.

Thus ended the war on August 10, 1852. It was the last stand of its kind. The authority of the king, never again challenged, was now firmly established, and the way was opened for progressive work. The visit of the Rev. Walter Lawry in 1847, twenty-five years after his first arrival, was welcome to the brethren. What a change he found! He brought with him the Revs. Daniel, Amos, and Davis with their wives. They were an acceptable reinforcement. The conversion of Tugi in 1850 was the most striking incident of the year. With him came 200 of his subjects. This was a great blow to the heathen party. Between 1852 and 1865 the records show unimpeded progress. After twenty-five years of noble toil the veteran, the Rev. John Thomas, was obliged to leave. No tribute, however eloquent, can correctly state the value of the services of this pioneer

missionary. His retirement to England was for a few years only, when he returned to the sphere of his former labours. His strength, however, was not equal to more than a few years' effort, and he finally retired in 1858. He died at Stourbridge in 1881.

The year 1862 is marked by the granting of a constitution. Hawaii possessed one, and perhaps it was influence from that quarter that was responsible for a similar state of things in Tonga. By some the step was considered premature. But it came, nevertheless, and it legally freed the commoner from the tyranny of his chief. A review of this period (1822–65) shows remarkable advance in education. Schools were carried on, notwithstanding the horrors of war and depleted numbers. Literary work, as a necessary aid, was to the fore also. Much tedious manuscript-work was saved by the printing-press, with competent men to manage it. The book most coveted, when Christianity was established, was the Bible. In 1848 the New Testament was printed in Vava'u. In 1853 the Rev. Robert Young brought with him from England 10,000 copies of the same, revised by the Rev. G. Kevern, and printed under his direction—the gift of the British and Foreign Bible Society. What is now known as 'Mr. Thomas's Bible,' although the work of several missionaries, was published in 1862, and 10,000 copies sent to Tonga free of cost, through the liberality of the same noble institution. School and other elementary primers and hymn-books were printed by the mission press.

Despite the educational efforts made by previous missionaries, King George preached a sermon based on Hosea iv. 6, 'My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge.' In his opinion the educational standard of his people was too low. Years passed, when he heard through one of the missionaries that the long-looked-for man was at hand. His request to the Conference was effective, and the Rev. J. Egan Moulton, not long from England, and employed in educational work at Newington College, while waiting a Conference appoint-

ment to Fiji, was sent to Tonga, landing there with his wife in May 1865. His association with island and educational work extended over forty-one years, leaving the indelible mark of life-long devotion. Mr. Moulton's forte was teaching, and to that he applied himself with the greatest vigour. Tubou College, named after the king, was inaugurated in 1866. Its main object was the education of the young chiefs. The land was now at peace, and the foundation of Christianity had been firmly laid. Upon that foundation, the time had now arrived for a superstructure to be built, in which intellectual enlightenment should be interwoven with religious fervour. The experiment was worth the attempt. The objects of the institution were comprehensive. Church and State were to benefit thereby. The ranks of the ministry and appointments in the Government were to be filled from its *alumni*. The schools were to draw their teachers from the same source. The energetic young head master would have no other ideal than that of the great public schools. And the Tongan monarch supported him in all he suggested.

The curriculum was two-sided—educational and practical. It was natural that Mr. Moulton should adopt the same system as that of Kingswood School, with adaptations to suit the native temperament. It is astonishing to find the wide range of subjects constituting the work of the students. The second annual report lies before the writer. There were thirteen students entering upon their third year of residence. Five distinguished themselves, and were placed in class with the appellation of *matematika* (mathematics), one acting as assistant tutor. The report states: 'The subjects for the examination of *matematika* next June are, Euclid (1st and 2nd books); algebra (to simple equations); arithmetic (to vulgar fractions and decimals); mensuration (surfaces and solids); histories of the ancient monarchies (Egypt, Assyria, Babylon), with outlines of the history of England and France; religious knowledge (the life of Christ, history of the Hebrew monarchy, and evidences of Christianity); also papers on

geography, grammar, chemistry, and astronomy.' The enthusiastic teacher had the cream of the young men of Tonga, and he wanted to test their mental capacity. The same curriculum practically obtains to-day. In mental arithmetic they excelled, as Dr. Fison testified.

The practical side was not forgotten. Every student was residential, and the college enclosure resembled a small village. This involved a systematic time-table, for there was planting to be done, and the plantation to be attended to. With the constitution came the poll tax. Tubou College students were not exempt from the payment of £2 per head per annum. All work was done in a systematic manner, and neglect of the plantation or other work brought well-merited punishment upon the offender. A slur has been cast on the system. 'There are natives who can recite Lycidas and work out problems in pure mathematics—and then they dig their lands with a burnt stick!' This is contrary to fact. Had the writer of *The Call of the Pacific* visited the island in question, he could not have been guilty of such a flight of the imagination. While the industrial side, to the regret of those in charge, could not be extended as they wished, owing to financial stress, the institution had its carpenters, painters, and printers. Some of the most capable of the Government officials were trained at Tubou College. The monitor in charge is expected daily to observe and record the reading of meteorological instruments. For over forty-five years these readings have been taken. Then came the telescope, and some of the advanced students were introduced to the marvels of the heavens.

The *modus operandi* of the college discipline was the monitors' meeting, held after the weekly prayer-meeting. The monitors, who were chosen from the *matematika form*, joined the teaching staff in a review of the week's work. Mr. Moulton left the tutors and monitors unhampered; but the weekly report was submitted to his scrutiny. The head

master rarely revoked a decision. Only serious cases had to run the gauntlet of his interference. Mr. Moulton attributed his success to the work of this meeting.

The school books were all the work of his brain and pen. Where had the printed books of his predecessors vanished? It is hard to say. A reading-book, bearing the name of Mr. West, with a dilapidated copy or two of his *Ecclesia*, alone remained. Mr. Moulton began afresh. A remonstrance from Sydney was not unnecessary, for the high pressure at which he was working meant eighteen hours a day, leaving little time for sleep. A printing-press was greatly needed. The mission office could not give one, but Mr. Moulton found the ruins of an old Albion, with type all in 'pie,' which he procured. He taught himself the art of printing and moulding rollers, and came out victorious. He taught the boys the art, and thus was enabled to turn out work for school use. Later he had improved machines, and the work they did was a rich legacy to the mission. The natural ability of the natives in music gave him the opportunity to use his own gifts in this direction. The Tonic Sol-fa system he found useless, after the first attempt to teach it. He discovered a method by which any vocal score could be instantly transferred. When in use some little time the students were easily able to read it. Oratorio gems, besides anthem music and hymn tunes, found their way into the college tune-books. Mr. Moulton's method was to use the ordinary numerals from 3 to 9 inclusive. The Tongan Church also benefited greatly by his efforts in hymnology. His hymns were marked by spiritual fire and metrical polish; and as a medium of religious fervour and power, come second only to the Bible as a compilation of intrinsic worth. The collection numbers 264 hymns, a not unworthy contribution from a single pen.

It is admitted that in the educational work he was permitted to do, Mr. Moulton had no compeer. Into the depths of a rich native language he plunged with the keen relish of a student, and rescued from oblivion the choicest literary

idioms, that, but for his efforts, would have been lost. It only remains to say that the educational experiment proved a success. Its fame reached the ears of a competent critic in Fiji, who seized the first opportunity to test the truth of the reports. The school was handed over to the Rev. Lorimer Fison, M.A., who subjected it to a crucial test. He regretted that he had not further time to give to a task which had aroused his interest. His high eulogy of the institution and its head appeared in *The Sydney Morning Herald*. The mental capacity and development of the Tongan staggered him. It was fortunate for Mr. Moulton that King George was such a stand-by in the early days. His influence removed the great barrier between chief and commoner within the college precincts, without which progress would have been impeded. Prospects of further development were before the head master, when a sudden development intervened.

It was apparent to the District Meeting that to none better qualified than Mr. Moulton could the revision of the Bible be entrusted. A resolution was unanimously passed with a view to Mr. Moulton visiting England to see the publication through the press. It was work that the translator revelled in; and in 1877 he left with his family for England. With him went the Rev. David Finau as his pundit. He rendered invaluable assistance in translation. In two and a half years it was finished. It was unfortunate that there should be a difficulty raised by the British and Foreign Bible Society over the printing. Mr. Moulton could not accept their condition as to the text of the original. He struck out a course of his own. But the work is a monument of pure and idiomatic Tongan. News from Tonga checked further work on the Old Testament. Clouds were gathering, and his presence was needed in Tonga. He left England in April 1880 to face the impending storm.

On his return Mr. Moulton found that great changes had taken place. The chairman, the Rev. Shirley Baker, who had been instrumental in sending him to England, was

Prime Minister of Tonga. The relation between king and Church, so friendly before his departure, was now strained. He who had presented to his departing friend the historic club of storied fame as a condition of his return, would scarcely see him. The suggestion that Mr. Moulton was using his power to bring about an annexation of Tonga by England, was accountable for this change of front.

We would fain draw a veil over the history of this regrettable period; but it is due to Mr. Moulton that the story of his gallant stand against opposition and his loyalty to the Church he represented should be made clear. The storm burst in 1885, when the Prime Minister induced the king to set up a rival Church in Ha'abai. His Majesty had left Vava'u for the purpose of rebuilding the Wesleyan church at Lifuka. This had been a hobby with him. The aged king was induced to inaugurate the first step of the secession, and the large and stately building erected was the first sanctuary of the newly-established Free Church. Did the king so decree, it was within his right to carry out his wishes in his own land. But when he compelled his people to join this Free Church under threat of punishment and sundry disabilities, it passed legitimate bounds amongst a people to whom he had granted a constitution. It was not, however, as easy as he anticipated. The people had a foretaste of spiritual liberty. Hitherto the king's command had been law. A great minority had the courage to resist such attempts at compulsion. 'If it were a matter of giving my life in battle in the service of your Majesty, I would willingly give it, and joyfully die for you; but in the matter of religion, that is between myself and my God.' Such was the answer given to King George by one whom he greatly respected.

The new Church was a State Church. It was termed 'Free' because of its independency of support from the Church in New South Wales. Its funds were to be kept in Tonga. Why should sums raised by the people be sent out of the country? This was the charge against the old régime.

It was, perhaps, aggravated by the large amount sent to the mission office in Sydney. Persecution followed the refusal of the loyal-hearted, and stringent measures were resorted to. Higher stipends, Government positions, favour and emoluments were effectively offered, and the Wesleyan numbers were greatly depleted. Rigorous and unrighteous laws to hamper the disobedient were passed. But a large number remained firm. It was during this trying period that Mr. Moulton showed at his best. He was appointed chairman, with oversight of the depleted Church committed to his charge. The printing-press poured forth its valuable literature for school and Church. The translation of the Old Testament was carried on amid other absorbing interests, the Sunday schools were catered for, while from north, south, east, and west, came the story of persecution. Charges were laid against Mr. Moulton personally, but he cleared himself. With diminished numbers the same routine work throughout the group was carried on. The loyal and patient service rendered by the Rev. E. E. Crosby, B.A., at this dark time was invaluable.

A crisis was reached in 1887. Escaped prisoners made a regrettable attack upon the Prime Minister's life, fortunately without success. This ill-timed attack was used to rouse the long-buried native spirit and to turn it against the Wesleyan Church, at whose door was laid a charge of conspiracy. After weeks of suffering—a veritable reign of terror, during which churches and college were closed—all who remained faithful to the Wesleyan Church in Tonga, Ha'abai, and Vava'u were exiled to Fiji. Ninety noble souls, who, like the Pilgrim Fathers, were forcibly driven from their native land, found shelter on the island of Koro through the kindly aid of the Governor of Fiji.

Let us hurriedly pass over the inquiry held by Sir Charles Mitchell, to notice his report to the home authorities. It was due, so the report stated, to the pacific counsels of Mr. Moulton that the Wesleyans were prevented from retaliation,

which would have brought a fierce and terrible war. The writer can testify that the one word used by Mr. Moulton more than any other was *kataki* (have patience). In the report of Sir Charles the term 'banishment' is repudiated because of 'the action initiated by Messrs. Leefe and Moulton for finding an asylum for the small remnant in Fiji.' Sir Charles considered it as 'really their *voluntary withdrawal* in order to avoid joining the Free Church.' It should be said, however, that the request made to the king for 'an asylum in Fiji' was refused, and the so-called voluntary withdrawal was in consequence of the king's refusal to permit the Wesleyans to remain in Tonga. Hence, as there was no option, preparation was made for sojourn in the barren, waterless island of Pylstaart. Tubou College, which had been closed by the king's command, was re-opened, with its numbers limited to forty students. Wesleyan services were again held, though the disabilities were not wholly removed.

The General Conference of 1888 was memorable. After much discussion what was thought to be a solution of the difficulty was found. The initiative came from Mr. Moulton. Much had been made of the statement that Mr. Moulton was obnoxious to the king, and that there could be no satisfactory settlement until his removal. He was prepared to leave Tonga if Dr. Brown were sent in his place, although he himself was dubious if that would bring a peaceful settlement. To those who knew Mr. Moulton's devotion to the people, this was an act of great self-denial. It relieved the tension, and Dr. Brown was sent, the Rev. E. E. Crosby, B.A., also remaining until Mr. Baker was deported. But any appointment, until the instigator of the trouble was removed, was hopeless. Mr. Crosby was succeeded by the Revs. C. E. James and J. A. Bowring, both of whom remained in Tonga a short time only. Sir John Thurston, acting in the exercise of the power vested in him under the Western Pacific Order in Council, placed Mr. Baker under a five years' ban of deportation. The blow was unexpected, and the reign of terror and of arbitrary

rule was over. Tuku'aho, Tugi's son, educated at Tubou College, was appointed Premier, and peace was secured.

One of the first evidences of the change was the granting of an amnesty to all political prisoners. Amongst these were the exiles for conscience sake. The Fijian Government chartered a steamer, and they were soon back in their native land. The meeting of long-parted friends and relatives is more easily imagined than described. The king's daughter, Princess Charlotte, was among the party. A most pleasing feature of 1891 was the reconciliation of the king to Mr. Moulton, who paid a hurried visit to Tonga. The old friendly feeling was revived. Two years later the G. O. M. of Tonga, to whom this island kingdom owed so much, died. The only thing that can be said against his character during his long reign is that he stooped to persecution. In old age an ambitious hand, a strong personality, and a plausible tongue found him a ready prey. There was much done in his name of which he knew little. His autocratic temperament was fed by misrepresentation. But, in spite of this, he was loved and respected by his people. And his passing was a loss to land and people. The torrential rain that fell at the time and throughout the year was symbolic of the lamentations of a people so greatly bereaved. His tomb may be seen at Malae Kula, a large enclosure a quarter of a mile from the beach at Nuku'alofa. He was over ninety years of age. Taufa'ahau II, his grandson, reigned in his stead.

When we turn to the last twenty years of mission work in Tonga, we look upon a more pleasing picture. The two Churches still remain distinct, but the wide gulf that separated them is growing less. In 1896 Dr. Moulton was again appointed chairman of the Tongan district. The numbers showed great depletion. At no period in its history was such effective literary and educational work achieved as between 1880 and 1890. The Church, Sunday schools, and college were catered for. Preparatory schools in connexion with every large centre were established as feeders to Tubou Col-

lege, from which a continuous supply of workers was passing out to meet the demands of the Church. Advanced work for old collegians was inaugurated, lest they lose their interest in study; each large island of the group had weekly classes under a suitable teacher; extension lectures were delivered by Dr. Moulton on higher subjects, and an annual examination was held, which, if satisfactory, entitled the examinee to advancement. The class was called the Helohelo class (Helohelo being a diminutive of Helo, an adaptation of the Grecian Hero). This class, started in troublous times, was revived with added interest on his return. The ministerial staff, with few exceptions, are graduates of Tubou College; and though many of them are grey-haired, they yet seize the opportunity of doing this advanced work. In consequence of his appointment as President of Newington College, Dr. Moulton, though chairman, did not reside in Tonga, but paid annual visits. His son, the Rev. J. Egan Moulton, B.A., was in charge of both church and college during his absence.

It was during this period that the great work which Dr. Moulton had in hand, the translation of the Old Testament, continued with brave persistency. On Christmas Eve, 1902, the last of the manuscript was forwarded to the London publisher. The task had occupied twenty-five and a half years. It is a noble monument of patient toil and idiomatic Tongan. With this and the hymn-book, with the Church and Sacramental Services appended, he has left a rich legacy to the people he loved. He was forced to withdraw from active work at the Conference of 1906; but he still held the office of Book Steward until his death in 1909. Two granite headstones stand sacred to his memory: one at Gore Hill Cemetery, North Sydney (where his body was interred), the other in Tubou College grounds; both the offerings of a grateful and devoted people.

During this last period the two Churches commenced to draw together. Government positions were not now

prohibited to Wesleyans. Free Church adherents were found attending Methodist missionary meetings. Tubou College functions saw king, Premier, high chiefs, and Government officials as interested spectators. The reaction was slow at first; but passing years tend to an obliteration of the past. The Rev. J. B. Watkin still carries on his onerous duties as President of the Free Church. His connexion with island work extends over a longer period than that of any other missionary, and his jubilee is near. The Church he represents still holds the tenets of the Protestant Church, as proclaimed by the early missionaries. It is 'a consummation greatly to be wished,' that, ere long, the union of the two Churches will be effected and their forces consolidated against evil. The Revs. C. Walkden Brown and R. C. G. Page have been in charge since 1906, and have still further drawn the Churches together. The parent Church has seen financial prosperity. The burdens of long years have been removed, and necessary improvements made. Reports of 'good times' spiritually are not wanting, and there is cause for deep satisfaction.

And what of Tonga politically? In 1900 Mr. Basil Thomson, the Special Commissioner, explained the new treaty. The triple rule in Samoa was over. In May 1900 the flag was hoisted proclaiming the British Protectorate. Tonga still has its native House of Parliament and officials with Europeans at their head. The Premier is a native. Commercially Tonga is prosperous. The copra and fruit output is remarkable. The Tongan is not 'dying out,' as other races in the Pacific are reported to be. The mission estimate ten years ago was nearly 20,000, which showed a gradual increase from year to year since the plague of measles in 1893. Epidemics, such as influenza, had a disastrous effect at first; but the next generation seemed better able to cope with the disease. And, even if the Tongan is one day to be extinct, the souls of the people call loudly for no relaxation of effort.

The story is told. How imperfectly, no one knows better than the writer. But the revelation, seen even through the imperfection of the narrative, is sufficient to show the power of the gospel. It has transformed the character of a heathen and cruel people, it has revolutionized their environment, it has brought enlightenment to their minds, love to their hearts, prosperity to their country, and, best of all, assured hope of the life beyond. To God be the glory! To the men He was pleased to use in this service there is due grateful remembrance. Their devotion has been the medium of the change. All deserve mention, but space forbids. To some it was given to play a more important part. The future still has its difficulties; but the same devotion will be forthcoming, and the end will show a combined array of spiritual forces in the field, which, with the same abiding Spirit, will minister to this interesting people.

CHAPTER II

FIJI

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SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

Gates of dawn—Race depletion—New age—A bad record—Cannibalism—Savagery—Religion—Williams—Tongan missionaries—Cross and Cargill—Tongan converts—Rewa—Bau—Verani—Namosimalua—Viwa entered—Hunt and Lyth on Somosomo—Death of Cross and Cargill—Conversion of Ono—Persecution—Watsford—Printing-press—Hunt's translation—Hazlewood—Hunt's dying prayer—Native ministry—Cakobau converted—Rewa re-occupied—Calvert—Fiji district—Rotumah—Zerubbabel—Baker martyred—Revenged—Langham—Education—Native teachers—Richmond College—Secondary schools—Industrial subjects—Call to advance.

CHAPTER II

FIJI

Fiji lies at the gates of the dawn. The antipodal meridian of Greenwich runs through the island of Taveuni and on through the centre of the group; but for practical convenience the date-line has been deflected to include the whole archipelago in a geographical unity. Situated between the parallels of 15° and 22°, Fiji is sub-tropical. Its islands do not blister under the scorching torrid heat of equatorial lands, nor does its cold snap, save on its highest mountains. In the hottest part of the year, which is also the wettest, it is enwrapped by a tolerable, though languor-compelling heat; while the cooler months provide idyllic, delicious sunshine. Life is thus for the most part spent in the open, wind-fanned and sun-kissed. The group consists of 250 islands, encircled with opalescent coral-rings, which must appear to an aeronaut as a school of titanic monsters abask on a shimmering sea. Viti Levu (Great Fiji), a rough ellipse with diameters of 90 and 50 miles, and Vanua Levu (Great Land), 100 miles long, with an average breadth of 25 miles, are its largest islands, together equalling one-fourth of the area of Tasmania, and holding mountains from 4,000 to 5,000 feet high, whose scenery has rightly been called sublime.

Four score of the islands are inhabited by a native population that has, since the group was brought into historical focus, been rapidly dwindling, until the last census of 1911 shows a net return of 87,096 native Fijians. Gloomy prophets have not hesitated to prophesy the speedy extinction of the race; but Government annual returns for four out of the six years preceding the census, as of that succeeding it, record

actual increases, the net increase reaching in 1912 as high as 588. Within four days' easy steam from New Zealand and six from Sydney, the commercial position of Fiji is well assured, and is destined to become more secure still with the opening of the Panama Canal. As a strategic point of the British Empire in the Pacific, whither the eyes of men are turning, its importance is great, and must necessarily increase. Already its name is being introduced into discussions, diplomatic and imperial; and the end is not yet. Thither to-day turn in increasing numbers the steps of tourists, who, driven out of colder climes by the rigours of winter, periodically migrate to warmer lands; and with the increase of this and other traffic, as well as with the steady growth of trade, come modernly equipped vessels replete with all the conveniences of travel, and with spacious holds for the cargoes of commerce.

But ten years ago isolate from larger lands, a neglected unit in the world's daily speech, Fiji is now joined by cable with the great continents, and the hum of their conversation passes by her doors, or finds entrance into her erstwhile secluded sanctuaries. No longer is she alone. She hears the lapping of Hertzian waves that were sent out on their long journey from far Australia, and in reply answers across the seas. Commerce has come to her shores, and great industries have been founded; lands wondrously fertile, that have lain waste for ages, are being brought into requisition by hardy men, and made to furnish ingots for the insatiable purse of the world's need and greed. Without doubt a new age has come in, sudden as the tropical daylight comes and goes; and all the powers, latent and acquired, which Fiji possesses are being severely taxed in her attempt to adjust herself with requisite speed to these new conditions. Whether her primal inhabitants will be overwhelmed by the incoming tides of civilization that are breaking in quick succession over her, as the huge green combers curl and break white upon her coral walls, or whether they will have

buoyancy enough to float at length upon their crests, is a question around which many opinions meet; but in whatever way it may be answered, there are none but would deplore the passing of so fine a remnant of so recent a savage age.

In Polynesian legends Fiji (Whiti) frequently appears as one of the many stopping places of those Pacific sea-kings—the Polynesian race—who, with the salt spray on their faces and the wander-lust in their blood, pressed out further and further towards the dawn; and here, indeed, successive waves of Polynesian and Melanesian immigration would appear to have met. It is vain to dogmatize whether or not the present Fijian race is the hybrid product of these distinct types; but it nevertheless remains that in colour and physique the typical Fijian of to-day stands midway between the black, stunted Melanesian and the light brown, often over-developed Eastern Polynesian. In language he is more akin to the latter.

Whatever doubt there may be as to his present power of adaptation to new forces or to his ultimate destiny, history has but one testimony as to the past out of which the Fijian has come. His record is bad, unspeakably bad. He has come up through blood and lust. In those early days, when he was first played upon by the searchlight of progress, he was discovered to be so savage and full of treachery that the imagination of the world was shocked at the sight. Here were horrors which out-Heroded Herod or any known doer of wrong. Living in islands which were synonyms for beauty, and coming whence no one knows, this naked savage became the very antithesis of his surroundings, whose radiant light made his picture stand out in more horrid relief. It was the silhouette of an ogre, and not of a man. Men sickened as they heard of his deeds. Perhaps the Fijian's outstanding vice, or the fiendish consummation of all his vices, was his revolting cannibalism; and the cannibalism of Fiji has gained such terrible notoriety because of its fearful accompaniment of intrigue, treachery, and lust for blood, which

held no life sacred, whether of friend or foe. Human flesh was gloated over and craved for with vehement desire. The cannibal ovens were never cold; yet was the ghoulish craving that warmed them still insatiate. Victims were cut to pieces alive, dearest friends were eaten, and a thousand horrors were perpetrated to satisfy this inhuman passion.

The Fiji savage has sometimes been spoken of as a warrior, and one might in consequence expect to find some noble spirit of valour or deed of derringdo to claim the imagination. But treacherous lurkings in unsuspected places were the characteristic of Fiji warfare, with perfidy dishonourable, and ofttimes with defenceless women and children as the objective. Stealth and treachery were applauded, and bloodshed for its own sake was counted a worthy thing. Disgrace after death awaited the man whose club was not stained with human blood; and in this life titles of honour, eagerly coveted, were given to those who had slain victims, titles which rose in importance according to the number of the slain. Often did the warriors come back to the island capital to celebrate their triumph across the water with what they chose to call 'the birds of the sail' dangling from the gaffs of their canoes. And these none other than young and tender children, the spoils of war!

Strangling was common. The chief about to die must not be allowed to go on his unknown and dangerous journey unattended; so his faithful wives, in general of their own free will, submitted to the noose of the strangling-cord, pulled tight by strong men. These women, and sometimes his own mother, were the 'grass' upon which the body of the chief must lie in the grave; and their deaths were counted most honourable. The sick and deformed could not be tolerated. Heathenism knows no patient watching by the sick-bed nor tender nursing care. A few days sufficed to reach the limit of savage regard, and neglect or murder completed what sickness had begun. Infanticide was so common as to be 'reduced to a system,' and jealousy and ease were motives

sufficiently strong to outweigh maternal love. Polygamy, the natural enemy of human increase, with its attendant jealousies and lusts; self-immolation; the murder of decrepit and useless parents; treachery under the guise of friendship, witchcraft, revenge, hate—these, too, were among the operative causes of that ferocious character that astonished the world when Fiji was first brought within its ken.

It may be asked whether the Fijian savage was not able to find in his own religion sufficient restraints to check him in his mad career of sin—whether his animism or polytheism, full of superstition and immaturity though they may have been, were not able to lay an arresting hand on those inhuman propensities which have in some other cases proved themselves amenable to the bit and bridle of even crude religious beliefs. Were not the sanctions of fear or of punishment able to deter him from his violent conduct, and produce in him at least some specious nobility of character? Alas, no! The 'noble, manly savage' is a myth; and nowhere more mythical than in early Fiji. Natural religion has no power to repress or hold in check the reckless passions of fallen human nature, and here, as elsewhere, has written its record of failure. Only the grace of God can save men.

Moreover, the religion of the Fijian was difficult to define or systematize. Varying in each district, and almost in every town, tenuous in idea and incoherent in expression, with a plurality of gods and demi-gods or super-men, neglected save when dire necessity called for temple repair or votive offering, and withal served by cunning, grasping priests who were the tools of chiefs, religion was 'without form and void,' a fleshless, lifeless, insensate thing. The Nakauvadra Range in Na Viti Levu is the sacred region of Fijian mythology. Here dwelt Degei, the most widely recognized deity, who, with his sons and relatives, formed a divine hierarchy. Each tribe, if not each separate town, had its own tutelary deity, who was not to be regarded as a protector or friend, but as a being whose wrath must be appeased and good-will sought

through his priest. These deities were as capricious, avaricious, stealthy, and bloodthirsty as their worshippers; were, in fact, without moral code or sense of righteous rule.

Their devotees, if such they might be called, formed no wood or stone images of their gods, nor bowed their knees to a central shrine; but by the presentation of quantities of food or property to the priest sought to propitiate the divine anger or secure the divine favour. Repulsive twitchings and shakings of his body announced the priest as possessed by his god, whose will was conveyed to the people by specious peepings and muttered words. The crafty priest was careful to proclaim the divine will in terms which accorded with the wishes of the chief of the tribe, with whom he always contrived to be on good terms. Requests for rain, success in war, fruitful seasons, male issue, private revenge, prediction of the future, such were the matters brought before the notice of the priests, who, excelling in shrewdness, gave convenient answers, but instructed not the people in morality or religion. What more unlikely soil than this for the planting of the gentle graces of the Christian religion! Yet even in this 'dry ground' the 'tender plant' was placed, the rapidity and strength of whose subsequent growth is one of the greatest marvels of modern missions.

Christianity, introduced into the Fijian group less than fourscore years ago, met with strong and violent opposition from the beginning, and had arrayed against it the powerful forces of an entrenched and vigorous heathenism. Yet so signal has been its triumph that it is impossible for the visitor of to-day to persuade himself of the reality of the past. As early as 1830 that intrepid missionary pioneer, John Williams, seriously contemplated the evangelization of Fiji, and had actually set out with a fellow minister and two Tahitian teachers to begin that work. At Tonga he was hindered in his purpose; but his two teachers reached Lakeba, and subsequently settled at Oneata, where they built a chapel. Left to themselves, their work was unsatisfactory, and a negligible

factor in the christianization of the group. These men ultimately became preachers of the Wesleyan Society, and died in the faith.

The history of the commencement of true missionary work in Fiji is the history of revival, a revival which broke out after nine years of strenuous toil in the adjacent Friendly Islands group, now known as Tonga. During those years of pioneer endeavour in Tonga some 4,000 converts had been gathered out of heathenism, and upon these had now fallen the power of the Holy Ghost. Still much land awaited occupation before Tonga could be regarded as fully evangelized. But 350 miles westward was a group of islands, which the Tongans called Viti, inhabited by a people of whose savagery the most dreadful reports had been given. 'The grace of God that bringeth salvation' had appeared to Tonga; but was it not for 'all men' as well? And the little band of missionaries in the semi-evangelized land became restless for the evangelization of the darker Fiji group. 'Separate Me Barnabas and Saul,' spake the Holy Ghost to the Antioch Church in the first century of Christian missions; and now, in the nineteenth century, from the same divine Agent came the same imperial summons, though linked with different names. So it was that at the end of 1834 this unselfish band separated two men, whom they could ill spare, for that dangerous yet imperative work.

William Cross had tasted the hardships and joys of mission work in Tonga for eight years, and the scholarly David Cargill for two; and to these fell the honour of taking the all-conquering gospel to Fiji. In December of that year the appointments were recommended by the Tongan District Meeting, but not until October 8 of the following year were they able to set forth with their wives and children. The schooner *Blackbird* took the mission families aboard from Vavau, and following a path preceded by the prayers of a revived people, on the 12th inst. reached Lakeba, the largest island in the eastern part of the group.

Was there ever a bolder adventure of faith than this? No mediaeval crusade had higher aims or so few forces. 'The kingdom of God cometh not with observation.' And when, in the early morning of October 12, 1835, the white sails of a schooner appeared off the island of Lakeba, and, with the vessel lying-to outside the reef, the dinghy brought ashore two unarmed men, who quietly landed on the beach, there was no evidence, save the faith in the hearts of these men, that a greater flag than Great Britain's was that day being unfurled, which was soon to float in triumph over every island of the group, and bring in an era of peace, deep and wonderful. God had chosen alike His agents and the time and place of their work.

The Tongan race, in common with all Polynesians, were bold navigators, and had for a long time maintained communication with Fiji, whence, indeed, they obtained their best canoes. Quite a colony of them had become established at Lakeba, and their military prowess gave them much influence with the native king and chiefs, who had learned to speak their language. The Tongan tongue was thus a prepared means of approach for the newly arrived missionaries, who, during their period of waiting in Vavau, had been able to decide upon a Fijian alphabet, to have printed at the mission press in Tonga a primer of four pages in the Fijian language, and to prepare a short catechism. Backed up by the powerful recommendation of the king of Tonga, the missionaries were received, though not welcomed, by Tui Nayau, the Lakeban king, whose conduct, sometimes helpful to the mission, sometimes hostile, well exhibited the caprices of the general national character. It is hard, even in Fiji, to imagine to-day what must have been the difficulties and privations endured by that early mission band, surrounded as they were by a repulsive heathenism. Subjected to indignity, isolated from all the blessings of home, confronted on every hand by the spectres of war and cannibalism, which stalked the land naked and unashamed, worn by anxiety, and weak from the want of

proper food, for three years did the two mission families keep the flag of the gospel flying before reinforcements came; yea, and without murmur or complaint!

The first to receive the Christian faith were the Tongans who peopled Lakeba. The gospel, preached faithfully in a language they could understand, and backed by personal contact with the mission band, soon began to arrest the attention and arouse the consciences of these men, who had, during their stay in Fiji, given reins to licence and riot. Many of them were broken down into penitence, and the 'signs following' were not wanting. In October, 1837, just two years after the advent of the missionaries, we hear of 300 of these people returning to their native land, all of whom had been lately led in Fiji to the profession of Christianity, while 200 of that number were regularly meeting in class. So soon did Christianity come into its own! Nor could the new-found joy confine itself in their own hearts; it must needs here, as ever, burst the fetters of the individual life and seek to diffuse itself in the lives of others. Thus we find the Tongans who had been converted in Fiji offering their services as class-leaders and preachers to the people in whose land they had found peace. Such help was most valuable, and led to continued accessions to Christianity.

Even these remarkable and speedy successes amongst Tongans and Fijians could not content the insatiate souls of the missionaries. Did not the land stretch out still to westward, and include island kingdoms yet more powerful and savage than Lakeba and its dependencies? The gross darkness which covered the lands in the 'regions beyond' was itself the call for the light; and Cross and Cargill yearned unutterably for the souls in heathen Fiji to whom the evangel had not yet been heralded. Thus, at the close of 1837, it was resolved that the former, whose health was now severely shaken, should press further on to Central Fiji. What could be more magnificent than the spirit of the man who, shattered in nerve, counted not his life dear unto him, but went forth

for Christ's sake and the gospel's to still greater privations and dangers? And what of that devoted wife, so sensitive to the sights and sounds of heathenism and so repelled by its coarseness, who, with her children clinging to her, accompanied him thither? To applaud would be sacrilege! We can but silently revere.

Mr. Cross deemed it expedient to establish himself at Rewa, a populous town, or series of towns, on the south-eastern side of Viti Levu, on the banks of a large river of the same name; for Bau, the heathen metropolis, was neither ready nor safe. And on January 8, 1838, the mission family was in occupation of a small house near the crowded town. On the following Sabbath the gospel was preached for the first time in Rewa, in the dialect of Lakeba, to a congregation of twelve persons. But trouble came swiftly. Mr. Cross's zeal was of too nimble a foot for his strength, and outran it, so that he was brought by fever and cholera to death's door; and had it not been for the timely assistance of a white man who had come from Levuka, 40 miles away, his wife had been left a widow and his children orphans in the centre of the cannibal group.

Rewa was within pulling distance of Bau, where dwelt Tanoa, a bloodthirsty cannibal and the foremost king of Fiji, with an aristocracy of chiefs. So important a part do the chiefs of Bau and the adjacent island of Viwa play in subsequent mission history that brief sketches of the leaders may well be introduced here, as showing the characters of the men with whom the missionaries had to deal. Tanoa was a son of Banuvi, the first of the Bauan kings whose form draws indistinctly out from the dim shadows of the past. He succeeded his brother Naulivou, a man of some initiative and parts, and who, withal, was so successful in war that he was able to subdue the ruling kingdom of Verata, situated on the mainland a score of miles from Bau. His prowess won him the high-sounding name Na Vunivalu (the Root of War), which was borne in succession by subsequent Bauan kings, and is still current coin in the language of to-day.

Naulivou (the New Steer-oar) had died in 1829, and his place was filled by Tanoa, a spare, undersized man with savage, restless eye, proud in mien and relentless in hate, who was destined to prove for twenty-three years an implacable foe of Christianity, and who died as he had lived, an inveterate cannibal. He is known amongst Fijians as Visawaqa, a term of honour bestowed upon the man whose club had been stained with the blood of thirty victims, the trophies of treachery or open valour. This terrible savage died in 1852; and at his death, spite of the reiterated entreaties of missionaries and others, five of his wives were strangled. As the second wife to die proceeded to the spot where the noose awaited her, she was compelled to pass the corpse of the king, and in passing spat upon it, hissing out her hate of him in these words: 'Ah, you old wretch! I shall be in hell with you directly.'

Seru, his son, as Cakobau, has come into greater notoriety than his father, and is by far the most picturesque figure that has appeared amongst the Fijians. As a savage warrior none surpassed him in doughty and cruel deeds. Huge of limb and yet of comely appearance, his form was striking wherever seen. So poisonous was his fang as to gain him the name of Cikinovu (the Centipede); and so crafty and wise was he in counsel and war that he was acknowledged as Tui Viti (king of Fiji). Later in life, during the period of an ephemeral government erected by the whites of the islands, he became known as Cakobau Rex. On no man's hands were more bloodstains than on his, and but few have experienced in their conversion and after-life to such an extent the power of the grace of God. As Fijian warrior and saint he is the giant of the group.

The companion and worthy rival of this formidable man was Verani, a powerful chief of the neighbouring island of Viwa. His name struck terror wherever it went, and well it might. A stranger to no deed of cruelty, with a heart full of savage lust for blood, and recklessly and wantonly did he

shed it. The war-cry of Verani was known and dreaded all along the Tailevu and Nakorotubu coasts, as well as in far Vanua Levu. No superiority of numbers daunted him, and his large double war-canoe, the *Lago Levu*, has engaged singly an enemy's whole fleet, the dreaded Verani, in hideous war-paint, pacing the deck the while with club uplifted, and hurling forth at his foes the bitterest taunts. His treachery was subtle and renowned; and his base betrayal and murder on one occasion of more than a hundred Namenans who trusted his false promises might well brand his name for execration for all time.

But even Verani's heart was not impervious to the power of the gospel, and this strong chief, before his renunciation of heathenism, was sore stricken with fear, under conviction of sin. Hindered awhile by threats of death from Cakobau should he accept the *lotu*, he was at length unable to hold out longer; and driven by distress of soul on Good Friday, March 21, 1845, the proud and cruel Verani at the early morning prayer-meeting abandoned heathenism. Kneeling in the presence of the little congregation at Viwa, he sought pardon for his many sins, and dedicated himself to the service of the true God. Baptized with the name Elijah, he worthily upheld by his after-conduct the honour of that name. Savage jealousy and thirst for revenge had given place to the calm of a quiet faith; and let the lone figure of Elijah, kneeling in secret prayer in the forest, or far out on the coral reef when the tide was down, bear testimony alike to his consistent and devoted character and to the magnificent might of Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Keeper of men. He was slain at dawn in the beautiful Lovoni valley, in the heart of Ovalau, by the treacherous Lovonians in 1853, while on an embassy of peace in the interests of the still heathen Cakobau, and some say by the treachery of Cakobau himself.

Namosimalua, the uncle of Verani, was the hereditary chief of Viwa, of much influence and a great cannibal. Crafty in counsel, he has been called the Ulysses of the conspirators

in the rebellion against Tanoa, and throughout his life he contrived to play a double part, in politics and religion alike. A leader in the successful attempt to depose Tanoa from the kingship of Bau, he was shrewd enough to see the potentialities for revenge in Seru, Tanoa's son, and advised his death. This advice was not taken; but subsequent events proved how correct it was. None the less astute was Namosimalua to secure the favour of the exiled king, should he, as seemed not unlikely, be established in his kingdom; and to his cunning policy in assisting Tanoa's escape to Somosomo may be attributed the fact that he died a greybeard in an age when the club fell swiftly and surely upon all who ventured to conspire.

It was Namosimalua who gave Mr. Cross, in 1838, the invitation to place a Christian teacher at Viwa, to which, after careful consideration of the chief's character, Mr. Cross acceded. Namosimalua himself, with the consent of Tanoa, *lotu'd* and built a chapel for the Christian services. From this time Christianity was established in the historic island of Viwa, where subsequently white missionaries themselves resided, and which became the base from which unceasing attacks were made upon the citadel of heathenism at Bau. Namosimalua's *lotu* never freed itself from the duplicity which marked his character, and now cold, now hot, was not for any length of time pronounced enough to make him that leader of Christianity to his people which his chiefly rank warranted. We left Cross at Rewa slowly regaining his strength, and have seen a teacher established at Viwa. Cargill, too, has been busy at Lakeba, extending the work by evangelizing, and building it up by teaching and the preparation of books for the press. How small a number for the whitening fields!

But reinforcements were at hand. An event was shaping itself which more than any other served to secure the permanence and advance of the mission enterprise in Fiji. The Friendly Islands district had not forgotten the men it had

sent out; and at its direction the pen of the Rev. James Watkin was lifted to write the impassioned appeal that touched the hearts of Christian workers in England in so powerful a manner. 'Fiji, cannibal Fiji! Pity, O pity, cannibal Fiji!' so rang out the message; and in the power of the Spirit it constituted such a challenge as but rarely has thrilled the Christian world. What wonder that the Church was mightily moved to send forth welcome aid!

And thus it was that in 1838 there sailed from England men and women whose names shall never die, whose work has made the isles of Fiji to rejoice: a Lincolnshire ploughboy, the saintly John Hunt; the son of a Yorkshire farmer, the sturdy and valiant James Calvert; Thomas Jaggar; and later Thomas Williams. The Friendly Islands again nobly gave two of their number: John Spinney, who at once passed on to Sydney to die; and the gentle, retiring Richard Burdsall Lyth, of ever-blessed memory. In that company were women as brave and saintly as their husbands; and the heroism of Mary Calvert and Mary Ann Lyth in 1849 will never be forgotten, as, crossing from Viwa to Bau at the time of a cannibal feast, and taking their lives in their hands, they rushed into the presence of the heathen king to demand and save the lives of five of their heathen sisters. The pioneer missionaries of Fiji of a truth form one of the Church's brightest constellations, whose light shall never grow dim; for 'they that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever.' In December of that year the first District Meeting was held at Lakeba, and it was resolved to send John Hunt at once to Rewa to help Cross, who was still very feeble. At this time there were 140 open converts at Rewa and Viwa, and much good seed had been sown. Viwa was visited by the missionaries once a fortnight; nor was Bau forgotten.

Lyth arrived from Tonga in July 1839, and with Hunt, who had spent six months at Rewa, was appointed to break new ground at Somosomo, the capital of the kingdom of the

dread Tuikilakila. Cross passed on to live at Viwa; while Cargill and Jaggar, with the printing-press, took up the work at Rewa. The fierce cannibal king of Somosomo had pressed upon Mr. Cargill a request for a missionary, not because of any desire to accept Christianity, but to gain prestige in the eyes of his rivals. The excesses of Somosomo were notorious even in a cannibal land, and Tuikilakila's was a name associated with every form of cruelty and crime.

Thither went Hunt and Lyth, to receive on arrival no welcome and but the scantest courtesy. A house in the king's compound was set apart for their use, and was but a few yards away from the cannibal ovens. No one has yet heard the full story of what these good men and women suffered in this vortex of heathenism. The story has not been told, nor could it be written. Again and again the blinds of the house were drawn to shut out the revolting sights; but the yells of blood-maddened savages could not be shut out, and the mission families shuddered as they heard them. Nor was their residence here without danger to their lives, and both Hunt and Lyth were seized and threatened by savage chiefs. Commodore Wilkes, of the United States Exploring Expedition, visited Somosomo in 1840, and observing the hardships and dangers to which these Christian workers were exposed, offered them free passages in his vessels to any part of the group. This kind offer was firmly refused; the missionaries resolved to hold this outpost, however hard pressed. Calvert was alone at Lakeba until the arrival of Thomas Williams from England in 1840. From Williams's scientifically informed mind came later that invaluable work on *Fiji and the Fijians*, which has had the misfortune to be attached in one volume to a history of the Fijian Mission written by another hand.

In this year Cargill's brave wife died at Rewa, urging, with her dying breath, fresh zeal for the work in Fiji. Such a blow fell heavy, compelling as it did the withdrawal from the group of the first of the pioneer missionaries, who left

with four motherless children in September of that year. David Cargill, M.A., was a man of scholarship and parts, endowed with the true missionary spirit. His training and erudition were invaluable to the mission in its early stages, and his enthusiasm never waned. Though compelled to leave Fiji, he could not content himself away from missionary work, and in less than two years' time we find him again in Tonga, his first field of service. For a short twelve months he was spared, and died at Vavau on September 25, 1843, less than a year after his comrade Cross.

Nor was the remaining pioneer to be much longer in the mission. In much weakness of body, Cross had continued his labours at Viwa, and in 1842 obtained permission to remove to New South Wales. Just then, however, news arrived of the death of the General Superintendent, the Rev. John Waterhouse; and, unmindful of himself as he had ever been, Cross agreed to remain in Fiji a while longer, in association with Mr. Lyth—a hero's decision, but carrying with it his one chance of life. The exhaustion of removal from Viwa to Taveuni robbed him of the last flicker of strength; and on October 15, 1842, William Cross laid down the life which had been worn out for Fiji, and was buried at Somosomo. A neat wooden monument was prepared by Mr. Williams for his grave; but years afterwards, in 1906, through the energies of the Rev. J. C. Jennison, the missionary then in charge, a large and beautiful stone church was erected over the spot where he was buried, and called the 'Cross Memorial Church.'

The difficult station at Somosomo was occupied for a few years longer, first by Lyth and Williams, and then by Williams and Hazlewood, until the lack of sympathy and help from the king and chiefs, together with the urgent need for workers in more favourable parts of the group, led to its temporary abandonment in September 1847. It was during the modicum of leisure afforded him at this station that John Hunt began that earnest and severe study of the Old and

New Testament Scriptures, which was later to bear fruit at Viwa, in his translation of the whole of the latter and part of the former into the Fijian language.

Concurrent with these successes and extensions under the eyes of the missionaries are the remarkable operations of the Spirit of God at Ono, 150 miles south of Lakeba, in the Lau division of the group. So wonderful and pentecostal was this movement that it cannot be passed without notice, however brief. It was this outbreak of divine power and its glorious result that led the Rev. Walter Lawry on his first tour as General Superintendent to speak of Ono as 'a little gem in the Christian's eye.' In the very year of the missionaries' arrival in Fiji disease and the devastation of war had depleted the islands of the Ono group to such an extent that the people became alarmed, and sought their heathen gods for help, which never came. At that time an Ono chief, Wai by name, while on a visit to Lakeba, became acquainted with the barest elements of the Christian faith. These told him that Jehovah is the true God whom all men should worship, and that worship was accorded Him each seventh day. This meagre knowledge he took back with him to Ono, and at a gathering of his people it was resolved to call upon the true God. But none knew how to approach Him in prayer; and we have the strange sight of the heathen priest leading the people in prayer to God with simple and uninitiated words.

This was the beginning; and the hand of God reached down to clasp the hands groping through the mist, and His providence brought further light and help. A Tongan canoe, wrecked at Vatoa, 50 miles off, had on board a young man who had been converted and baptized with the name of Josiah. On hearing of the condition of affairs at Ono, Josiah at once hastened thither, and remained to teach them more fully, with the result that a chapel was built to accommodate 100 people, and was soon full. It further happened that one of their own youths had some time previously wandered off to

Tonga and thence to Lakeba, where he became converted. After receiving careful instruction from the missionaries there he was sent down to his own land as a teacher, thus doubling the slender forces. On his arrival he found 120 adults who were true worshippers, and applied at once to Mr. Cargill for a supply of books. These the zealous Cargill prepared and sent.

Meanwhile, the work spread rapidly, and in August 1839 the number of worshippers reached 328. The fire of revival leaped over to Vatoa, and thus in these islands in the southern corner of the Fiji group was heard the sound of a great joy because the light had come. Mr. Cargill had made many attempts to visit Ono, but it was not until the last day of 1839 that he was able to land amongst this prepared people. For twenty-two busy days he went in and out amongst them, baptizing 233 persons and imparting instruction everywhere; and his heart warmed within him as he noted that the great change in the people was not superficial, but 'genuine and thorough.' Then came Ono's baptism of fire, when persecution fell with the wrath of Tui Nayau of Lakeba, its feudal lord. Bravely did the Christians face the ordeal with faith and prayer; and when, in 1842, Mr. Williams visited Ono it was to find but three heathen in that group, and these accepted Christianity during his visit. Well might the missionaries exclaim: 'What hath God wrought!' It was, moreover, to them an earnest of success in the greater field yet to be reaped.

In 1846 Lyth and Watsford, *en route* from Viwa to Lakeba, were driven by stress of weather in the direction of Ono, and decided to visit the island. After deliberation they agreed that Mr. Watsford should spend twelve months with the people, to organize the work and instruct them more perfectly. This year proved one of rich blessing to missionary and people alike. In his *Glorious Gospel Triumphs*, written towards the end of a wonderful life, this ardent missionary records the services of the Sabbath day on which the new

church was opened, and declares them to have been the occasion of one of the most marvellous outpourings of the Spirit of God he had witnessed. Again, in 1848, David Hazlewood resided for a like time at Ono, but since then the congregations, thoroughly established in the Christian faith, have been left in the charge of native pastors and teachers.

More than a passing notice must be given to that collateral aid to mission work in whatever land, the printing-press. With the trinity of workers who arrived from England at the end of 1838 was landed a press, which multiplied the missionaries' power a hundredfold. A dispassionate, persistent witness, and often the silent but eloquent pioneer, the printed page with its news of God's love began to fall broadcast over Fiji; and with it came the light of a new life to those who read and heeded. First at Lakeba and later at Rewa, with Cargill as the productive source, the rattle of the machine as it cast forth its copy was surely striking the death-knell of the cannibal feast and the reign of terror in Fiji, bringing in the new order.

The Bau-Rewan war led to its transfer to Viwa in 1844, by which time the first catechism and Mark's Gospel by Cargill, parts of Genesis and a scripture lesson-book by Cross, a hymn-book of twelve pages by Hunt and Lyth, and a short catechism and twenty-three short sermons by Hunt, together with tickets and almanacs, had been printed and were in extensive circulation. The brighter day was dawning. At first attempts were made to print in the dialects of the group, a course which, in the confusion of fifteen or more dialects, would have perpetuated the curse of Babel; but in the year 1844 a decision of the greatest importance was arrived at by the sage missionary workers. It was then decided in council that in future all books should be translated into the Bauan dialect, which has been aptly called 'the Attic of Fiji.' Subsequent history testifies to the accuracy and wisdom of this judgement.

To the indefatigable Hunt, as the best Fijian scholar, had been committed by common consent the precious task of translating the New Testament; and so assiduously did he toil that two years after its committal to him he was able, in 1847, to present to his fellow missionaries printed copies of the whole book. The translation was entirely his own, with the exception of the Gospel of St. John, done by another and revised by him. In this great undertaking Lyth rendered most valuable assistance, coming from Lakeba to help Hunt put it through the press. Into the competent hands of Hunt was now placed the heavier work of translating the Old Testament Scriptures; and to this he at once addressed himself in good earnest. But, alas! he was not to complete it. Exodus had been finished, and the Book of Psalms up to the end of Psalm xlvi., when the pen fell from the overwearied hand for ever. 'The God of Jacob' had called John Hunt to his 'refuge.'

The standard-bearer had fallen; but the standard was not to fall with him, for the hand to carry it on was ready. David Hazlewood was to achieve the translation of the remainder of the Old Testament. Hazlewood had been less than five years in the group when the great leader fell, but even in that short time had proved himself a master of philology. He had already in the course of compilation a grammar and dictionary of the Fijian language, that for accuracy and information were to be the wonder of all who followed; but ere his work was completed he was called upon to pass through floods of sorrow. On February 7, 1849, his little girl died at Nadi, and was buried by the father himself. Less than three weeks later, while his heart was still bleeding, his beloved wife passed away, leaving three motherless children behind. Desolate indeed in heart and home, the devoted Hazlewood chose to stay on to finish the urgent work laid upon him; but in the lonely tropics the narcotic of toil refused to dull the pain. Until September of the following year he laboured on, till his tired body made a change to

the colonies imperative. But the missionary fire could not be quenched, and in September 1851 he was back again at his post to finish his task. In much distress and weakness of body latterly, he was compelled, in 1853, to finally retire from the field.

His work was done, and done before his manhood was well on him; done well as the work of a master workman, and he has his reward. For four years more he was spared, until God took him on October 30, 1855, when he died in New South Wales, aged thirty-six years—the age, too, of John Hunt. Revisers have since his time come and gone, the last the late Frederick Langham, D.D., who revised the whole Bible in 1899; but the work of Hunt and Hazlewood has never been superseded. They being dead yet speak.

The year 1845 marks an epoch in mission work in Fiji, for, after much wrestling in prayer, a revival broke out that year in Viwa, when seventy persons were converted in five days, and many strong and savage men were broken down under the mighty power of God. Synchronous with this was the revival at Ono, 100 miles away, with its scenes of power and blessing; while earlier than either, in the same year, the powerful Viwan chief, Verani, had renounced heathenism. God was moving throughout Fiji, and men who had gone forth weeping were gathering in their sheaves.

A staggering blow fell in 1848. The strength of the great missionary, John Hunt, failed beyond recovery. He was a man of God, filled with the Holy Ghost, well versed in the Scriptures, and a leader of men; but his more abundant labours had overtaxed his physical powers, and he was taken in the midst of his years. Who has not been thrilled at the narration of the last scenes of that holy life? The triumph! the tenderness! the faith! the dying prayer! None can read of them and feel the same. Nor can one to-day mount to the hill-top of beautiful Viwa and stand by the side of the iron-railed grave to read the simple inscription—

JOHN HUNT
SLEPT IN JESUS
October 4, 1848
AGED 36 YEARS

without being profoundly moved by the memory of that short life given, not for Fiji alone, but as an inspiration to the whole Christian world. Well might Verani in tears pray as his leader was falling: 'O Lord, we know we are very bad; but spare Thy servant! If *one* must die, take *me! Take ten of us!* But spare Thy servant to preach Christ to the people!' Precious still to God's people are his *Letters on Entire Sanctification*, written and lived out by him in Fiji, a sweet perfume distilled amidst the exhalations of a degraded heathenism.

A new departure was taken in the year of Hunt's death, when four native men were set apart as head teachers, and given authority to baptize and administer the Sacraments. This was the beginning of a wise and scriptural policy of ordaining men from amongst the people themselves, called of God and chosen by the congregations, whose piety and ability marked them out for leadership. This policy has been pursued with undiminished success in the Fiji Mission until the present time. Six years later we hear of an examination of candidates for the native ministry, three for immediate ordination and two for continuation on trial for four years.

Mr. Lyth had given much thought to this subject, and in 1852 drew up a plan for securing and training native agents. Moreover, each missionary regarded it as not the least important part of his work, and devoted himself to it accordingly. The marked success that has attended this crowning result of mission work in Fiji is its justification; and from the ranks of the native ministry have arisen men of parts and spiritual power, who have walked with God and been faithful in their office, and who have continued to lead their people in and out to find pasture. Joel Bulu (a Tongan),

Eliezer Takelo, Julius Ravai, Eliezer Bula, Mark Tagicakibau, Joseph Ratabua, Ezra Seru, Thomas Mawi, Michael Ratu—these and many another, have they not been the fathers and prophets of their people, wise in judgement and sure in counsel, true according to their light, faithful in life and triumphant in death? On May 4, 1851, the last heathen priest in Lakeba was received on trial. Sixteen years before, Christ had come thither, to be confronted by a muttering and oppressing priesthood which defied and resisted His authority; and now the last of the priests bowed the knee to Him and yielded Him the sceptre. Surely a day for rejoicing!

Tanoa's long-expected death occurred on December 8, 1852, an event looked forward to with dread by the missionaries, and, alas! attended with the barbarous rites against which they had so faithfully inveighed. Five wretched women, the king's wives, were strangled, against the strong, tearful protests and in the presence of Mr. Watsford, who had come across from Viwa. His graphic account is well known, and is a terrible indictment of heathenism. Yet here heathenism over-reached itself. It was the extreme of the pendulum's swing. No longer could sin and cruelty stalk abroad unashamed; and a brief eighteen months afterward the grim perpetrator of this awful deed, the arch-savage Cakobau himself, renounced for ever his association with the crimes that had polluted for so many decades his fair land, and humbly sought the favour of the true God by way of the Cross. Williams, Watsford, and Hazlewood had left Fiji the previous year without seeing this outward seal of their self-sacrificing work. The same year Verani had been slain. These and many another had laboured and prayed for the conversion of this terrible chief, and their prayers were answered.

On April 30, 1854, Cakobau publicly confessed Christ, and began to live under the most trying circumstances that consistent life, attested by many witnesses, which for twenty-six

years glorified God and magnified His abundant grace. The Galilean had again conquered by the might of His love, and in conquering won the undying allegiance of His former foe. Early in 1857 Cakobau was baptized with his queen by Joseph Waterhouse, and took the name of Ebenezer. The euphony of the name he knew not nor cared little about. He had chosen it as a perpetual reminder to himself and others of the never-failing guidance of the divine hand in his life. It was to be his testimony that hitherto the Lord had helped him.

After fifteen years of gentle, patient service Lyth had gone, sadly missed by all. He had been a minister of healing to many in body and soul. In September 1854 the vessel bore him away to New Zealand to become governor of 'Wesley College' in Auckland. After occupying this post for three years he left for England, where for five more years he was engaged in translating work for Fiji. Thence he proceeded once again to missionary work, this time in Gibraltar; but after a five years' term he returned to York, where he died, in 1887, at the age of seventy-seven, thus completing forty years of active ministry and closing a beautiful, saintly life.

Rewa, abandoned since 1844, was reoccupied a decade later by Mr. Moore, in 1854. The Bau-Rewan war was now being vigorously carried on, with its savage cruelties and horrors. The year following Moore's arrival the mission house was fired by heathen spite, the missionary and his wife barely escaping with their lives. Nothing daunted, this good man and his brave wife returned at the year's end to their dangerous post, and in a few months were gladdened by a gracious revival. So rapidly did the work spread that in June 1856 no fewer than 16,000 were reported throughout the circuit as attendants at public worship. The last-mentioned year was also marked by the passing of a most important prohibition against murder, which gave the clearest indication possible of the strength Christianity had assumed in the group. Life, hitherto held so cheaply, was now

environed by a law forbidding its destruction, and the law was rigorously enforced. At first the penalty of death was visited upon a few flagrant transgressors, but it was not long before the execution of the punishment was unnecessary, as the crime itself had ceased.

James Calvert had spent seventeen long and busy years in Fiji, and was the lone survivor of the early missionaries. He had been a puissant knight of the Cross, instant in season and out of season to lead captives to his Master, and still wielded well the sword of the Spirit. His eye was not dim nor his natural force abated; but he was needed to supervise the printing of the Scriptures in England, and left to address himself to that work. Threatened with his life by savage club on more than one occasion, he had never flinched from duty, and had, by the grace of God, been an eye-witness of the wonderful change in the land. On November 13, 1855, accompanied by his heroic wife, he embarked for England; and during the next two years he was engaged in seeing Hazlewood's MS. of the Old Testament through the press, and in telling the wonderful story of a changed people. His love for Fiji did not wane, and in 1860 he again offered himself for service in the group. His offer was accepted, and in company with a band of five young men he returned in the *John Wesley*, reaching Lakeba on May 30, 1861. As chairman of the district he visited its several circuits, including Rotumah, and at last finally retired in the middle of 1865. He died at Hastings on March 8, 1892, ripe and full of years.

Australasia was constituted a separate Conference in the year 1855, and to it the Fiji Islands district was attached, with the Rev. W. B. Boyce General Superintendent of Missions and the Rev. John Eggleston General Secretary, both of whom were subsequently able to visit Fiji. From that time the Fiji district has been under the direction of a Mission Board, with its head quarters in Sydney, which acts as the Executive of the General Conference of Australasia.

The Missionary Secretariat has been occupied by men whose names have become household words: Benjamin Chapman, George Brown, and Benjamin Danks. The position is at present filled by the Rev. John G. Wheen.

Rotumah is a volcanic island, 15 miles long, with an average breadth of 4½, situated 3° nearer the equator than the most northerly portion of Fiji, from which it lies distant more than 300 miles. It is inhabited by a race of people differing in facial expression, manners, customs, and language from the Fijian natives. Early in the Fijian Mission efforts were made to secure the entrance of Christianity into this group. To a Rotuman lady of high rank who had been brought under its influence in Tonga fell the honour of introducing Christianity to her people, and its subsequent history in Rotumah is comparable with that of Ono, already narrated. With such rapidity did Christianity spread that in a few years it had made itself felt throughout the whole island. Fanned by persecution, it but blazed the purer, and when, in 1855, Mr. Calvert visited the place he baptized 183 persons. Still the work spread. With the assistance of a Fijian teacher from Rotumah the Rev. Joseph Waterhouse was able, during a furlough to the colonies in 1857, to prepare elementary books and a part of the Gospel of Matthew in the Rotuman language. These were eagerly welcomed by the people.

Once again arose fierce persecution, which this time threatened to destroy the young Church and re-establish heathen rule and custom. One of the highest potentates in the land resolved, with the aid of lesser chiefs, to banish all Christian teachers and thus stamp out the new religion, and took steps accordingly. Then it was that there arose a man of God and a leader of men, Zerubbabel, a chief of Noatau, to be the Elijah of his people. Daunted by no opposition, he steadfastly maintained his faith in spite of promise and threat, and encouraged those who remained to a like faithfulness. Summoned before a council of angry chiefs, confronted

by all the forces of priestcraft, persecuted and excommunicated, the brave leader held on, going from town to town preaching, exhorting, and teaching. Finally the truth prevailed, and so blessed of God were the labours of Zerubbabel and his co-workers that when Mr. Calvert visited Rotumah in April 1864 he found, to his great joy, 1,200 persons professedly Christian, with twenty-two local preachers, and 230 meeting in class.

A strong request was preferred at the same time for a missionary who should permanently reside in their midst; and on his return to Fiji the story told by Calvert so moved the hearts of the Rev. William Fletcher, B.A., and his wife, who were then in charge of the Teachers' Training Institution at Kadavu, that they volunteered for service in Rotumah. Thither they proceeded, and reached the distant island on July 23, 1864. For eleven years they laboured in the trying climate, and before leaving Mr. Fletcher was able to give the people the whole of the New Testament in their own language. Osborne, Moore, Allen, and Caust subsequently resided in the group, but none for any length of time. In the year 1905 the Rev. H. H. Roget and his noble wife arrived at Rotumah, and for the last eight years have toiled lovingly and hard, by teaching, preaching, and translating, to establish true religion in the hearts and lives of this responsive people.

Although often threatened by the heathen, up till 1867 none of the missionaries had fallen by the savage club. Their numbers and personnel had often changed, as, worn out by strenuous labours, one and another had been compelled to drop their tasks more or less completed. No life had, however, been taken. This record was not to be maintained; Thomas Baker was to fall the first missionary martyr. This zealous man had been in the group sufficiently long to understand the native language and customs well, and in 1865 was designated by his brethren as 'missionary to the interior,' to reside at Davuilevu. The spot chosen for his residence

was a coign of advantage on the banks of the Rewa River, 9 miles from the town of the same name, lying at the base of the hill-country of Na Viti Levu. The house site was in busy preparation early in the year, and before its close Mr. Baker was occupying the new station.

Often did he wistfully gaze towards the hills beyond which dwelt the heathen, and waited with no little impatience until conditions should render his journey to the mountaineers comparatively safe. As cautious as enthusiastic, he believed the time had come, and set out to cross the island to Vuda, in order to blaze a trail for the gospel. Other white men had proceeded unmolested by this route. Why should not he? The answer was to be found in the personal pique of the chief of a town adjacent to the mission station. Fancying himself slighted by the missionary, he had, savage-like, cherished his desire for revenge, until the journey into the mountains gave him his long-sought opportunity. With secret haste he dispatched a trusty messenger by another path with a fateful whale's tooth, to be delivered to the chief in whose town Baker should sleep. The whale's tooth was potent in savage Fiji for life or death; and the messenger at last reached a village in the Navosa district, where Baker and his comrades spent the night of July 20, 1867. The gift was duly presented, with the request for the missionary's death.

Thus it was that, without any previous resentment against his victim, the mountain chief with his warriors accompanied the little party, as, suspecting treachery, they defiled from the town in the grey dawn of the following morning. Just outside the town the blow fell, and the leader with seven of his faithful followers were treacherously slain in the lonely centre of Fiji's largest island. But divine love has had its revenge. The son of the savage who slew Baker became a Christian and a local preacher; two of the murderers, eighteen years afterwards, were baptized by the Rev. A. J. Small on the very scene of the martyrdom; while but a step or two from

where the body of the dead missionary lay for presentation, in the heathen town of Dubui, may be seen to-day the grave where lies buried the wife of the first native Christian teacher, who, not many years after, came to teach the love of God to these darkened people.

It is not possible to tell in detail in these pages the subsequent progress of Christianity in the group, nor the full story of its ultimate triumph. It must suffice to say that within half a century from the time of its arrival in Fiji the gospel of Jesus Christ had caused cannibalism and gross heathenism to practically disappear, while Christian teachers had free access to all parts of the land. Rarely has history been able to record such a stirring story of a nation born in a day. The names of men like Langham, Fison, Lindsay, and Small will ever be connected with that transitional period, and of many another who assisted in bringing in the new order. During that time the work of evangelization was made complete, and that of character-building and Church organization securely founded.

More than a passing word must be given to the Rev. Frederick Langham, D.D., who, arriving in the district in 1858, and leaving finally in 1895, holds the present record of long service for Fiji. Dr. Langham was pre-eminently a leader, a man of leonine countenance and vigorous mind. To him fell the privilege of carrying the *lotu* to some parts of Na Viti Levu hitherto heathen, and by a gracious Providence he was able to safely accomplish this dangerous work, in spite of heathen plot and hate. Latterly his life was devoted to the task of revising the whole of the Scriptures, the revision being successfully completed in London, 1899. The present chairman of the district, the Rev. Arthur J. Small, holds already the *proxime accessit* for length of service, and has spent thirty-three strenuous years in the islands. Mr. Small brought with him to his mission work the knowledge of printing, and has rendered invaluable service in this branch for many years. He has proved himself sagacious in

counsel and untiring in patience, and Fiji could ill spare him from the field.

Mention has already been made of the educational work of the mission, and a glance at the history of Fiji will show how seriously it has been undertaken. From the first the missionaries emphasized the importance of education in its widest connotation as the handmaid of true religion, and sought to advance concurrently the evangelization and the education of the race. The pioneers from Tonga brought with them both catechism and primer, knowing full well that the knowledge of the true God would provoke in the minds of the people strong desires for further knowledge. A written language was created, in which books were issued from the mission press; hence arose the necessity to teach the arts of reading and writing. The reserve of centuries was, moreover, breaking down, and a new world was pressing in upon the Fijian's mind, about which he was restless to know more. The missionaries had widened his horizon and given him new desires; they were thereby compelled to fill the large spaces of that horizon and satisfy the ever-increasing desires. This they readily sought to accomplish, but soon found how little they could of themselves do for the multitudes awaiting instruction. They must therefore train native teachers in both secular and religious knowledge, who should teach, in turn, their fellows. These teachers of religion were the nucleus of a subsequently evolved native ministry.

The demands upon the missionaries' time were now increasing daily, and it became less and less possible for them to enter the class-room. Further, the work of teaching called for a special class of agent with the necessary qualifications and training. As early as 1850 the District Meeting urged the appointment of two properly qualified schoolmasters. The wisdom of the policy was conceded by the home committee, and by May 1852 two trained educationalists, Messrs. Binner and Collis, with their wives, had reached Fiji, to be heartily welcomed, and to receive appointment to important posts.

Mr. Collis was to remain at Lakeba to carry forward the school work begun in the eastern part of the group, while Mr. Binner addressed himself to the task of teaching the children of whites, half-castes, and natives at Ovalau. It was not long before Mr. Collis was transferred to Bau, to superintend the schools of that circuit. Right well did these excellent Christian gentlemen fulfil their mission in Fiji, and earned the respect and gratitude of all sections of the community.

Mission educational work in Fiji has been found to have a threefold aim, and to include the primary and secondary education of the children, the training of the teachers, and the preparation of a native ministry. The evolution has proceeded in practice from the simple to the more complex, and in the order named. Little more than the three R's was taught in the beginning, and, as might be expected, to adults as well as children. At the present time the mission has a network of village primary schools, almost 1,000 in number, scattered throughout the group; and there is practically no Fijian who cannot both read and write.

Later in sequence arose the necessity for the training of native teachers. At first nothing more could be done than each missionary was already doing in his own circuit. He had gathered together chosen men, who lived on the mission station, and to whom he gave whatever personal attention he could. But the demand speedily arose for a District Teachers' Training Institution, whither teachers in training could be drafted from each circuit and placed in the charge of a competent missionary for a greater or less period. A humble beginning was made at Mataisuva in Rewa Bay, where ten houses were erected for the students; and the Rev. John Polglase, who had arrived in Fiji in 1852, was appointed to the principalship. Mr. Polglase laboured indefatigably and with marked success until, in January 1860, he was seized by a fatal illness, to which, two months later, he succumbed, and

was buried beside John Hunt at Viwa. He was a powerful preacher and an earnest Bible student, and was sorely missed.

At this juncture it was decided to move the head quarters of the institution from Mataisuva to Kadavu, where a piece of land had been purchased by the mission. The removal took place in June 1861, to a site to which the name of Richmond was given, in honour of the theological college of that name in England. The Rev. William Fletcher, B.A., was appointed Principal. For three years Mr. Fletcher trained the students committed to him, until he heard the call of a greater need, when, by offer and appointment, he left to undertake the consolidation of the wonderful work of God that had been accomplished in Rotumah. He was succeeded by the Rev. Joseph Nettleton, under whose care the Training Institution became still more useful and popular, fulfilling the brightest ideals of the missionaries. Richmond was not to be its permanent residence, and in 1873 it was removed to Navuloa, a town on the estuary of one of the many rivers in the Rewa delta, 8 miles across from Bau. The site had been given to the mission for this purpose by Cakobau himself.

For thirty-five years it was to remain in this home, and become widely known and useful under the successive principalships of Carey, Waterhouse, Fison, Lindsay, Bennett, and Heighway. Latterly it has once more been removed, this time to Davuilevu, to what seems its permanent residence. In 1908, under the direction of the Rev. Wm. E. Bennett, M.A., the work of transfer was begun, which has occupied some years; but the result has been the establishment of an educational plant that for the first time brings this valuable institution into line with modern requirements. By the enthusiasm and generosity of Fijians themselves, an educational town has been founded on the spot where Thomas Baker lived for the two years preceding his death, which contains a handsome concrete building, the finest in the group, fitted with every convenience for teaching, bearing the missionary-martyr's name, and called the 'Baker

Memorial.' On October 14, 1913, the building was opened by the Governor of Fiji with much rejoicing, and in the presence of representatives from the Australasian Methodist General Conference and the Mission Board. The Rev. W. Deane, M.A., holds the position of Principal at the present time.

Later developments in the educational work of the mission have been in the direction of secondary schools for boys and girls, founded as far as possible in each circuit. The first secondary school—a school for girls—was established at Matavelo in the Ra circuit in 1899 by the Rev. William Slade, a sagacious and far-seeing missionary. This was followed in 1902 by a similar school for boys, which, begun at Navuloa, was transferred in 1906 to the educational centre at Davuilevu. These higher schools are now to be found in many circuits, and are satisfying a long-felt need. The crown of the educational policy of the mission has been the inauguration of a theological college for the training of the native ministry. For many years the native pastorate was filled by men whose training had been casual; to remedy this a much-needed college was founded in 1908 at Davuilevu. It started with a firstfruits of seven young men, who were appointed to a three years' course, and who are now in charge of important positions in the various circuits. It has, for the past five years, continued to grow in efficiency and numbers, until it now (1913) has an enrolment of twenty-one students, whose zeal and influence are admirable. By the separation, in 1912, of the Teachers' Training Institution from the Theological College, and the appointment of a Principal to each, it has been possible to give to this branch a greater measure of the attention its importance demands; and it is to the results of this work that the missionaries are looking to find the elements of the future indigenous native Church.

One of the most recent developments of secondary school work has been the introduction into the curriculum of industrial subjects, such as carpentry for boys, and plaiting and

weaving for girls. The genius of native character affords a unique opportunity for the success of such training, and it is confidently held that working with the hands will not only result in making each native an economic unit of some value, but that it actually tends to the development of a greater stability of character. During the last six years an Industrial Institute for the training of boys in carpentry has been established, and has been successful within the limits in which, for the present, it is compelled to work. Difficulties of administration have arisen, as in other fields where the same policy is being evolved; but these are concerned with policies rather than principles, and it is anticipated that these problems will soon find a satisfactory solution. The value of such training for Fijian boys is conceded by all.

The service rendered by missionary sisters in the education of the more advanced children is beyond praise. These devoted women have been placed in charge of the aforementioned secondary schools for girls, and by their self-denying ministry are doing untold good to the future wifehood and motherhood of Fiji. Their work of love, done without ostentation, bears a perpetual witness to their zeal and consecration.

To-day is, without doubt, a day of problems for Fiji. The early dangers have passed, and a general recrudescence of heathenism is impossible. The sites of heathen temples are overgrown, and the orgies of savagery forgotten. The foundations of the Church of God in Fiji have been well and truly laid by the wise and good who have gone. The task of the present is that of the master-builder, who must build into that foundation stones that have been carefully selected and fashioned, and see that they are laid level and plumb. By the slow and tedious process of teaching by precept and life, the mission workers must move towards that objective of all mission work in a foreign land, the establishment of a native Church indigenous to the soil, withal so

strong and stable in Christian character that it can stand of itself without external support. More and more must the missionary hope and pray to find himself less needed, until the consummation of his labours has been reached, and he can finally withdraw for other pressing service.

Much as it may be desired, that time has not yet come. Heathen people have heard the call of capital and settled in Fiji, bringing hoary faiths with them, which they practise before the eyes of the native race. Immorality, freed from the restraint of club law, and not yet willing to submit itself wholly to the yoke of Christ, makes its presence hideously known. A half-knowledge is ready to beget a loud-mouthed boasting, which, in turn, becomes the parent of irreverence and impudence. And, worst of all, a vital Christianity may become so overlaid by a veneer of form and rote, until religion, divorced from morality, has a name to live, but is dead.

With these dangers there must be no talk for some time to come of the withdrawal of forces. The vision of a self-supporting and self-governing native Church is true, but it tarrieth yet awhile. Yet the wise can even now read the signs of its coming. Already gifts are being placed on the altar of Christ which tell that the day of self-support is at hand. Proposals are drawn up, ready for immediate acceptance, which will create Fiji in the near future an independent, self-supporting, and self-governing district. In the native Church to-day is to be found a live fellowship of 33,000 full members, with 3,500 more on trial, who meet regularly in class and submit themselves to the discipline of its courts. One might almost say that every other native Fijian is an enrolled member of the Christian Church. Nor does Fiji lack in missionary zeal. Her sons and daughters have been imbued with the missionary spirit, and gone forth to preach Christ to heathen peoples in New Britain, New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands. Yea, and to lay down their lives in these and in their own lands for the sake of those for whom Christ died.

While sensitive to the dangers that remain, let no one forget the vastness of the changes already wrought. The captious critic must not be allowed to speak unmindful of the imminence of the past, nor to fall into the anachronism of comparing the Christianity of a few decades in Fiji with the slowly evolved work of centuries in other lands. The leaven of a genuine Christianity lies hidden in the heart of a nation, and one day shall leaven the whole lump. Yet even now, as he reads the story of missionary triumph in Fiji, the true follower of the Lord Jesus Christ will be led to declare, in wonder and praise: 'This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes!'

CHAPTER III

SAMOA

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SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

Navigators' Group—Physical features—History—People—Language—Character—Tongan evangelists—Waiting for missionaries—Mr. Turner's reception—Rival missionary societies—Samoan protest—Native Methodist Church—Refusal to interfere—Tonga to the rescue—Dyson—Training institution — Sacrament — Discouragement—Brown—Annexation—Native preachers—Latusele—Abogalu—Maposua—Making peace—Self-support—Transition—Problems—Bible.

CHAPTER III

SAMOA

Samoa is the native word for the Navigators' Group. There are fourteen islands in the Samoan group, eight belonging to Germany and six to the United States. The German islands are Savaii, Manono, Apolima, Upolu, Fanuatapu, Manua, Nu'utele, and Nu'ulua. The American: Tutuila, Amia, Of'u, Olesenga, Ta'u, and Rose. Ten are inhabited.

Savaii, which is 50 miles wide and 20 broad, contains 600 or 700 square miles. The south end of the island is extremely rugged, there being no protecting coral reef. Here the long Pacific rollers dash furiously against the face of the black, volcanic rock, forming huge caverns, into which the water dashes, forcing its way through cracks and blowholes, bursting into spray. Water is scarce inland; but on the shore there are numerous springs. The soil is fertile. Population, 13,000. Manono, triangular in shape, is less than 5 miles in circumference. Though its elevation is but a few hundred feet, from its highest point a splendid view of Savaii and Upolu can be obtained. There are 1,000 inhabitants. Apolima (the hollow of the land) lies between Manono and Savaii. It is a huge rock with precipitous sides 600 feet high. A narrow opening on the northern side leads into a basin of smooth water encircled by a white sandy beach, like the doorstep to a fertile valley. In the old days Apolima was the stronghold of the Manono chiefs. Upolu lies 10 miles east of Savaii, and is 40 miles long and 13 broad. It is divided into three districts: Atua, the eastern part, Tuamasaga, the central, and Aana, the western end. Apia harbour affords

accommodation for ships of large tonnage. Upolu is a strikingly beautiful island. It has an area of 340 square miles and a population of 18,000.

Of the American possessions Tutuila is the most important, having a length of 7 miles and a breadth of 5. Tutuila is mountainous, Matafae, the highest peak, rising 2,327 feet above the sea. Population 3,000. Around the beautiful harbour of Pango-Pango the hills rise abruptly 800 or 1,000 feet. The valleys which nestle at their feet, and the narrow foreshore, are luxuriant with tropical fruit, while the music of running water is continually heard. It is a marvellous epitome of tropical beauty; its placid waters reflecting the surrounding beauty with such clearness that it is difficult to say where substance ends and shadow begins. Olesenga, a rocky island 1,500 feet high, precipitous on every side, is two miles to the west of Upolu and is encircled by a reef. 'One of the features of the island is a mural precipice 1,200 feet high,' in front of which is the principal village. The Manua group, comprising Ta'u, Of'u, and Olesenga, have a combined area of 54 square miles, and a population of 2,000. The total population of the group is 35,000.

All the islands are elevated and rugged, surrounded by reefs through which are small and dangerous passages. The scenery is exceedingly beautiful. The climate is moist, but not excessively hot, the mean temperature at Apia being 78°. Hurricanes do immense damage to coco-nut and other trees. The islands are volcanic. In August 1905 an eruption took place on the island of Savaii. In 1908 it was still casting out enormous quantities of lava. After twenty-seven months the flow was 100 yards wide, and deep enough to float thousands of black boulders of varying size. Not a few of these boulders weighed from 10 to 20 tons. The stream ran at the rate of 4 miles an hour. It was calculated that from one stream alone 7,000 tons of molten matter per minute were being discharged into the sea. It is a modest estimate that up to 1908, 5 or 6 cubic miles of lava have been ejected from the one

crater. Whole villages have been swept away, and districts covered by the glowing mass.

The history of Samoa is of the ordinary South Sea kind. Intrepid navigators opening new worlds gave the first information. It is generally supposed that Jacob Roggeveen sighted the group in 1722, calling it Baaumann Islands, after one of his captains. Then followed Louis de Bougainville in 1768, who named the group Iles des Navigateurs, the name they still retain. La Perouse came next in 1787; Captain Edwards in the *Pandora* in 1791; Otto Von Kotzebue in 1824; and John Williams in 1830. Then knowledge grew apace; the missionary paved the way for the peaceable entrance of the trader. Intertribal wars within the last fifty years have been numerous. At one time serious trouble threatened between Great Britain, Germany, and the United States. Happily, an amicable settlement was reached, Great Britain receiving compensation in Tonga and elsewhere. The group was divided between Germany and the United States. Under these Governments Samoa has become prosperous, and the outlook is bright and encouraging. In his introduction to Judge Fornander's valuable work, *The Polynesian Race*, W. D. Alexander says: 'Probably there is no race upon earth which, in proportion to its numbers, has been the subject of so much interest and of such minute investigation as the Polynesian. This is owing not only to the interesting character of the race, but also to the mystery, as yet unsolved, which shrouds their origin, and their extreme isolation. The evidence both of language and tradition points unmistakably to the East Indian Archipelago as at least a stage in their eastward migration.'

The Samoans are a most interesting people. They possess an elaborate code of laws in regard to the chiefs, and precedence is most jealously guarded. Their origin has given rise to much discussion, and probably will never be settled. They have always considered themselves to be indigenes, with one exception, viz. a large village on 'Savaii, called

Matautau, the inhabitants of which claim they came originally from Fiji.' (Note, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 360.) The most widely accepted theory by students of this subject is that these brown people were driven from Malaysia; and, proceeding eastward, arrived at Samoa, from which a gradual dispersion took place. The language of Samoa is the softest, the most polite, the finest, and the most complete of all the Polynesian dialects. When addressing a chief chiefly words must be used; when speaking of self, the common language. When using a common or impolite word, it must be preceded by an apologetic phrase. Should the name of an animal or plant be appropriated by a chief, the common name is dropped. For instance: Pe'a is the name for a flying-fox; adopted by a chief it is thenceforth spoken of by the name Manulagi, heaven, or sky bird. There is a tendency to a change in the language, the letter *t* taking the place of *k*, and vice versa.

The Samoans were not cannibals to any great extent. They maintain they were never cannibals at any time; but that must be put down to their present detestation of the practice. 'Their own legends, and the customs observed by them in making submission and in sueing for peace, show that in olden days it was certainly not unknown amongst them.' Oratory with the Samoans is a fine art. Political and ceremonial speeches are replete with quotations from legends and illustrations drawn from natural phenomena. Yet withal they never depart from a strong common-sense view of the matter under discussion. 'The orator,' says H. Stowehewer Cooper, 'is a most important individual, for at the "Fonos," or political meetings, stalking majestically to the front, he stands, leaning on a staff about 6 feet long, with his fly-flap over his shoulder, and pours forth a perfect torrent of eloquence for hours.' The Samoans are generous. If a visitor would not be placed in an awkward position he must not greatly admire anything. To be stingy with food is the essence of meanness. Though generous, they are quick to resent an insult or a slight; and

not infrequently they take serious offence where none is intended.

From time immemorial there has been intercourse between the people of Tonga and Samoa, some of the Tongan Methodists having married into Samoan families. These Tongans openly professed Christ, and ordered their families on Christian lines. A few Samoans followed their example, and thus the new religion was carried. The *Lotu* Tonga and Methodism found entrance into Samoa a considerable time before any other Church, though the Samoan group had not been officially recognized. In 1828, a native of Savaii, named Saivaaia, visited Tonga, and was converted. Abandoning heathenism, he declared himself to be one of the *Lotu* Tonga. On his return he began Christian work among his friends at Tafua and Salelologa, two villages on Savaii; and many were led to renounce heathenism. The work spread, finding a footing in many villages, and in other islands. But organization was imperfect, and the people needed guidance. They were prepared; and had Methodism foreseen, Samoa, with its 38,000 people, might have been one of her triumphs. That the missionaries anticipated this is shown by the following extract from a letter written from Tonga to the Missionary Committee, June 25, 1829: 'If Tonga become christianized, we have good reason to believe that not only the Haapies and Vavau will receive the truth, but that we shall obtain access to the Fiji and Navigators' Islands. There are men at Tonga from each of these places, and from what we can learn respecting the inhabitants, they are very numerous and very mild, excepting the Fiji people. I trust the day is not distant when these benighted islanders shall come to the knowledge of the truth.'

In its report to the Committee for 1832–3, the Tonga district said: 'The Navigators' Islands we recommend to the Committee as being another delightful opening for the establishment of a new mission. One of the chiefs having petitioned us, through our chief Tubou, for a missionary, we

have begun to prepare a book for their instruction.' The Committee replied: 'The brethren of the district will adopt the best measures their circumstances will allow for improving the favourable opportunity presented for introducing Christianity into the Navigators' Islands.' Tui returned to Samoa and most energetically pushed the *Lotu* Tonga, with the result that a large number associated themselves with him in Satupaitea and other places. The fire spread to Upolu, where Tuioneula, a chief, laboured, and hundreds put away their old religion. 'In three years,' says the Rev. Martin Dyson, 'from the time of Tui's return from Tonga there were forty villages and hamlets on Savaii, and twenty-five on Upolu, that had turned from the worship of "aitu" to serve the living God, and were now called of the "*Lotu* Tonga."'

The Rev. Peter Turner, who was appointed to Samoa in 1835, thus describes what he found: 'I went round the islands, and found forty places on Savaii in which there were persons professing to be of the Tongan *Lotu*. They had services on the Sabbath, some in chapels, others in their private houses. In going round Upolu I found twenty-five places which were of the Tongan *Lotu*. So that there were about 2,000 persons who called themselves of the Tongan *Lotu*. The first time I went round Savaii about 2,000 more came over to Christianity.' This was remarkable! Within six years a great spiritual work, self originated, self propagated, and self sustained, had spread from place to place, despite fierce local jealousies. Congregations had been formed, churches built, and societies instituted without a farthing of expense to the Methodist Church; a result unparalleled in the history of modern missions.

In 1834 the Tongan district took steps to improve the opportunity presented for introducing missionaries into Samoa, and appointed the Rev. Peter Turner to the charge of the work. This intrepid missionary had been wonderfully prepared, having passed through many trying experiences, and witnessed glorious triumphs in Tonga. Mr. and Mrs.

Turner left Vavau in January 1835. The voyage was perilous. On their way they called at Niua, and found much to do. Many became earnest seekers, among them being the king and queen. So earnest were they in hearing the Word that Mr. Turner declared they would sometimes repeat nearly the whole sermon. They left Niua in an American whaler, reaching Manono in June 1835. Mr. Turner was greatly surprised at the numerous applications for teachers. Of the 2,000 inhabitants of Satupaitea, two-thirds were Methodists. These accorded Mr. Turner a most enthusiastic welcome. Satupaitea was made the head of a new circuit, and the missionary and his wife resided there. And now began a work almost unprecedented. The Rev. Martin Dyson says: 'From 2,000 the converts quickly multiplied to 13,000. This marvellous work was accomplished in the short space of twenty months. During this time eighty churches were built in as many villages. Four thousand persons were distributed into 300 classes, and 1,000 teachers, who themselves had been newly taught to read, were busy as bees in the midst of 6,000 scholars, teaching them the wonderful lesson card and the art of reading.'

One would gladly avoid a subject which must now be considered if history is to be faithfully portrayed. For Methodism to have entered upon a work so auspiciously and to have succeeded so splendidly, and yet to-day to have only 6,000 people, calls for some explanation. In 1830, the Rev. John Williams, accompanied by the Rev. C. Barff, of the London Missionary Society, visited Samoa, leaving eight teachers. Six were stationed on Savaii, and two on Upolu. Those at Savaii were practically subservient to the chief Malietoa. When they tried to extend the sphere of their influence by separating, the chief said: 'My foreigners must not be scattered among other tribes.' They had to submit. Teava, one of these teachers, lived at Apai. He was ordained as an evangelist by the Rev. A. Buzacott at Avarua. With piety beyond reproach, and apt to teach, he undertook preaching

tours in many parts of the group, preparing the way for the European missionaries. After some years he returned, 'without one stain upon his Christian character, and possessing the highest testimonials from European missionaries to his devotedness, usefulness, and eminent piety.' Teava received Mr. and Mrs. Turner on their arrival at Apai, and entertained them for four months.

Two months later two L.M.S. missionaries came from the Society Islands to inspect the work of their teachers. In June 1836, six other missionaries came from England. They informed Mr. Turner that an agreement had been made between the Wesleyan Committee and the directors of the London Missionary Society that Samoa was to be the sphere of the London Missionary Society's operations, and Tonga and Fiji that of the Wesleyan Society. This was Mr. Turner's first intimation of such an agreement, and he determined to await instructions from his Committee. This is the history of the agreement. In 1830, when on their way to Samoa, Mr. Williams and Mr. Barff visited Tonga and had a conversation with the Revs. Nathaniel Turner and William Cross about the work and of a division of labour in Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji. Mr. Williams and Mr. Barff regarded this conversation as official, but not so Mr. Turner and Mr. Cross. It is difficult to see how two Methodist ministers could arrange such an important matter without consulting their brethren, and without the knowledge of the Synod. To the last Mr. Turner denied any such agreement. The Missionary Committee did not, apparently, consult its missionaries before deciding to abandon the mission.

Both parties overlooked the Samoans in this matter; and this neglect soon made itself felt. The Samoans are a proud race. To drive them, or to ignore their rights, is a grave mistake. They did not forget that the Wesleyan Church was the only Church that could claim to represent the Samoan people. The first Church of the London Missionary Society was not formed till 1837. The Tonga district in protesting

to the Committee against its decision, presented a statement of the case. The protest was considered with the following result: 'That Mr. P. Turner, and colleague or colleagues who may have subsequently joined him, are affectionately, but positively, required to relinquish forthwith their positions in the Navigators' Islands.' The missionaries did all in their power to induce the Samoans to accept the new arrangement. Mr. Turner introduced the missionaries of the older society to his Church; but unfortunately the people would not hear them; and all such attempts had to cease. A plot to detain Mr. Turner by force failed. The people offered to maintain the work without cost to the society; but the missionaries could do no other than be loyal to the authorities. They left for Tonga in June 1839, after destroying class-books and all records that could be construed into official recognition of the Methodists. They left a flourishing Church with 80 churches, 197 schools, 487 teachers, 6,345 scholars, 3,000 members, and 13,000 attendants on public worship.

In justice to the Samoans it should be said that they had formed a strong attachment to Mr. Turner, and they had close political relationships with Tonga. They said: 'Are not we Tongans and Samoans one people? Yes, we are, and we were one people before the *Lotu* came. And shall we be separated by the *Lotu*, or by our *Lotu* friends in England? No, no, never let it be thus! What do we know of Tahiti? What communications had the Tahitians with us or with Tonga? We only heard of Tahiti last night. It is not right that the good people should take away our missionary whom we cleave to, and make us unite with those whom we do not want, and whom we do not love. Our friends do not know how difficult Samoa is. We have not our king, but we all do what we please. Are there not many different sects in England? Then why should the people of England wish us to have only one here?'

As there was now no recognized Methodist Church in Samoa, the missionaries in Tonga kept themselves strictly

aloof from the doings of the people, who still called themselves Methodists. The proud Samoan spirit would not brook what had been done. Though the missionaries held aloof they could not but lament the course of events, and sympathize with Mr. Turner, whose heart was well-nigh broken. After his departure a meeting of chiefs was held on Manono, and several thousands attended. The following extract will show the temper of the people: 'At this meeting all our people resolve to continue as they were, Wesleyan Methodists; and they determined to petition King George to allow the Tonga men to remain, or to return to them, and also to supply them with more teachers from Tonga, until the king and the missionaries should write to the Committee. Surely, said they, our fathers in England will not disregard when all these write and when they shall know our minds.'

Meantime, they did the best they could, striving to maintain the means of grace; but each declension found them more determined to go their own way. In 1840 it was resolved to send three influential chiefs from Atua and Taumasaga as a deputation to King George and the missionaries. Most pathetic was the appeal; but no help was sent. The missionaries, however, had no power to prevent the king selecting a band of men and supplying them with canoes and provisions. Benjamin Latusele had charge of this band, which was accompanied by three chiefs. The king's instructions were as follows: 'Benjamin! The chiefs from Samoa have been here a long time; and perhaps since they left our people have joined the London Missionary Society. If you find it so upon your arrival, do not disturb them; but turn your canoe and sail again for Tonga. But if they have not united with them, you may remain and teach them.'

The party was enthusiastically received, and the Church sprang into newness of life. The Methodists of Savaii bestirred themselves, and a deputation so greatly influenced King George that he determined to visit the group. A vast concourse met him on Manono. It was unanimously deter-

mined to continue the Methodist Church as founded by Mr. Turner. When the king returned he wrote a letter to the London Committee recounting the history of the Church in Samoa, the struggle to maintain Methodism, the people's appeal to himself, and an account of his visit. This letter concluded thus: 'And now I most earnestly beg and beseech you, dear fathers, whom we greatly love, that you will, at length, untie the words that you have spoken, and again send out missionaries to Samoa; since you certainly could not have known the manners and customs of these lands. The friends in England are not able to change the minds of the people of Samoa or Tonga as to what religion they shall be of. It is true that by the teaching of your missionaries you have caused us to know and become worshippers of the true God, and with this we are well pleased, and have no wish to get any other. And it is exactly the same with Samoa. Continue, then, your love to us and to our children; and if there is anything wrong in this, fathers, I beg you to forgive it.'

The Committee could not entertain the king's request; but for a time the Church continued to flourish. In 1847 Benjamin Latusele visited Tonga. On the understanding that he return to Samoa to remove his goods and family, he was ordained to the ministry. He was the first native minister in connexion with the Methodist Church. Returning to Samoa for the purpose named, he was detained by force, his entreaties to be allowed to return to Tonga being in vain. Political divisions subsequently divided the people, and the numbers dwindled to 2,000.

In June 1855 a missionary breakfast was held in Sydney, the Rev. John Thomas of Tonga being present. His address on Samoa evoked much sympathy, and the Conference was petitioned to resume the mission. The South Sea Missions were now in charge of the Australasian Conference. Mr. Thomas was deputed to visit Samoa and to report to the Committee, the agent of the L.M.S. in Sydney being notified of the step taken. When Mr. Thomas' report was considered,

the following resolution was passed: 'That in the opinion of this meeting the arrangements made in the year 1837 between the London and Wesleyan Missionary Societies to leave the Navigators' Group entirely under the charge of the London Missionary Society have not answered the end designed; and learning from the report of the Rev. J. Thomas that serious evils have occurred, and are likely to be perpetuated and aggravated if Wesleyan missionaries are not immediately sent to meet the wants and wishes of the Wesleyan societies existing in those islands, we recommend that a missionary be appointed as soon as possible, and that the reasons for this decision be forwarded to the committees of the London and Wesleyan Missionary Societies.' In the letter to the London Missionary Society this passage occurs: 'Sectarian motives are out of the question. There are other fields more inviting than Samoa; and nothing but a sense of duty towards a remnant of our Church would induce us to entertain the question of a mission to these islands.'

Resuming the mission, the Tongan District Synod of 1856 selected seven of its most capable men and sent them to Samoa, with the tidings that a missionary would shortly be appointed. These men soon made their presence felt throughout Savaii, Manono, and Upolu. They found from 2,000 to 3,000 Methodists, the remnant of a Church 13,000 strong sixteen years before. At the point of spiritual death, they had not actually fallen back to heathen practices and idolatry; though, says the Rev. Martin Dyson, 'they were debased and ignorant to a proverb.' The Tongans passed from island to island organizing the forces of the Church, which soon sprang into vigorous activity. One authority declares: 'Nothing was wanting on their part in the revival of the dying embers; and if Methodism did not return to its former numerical strength and glory in the group it was not their fault.'

The Rev. Martin Dyson landed in Samoa in September 1857, together with another band of four Tongan teachers,

accompanied by the Rev. Thomas Adams, chairman of the Tonga district, as deputation. Friendly advances were made towards the L.M.S. missionaries, and before Mr. Adams left it was decided that the London Missionary Society's version of the Scriptures should be used by the Methodists; that no native teacher should conduct services in any village when a missionary of either society was doing so; and that there should be mutual recognition by both societies of the status of Church members. The orthography of Bible names was also agreed upon, and uniformity was established, tending to promote unity.

That this was not accomplished without strenuous opposition is shown by the following letter from the chiefs and people who considered these innovations: 'O Mr. Dyson, We, the chiefs and rulers of Salelologa, write this letter to you in order to inform you that we have brought our deliberations to an end. We are willing to accept the Holy Scriptures of the London Society and to read them, though we are poor in them. But O Mr. Dyson, we have no sympathy with the Ituaiga (London Society), whose customs you are introducing. We hold to the customs practised formerly by Mr. Turner. Our reason for this is that if we discontinue them the missionaries of the London Society will write to Britain saying that there is nothing left of Methodism in Samoa. O Mr. Dyson, do forgive; but we beg of you to defer to us. We are troubled on account of your associating with the missionaries of the London Society. Mr. Turner did not so associate with them formerly; but every one held fast to the customs of his own *lotu*. These are our views about it.'

This letter bears testimony to Mr. Dyson's administration so far as it affected the work of the two societies; and also to the abiding impression made by the Rev. Peter Turner. Mr. Dyson tried to conciliate the people with a view to union, but this was not possible. On the arrival of the Rev. John Thomas in 1858 it was determined to continue the mission. The report says: 'In many places our chapels are filled to

excess; nor would their behaviour have disgraced the most enlightened assemblies of Melbourne or Sydney . . . eight new chapels have been opened for divine service during the year, making the total number of chapels forty-three. . . . We have eighty preachers in these islands and 604 members.' Mr. Dyson, who, with his helpers, spent the greater part of 1858 in visiting the scattered Methodists, wrote: 'We were charmed with their munificent hospitality and hearty welcome everywhere. Every possible expression of joy kindled into life. Every village kept holiday while we remained, and resounded with gleesome songs.' The Tongan teachers were a most energetic advance guard, working without regard to order or method. Some joined the Church through dislike to the L.M.S., and some from novelty. Yet numbers were convinced of sin and soundly converted. These, with the remnant of Methodists, required the guidance of an organized Church.

In October 1858 a large meeting was held. 'Multitudes of chiefs and their attendants from all parts of Upolu and Savaii, east and west, came in boats and canoes with teachers and preachers.' The Tongans were examined and found efficient, and their stations determined. Later, seventy Samoan preachers were met. Some were self-appointed; others had been appointed by the Tongans. They were divided into orders: leaders, teachers, overseers, and public speakers; and nearly all were received on trial. The rules were read and accepted. Each member was to contribute a weekly sum in addition to gifts in kind for the support of the teacher. This rule raised difficulty at first, but was finally accepted. Four days after the opening of this important gathering, God signified His approval by the gift of the Holy Ghost. The re-advent in the group was also a blessing to the L.M.S.; for, whereas in 1856, before the resumption, it had 2,000 members and ten missionaries, in 1862, with fewer missionaries, its membership had risen to 4,200 and 3,245 on trial. Before the Methodists began to contribute in 1858, the

L.M.S. raised £510. In 1862 they contributed over £1,000. The first missionary meetings were held in 1859. They have been liberally maintained since.

The second Annual Meeting divided the group into thirteen branches, with a responsible catechist in charge. The native agents were supported by the members and by the produce of lands given for their use. The catechists and teachers, who had hitherto resided with the chiefs, were provided with residences, and separated from all employment which might hinder them in their special work. The year's report closes with this entry: 'The London Society's people and ours work together with much accord, and but very occasional jarring.' As early as 1859, the need for a Central District Training Institution was realized. The people offered land, and it was decided to begin the institution at Satupaitea. But it was not until 1863 that this was done. By the appointment of a second minister the institution became possible. In 1863 the Rev. George Brown began the work. The land was cleared, the students' houses built, and in March 1864 the new building was opened. There were sixteen students, ten of whom were married. The number quickly increased, new houses were built, and a stone school-house. It was found necessary eventually to remove the institution to Lufilufi, on the island of Upolu, where, in new and commodious premises, it now meets the needs of the district.

An understanding with the L.M.S. missionaries in regard to the Wesleyans and the Lord's Supper became necessary. Two plans were suggested. To empower the native agents to administer; or to request the L.M.S. missionaries to permit the Methodists to partake with their people. The latter course was adopted. The reply to Mr. Dyson's request stated: 'We agree to do so, provided the parties in question are furnished with a certificate and make their application in the usual way to the missionary or native pastor.' Few availed themselves of the privilege, as the plan did not gain favour. The provision, however, stands as evidence of the

desire of the missionaries to work amicably. Another question which called for early attention was the reception of members of one church by the other. While there must be no proselytism, a work delighted in by the native agents of both societies, personal liberty must not be restricted. Those expelled from one society must not be received by the other without inquiry and consultation with the society which expelled them. Each society reserved to itself the right to accept such applicants if the motives were pure and the character satisfactory. Controversy arose over this question; but having carefully read the records, we are convinced that the Methodist missionaries abstained from proselytizing, and sought also to restrain their native agents.

The station sheet for 1860 records for the first time the name of the Rev. George Brown. The Samoans welcomed Mr. Brown with great enthusiasm, and their joy was great. The new missionary had special linguistic gifts, and in a few weeks he began to preach. In 1857 very few could read. In 1862 there were 936 who could read the Scriptures, 371 who could write, and 237 who could cypher. The attendants numbered 4,879, and the members 1,148. In 1862 Samoa became a separate district, as the missionaries in Samoa were unable to attend the Synod in Tonga. Martin Dyson was the chairman of the district, and the stations were: Manono and Falealili: Martin Dyson, Alfred Rigg; Satupaitea, George Brown. The extent of the circuit was about 100 leagues. One fourth was meeting in class. The contributions for the year were £304 11*s*. 8*d*., the aggregation of about 4,000 donations, or more than 1*s*. 6*d*. each. This was in addition to the support of the teachers. The work was advancing on a flowing tide. The circuit was divided. The Manono and Upolu circuit was 130 miles in circumference, and the people were scattered. The population was about 16,000, 1,800 of whom were Methodists. The Rev. Alfred Rigg was also appointed to this circuit. The Savaii circuit included the large island of Savaii, and was certainly too large for one man to supervise, when

his presence was continually needed at the head station or in the Training Institution.

The arrival of Mr. Rigg was the cause of great joy; and it was evidence of the determination to maintain the work in strength. It was decided to station Mr. Rigg at Falealili, where he arrived in January 1863. In March a sad bereavement overtook the young people in the death of their infant boy, and Mrs. Rigg's health failing, they left for Sydney in June. Writing of this event, Mr. Dyson says: 'A chilling cold from this time benumbed our native teachers, and a general impression went out that our work now would soon come to an end. Confidence was shaken, and the mission drooped. The busy tongues of tale-bearers found both warp and woof for their stories, and our cause fell in public estimation everywhere. Our new missionary's removal was a mystery to the Methodists. They feared, and the opinion grew, that it was owing to want of sympathy with their cause. This spread like fire under the active fans of those who wished it so. Samoan Methodism thus sprang a leak at the time when we thought it was most seaworthy.'

Mr. Dyson penned those lines while suffering from depression caused by the early removal of a colleague when he was most needed. The annual returns showed a decrease of 130 members and of 194 attendants, but the two succeeding years more than recovered the loss. The incident, however, shows how easily a young Church, unable to forget a previous abandonment, may misunderstand and suffer loss. But other causes were at work. War broke out; and war has ever been the enemy of God's work on the mission field. In addition, a severe hurricane devastated the country; gaunt famine stalked through the group; and an epidemic of whooping-cough caused great mortality, especially among the children. But in the midst of wreck, ruin, and epidemic, the people contributed the sum of £233. In 1864 Mr. Dyson was appointed to Tonga. He had laboured well for a period of eight years, building up the people from a disorganized condition to an

effective Church. His record is deserving of permanent place in history.

The Rev. George Brown now became chairman of the district, holding the position till 1874. Mr. Brown wrote in 1867: 'We were much encouraged by the conduct of our people in Satupaitea during the war. They resolutely refused to fight, and tried all they possibly could to avoid doing so. Day after day they continued their work of building our stone chapel, whilst all the villages around prepared to attack them, and they only took up arms to defend themselves after every other means had failed. It was a sad day to us when we saw our people attacked, and heard the rattle of musketry, the sound of the war drums, and the exulting cries of men engaged in deadly strife in our once peaceful village, and in close proximity to our home. It was sadder still to see borne past us the headless and mangled bodies of men among whom we had lived and laboured for so long a time, and some of whom we had learned to respect and love; and saddest of all to think of so many called from the din and excitement of battle and savage conflict to stand before the Judgement-seat of Him who ruleth over the kingdoms of the earth.'

Let that pitiful statement show the circumstances under which work was done in Samoa from 1866 to 1871, when peace was established, though the political situation was far from satisfactory, and fears were entertained for the future. These fears were justified. Next year war broke out again; and after a time of fierce anger and devastation the leading chiefs agreed upon a code of laws. The United States Government being appealed to to annex the group or to establish a Protectorate, Colonel Steinberger was sent to inquire into the capabilities of the country and the desires of the people. His presence encouraged the idea that peace would be permanently established by annexation. But that not being realized, the people formed a native Government, with Colonel Steinberger as Premier. Both Great Britain

and Germany became involved, and the new Government had a difficult time. Intertribal war broke out in 1877. The Government forces acted in a brutal manner; for when they arrived at the disaffected villages in the Faasalaleaga district, where they found only women, children, and a few old people, they wantonly destroyed property and looted the place, even going so far as to exhume the dead and cast their remains into water-holes. The native teachers were beaten and robbed of their property. Anarchy prevailed, and the work suffered.

Matters went from bad to worse, and many lives were lost. The worst passions were aroused, and the war uprooted much good, until an agreement between Great Britain, Germany, and the United States divided the group between the two latter, and peace came to the distracted people. From that time the Churches gradually recovered lost ground, and are again in a flourishing condition. Honour is due to the successors of these first pioneers, the Revs. F. Firth, J. S. Austin, J. W. Wallis, James Mathieson, J. W. Collier, A. H. Carne, and M. Bembrick. Concerning the attitude of the Government towards mission work, the Rev. E. G. Neil, writing in 1908, said: 'Our people are blessed with an excellent Government. The Imperial German Government, as administered by His Excellency Dr. Solf, is of the freest and fairest kind; and it may be reasonably said that no foreign power does more to help and conserve the interests of a native race than the Government of Samoa.'

The work in Samoa could not have been so expeditiously and efficiently accomplished without the aid of the Tongan teachers and a fine body of Samoans. Writing of the Samoans in 1892, the Rev. J. W. Collier said: 'We desire to bear testimony to the willing and loyal assistance of our native agents. Whatever success has attended our work in this circuit is due very largely to their earnest and self-denying labours. They have consecrated their lives and their all to God, and He alone knows how loyally they have

kept their consecration vows. In thinly populated districts, ill-paid and hard-worked, they are wearing themselves out in the blessed work they love so well. On the field of battle, surrounded by carnage and blood, inspired by a holy rivalry, they have ministered to the physical wants and spiritual necessities of the suffering and dying, and everywhere and always they are making full proof of their ministry.' Equally valuable testimony is borne by all the missionaries. The grace of God can maintain in steadfast and patient endurance the proud, fickle, and sensitive Samoan. Concerning the band of Tongans, one or two typical cases may be given.

Benjamin Latusele was sent by King George to Samoa in 1841 in charge of a mission party. Amid many difficulties and privations he ably directed the affairs of the deserted Methodists until 1847. The Rev. Thomas West, who knew Benjamin, said: 'The missionaries who knew Latusele best, had looked upon him as one whom God had specially called to the work of the Christian ministry. Benjamin Latusele underwent many trials, and experienced not a few remarkable deliverances. One instance may be given. While preparing to leave one of the villages where he had been preaching, he was waylaid by a Samoan chief to whom he had given some offence. Latusele was accompanied by a young man, his adopted son, with whom he was about to take a seat in the small canoe which had borne them to the village, when the aggrieved chief rushed upon them, and, levelling his gun towards Latusele, was about to fire, when the latter coolly called out: "Stop! If you shoot me, well and good for me, I shall go at once to heaven; but remember that will not be the end of it. God will require my blood at your hands." He stood still, eyeing his enemy, and expecting every minute to be fired upon; but the words uttered and the calm attitude assumed seemed to arrest the hand of his intended murderer. The muzzle of the gun dropped; but he rushed frantically towards the young man in the canoe and dealt several tremendous blows about his

head with the butt end of the musket before Latusele could possibly interfere. Thinking he had killed the youth, the heathen chief made off, leaving Latusele to paddle homeward with the apparently lifeless body of his young companion. God's servant was thus singularly preserved; and the lad, notwithstanding the severity of his wounds, subsequently recovered. Latusele continued to labour earnestly and successfully among the Samoans, although he never received a penny of salary from the Wesleyan mission funds while he continued there, until his failing health compelled the Samoans to relinquish their firm hold upon him, and to permit his return to the Friendly Islands for the prolongation of his life.'

Barnabas Ahogalu went to Samoa with the Rev. Peter Turner in 1835. At that time he was an ardent and successful missionary. He was a strong, rugged man, and stood like a rock unmoved in the midst of storms. When word was sent from Tonga that all teachers must retire from Samoa or quietly join the L.M.S., he did the latter, hoping to promote peace; but finding the new sphere uncongenial, he returned to his home in Tonga. When the Samoan mission was re-opened he volunteered, and landed there in 1857. He had great influence with men. It is written of him that 'young men who would despise an order from others would go at once at his bidding. His opinions were weighty and strongly fortified by shrewd observation and strong common sense. He was a fearless enemy of vice and ungodliness. His reproofs were often caustic with satire, and burn and blacken the fair deceiver whom he brands. He was somewhat sensuous in his preaching, but excelled in prayer, and made a model native minister and pastor.' In April 1881 he was taken ill; and on May 9 he passed peacefully home in the seventy-first year of his age. On his monument is inscribed: 'This stone is erected by some of his fellow labourers, and others who knew and loved him well; for he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and faith.'

We have space for one sample only of Samoan teachers. Daniela Maposua spent many years in Tonga and Samoa before Mr. Turner's arrival. When Mr. Turner left, he followed him to Tonga, where he was again employed. On the resumption of the mission he went with Mr. Dyson as a catechist, and through the stormy times that followed he was a strong supporter of righteousness and a staunch defender of Methodism in his own land. The end came in 1867, nearly forty years after his entrance on the work of God. The Samoans dislike dying away from their people; but Daniela overcame that objection, saying to those who wished to take his body to his native village: 'If you have any love to me, let me die at my post. I will make an end of my appointment here at Neiafu.' To his son and daughters he said: 'If you love me, follow me and meet me above; keep fast hold of the Word of God.' When his family earnestly requested that they might take his body home for burial, he said: 'No, bury me near the chapel, and don't build a great tomb over me; let it be just a little above the sand, that my brethren, when they come to preach, may say: "There lies Daniela."'

Every one who goes to Samoa must incur dangers by sea. There were no motor-boats, men were thankful to have a good whale-boat; but most frequently they had to travel in native-made craft and canoes. For hours in the blazing sun, tossed by surging seas, drenched by driving spray, they went about their work. At such places as Suisui, where currents meet and where no protecting reef gives calm water; where the frowning cliffs did constant warfare with league-long rollers, which, by their fierceness, dug deep caverns into the rocky barrier, the men were in constant peril. Only the consciousness that He who calmed the storm on Galilee was with them in the storm-tossed deep gave courage and strength. The missionaries who have been in Samoa could tell of perils by land and sea which only love enabled them to overcome.

One of the first benefits to a heathen people by the preaching of the gospel is the bringing in of peace. The people are quick to appreciate that; and though a few turbulent spirits may attempt to prolong the agonies of war, the people generally rejoice in the establishment of political and tribal tranquillity. The great trophy of war in Samoa was the head of the slain. When Mr. W. T. Pritchard entered Apia harbour in the early sixties, this is what he saw: 'As we rounded the bend of the reef to enter the anchorage, we saw in the distance a fleet of eighteen canoes, a novel and pretty sight, sailing from the eastward before the trade wind which had now set in. Soon after the anchor was down the canoes rounded the point that shelters the harbour. On the bow of each canoe was a warrior, whose blackened face and oiled body glistened in the morning sun, shouting vociferously and whirling his club over his head, and dancing and jumping about with the most extraordinary antics. At his feet lay the head of a man he had slain, and the gallant warrior was himself proclaiming his own prowess and daring, and the pedigree of the enemy whose head was the trophy he exhibited. The canoes, each with a dozen paddles, moved slowly round the harbour and between the vessels, to display their bleeding trophies to the gaze of the crowd of natives on the beach and the wondering crews that stood on the decks of the ships. This was my first introduction to the Samoans.' A revolting sight, surely! Seen in the proud and boastful panoply of war, as viewed by Mr. Pritchard, there is a horribly fascinating glamour about the display; but to dwell in the villages, amid the sordid and murderous degradation of the people, is to become nauseated and weary, and, but for the grace of God, nerve and heartbroken.

When the missionary went to Samoa the redress of injury was the private business of the injured, and the avenging of death by violence was the duty of the nearest relative. The actual murderer might escape, and an innocent relative fall

a victim to the spear or club of the avenger. Thus whole communities were in dread after a murder. To end this reign of terror was the work of the missionary. Where there is no strong Government to back up his efforts it is not easily accomplished. It must be done by moral suasion. Caught between two fires as he endeavoured to avert war, the peacemaker had sometimes to take care of himself. The mission house was usually the place of refuge for the women and children, and here the wounded were delivered. Mothers wept for slain sons, widows newly made wept for husbands, and scenes the most heartrending were witnessed. To persuade the victorious party to spare the homes and lives of their victims was attempting to snatch the lamb from the mouth of the lion. Yet it had to be done. He who sent them to preach and teach, and promised to be with them, kept His word; and out of weakness made His servants strong, until war became hateful, and the blessings of peace were prized as richer far than the spoils of war.

The history of missions in the South Seas affords abundant proof that the pioneers understood the value of thrusting upon the people their full measure of responsibility, and of inculcating the spirit of independence. It is easy to tax the people at home on behalf of the infant Church, and difficult to lead the mission Church into ways of self-support. There is danger that the easier course will be taken, to the harm of the young Church and the deprivation of other heathen communities. In 1861 the first missionary meeting was held on Savaii. It had been the boast of the people that no claim had been made for the support of the gospel; but Mr. Dyson held that this was bad. The meeting was held at Vaega. An immense crowd attended. When the collection was to be taken a chief said: 'These meetings are novel and unprecedented movements. The rulers do not approve of them, and have therefore absented themselves.' There was difficulty in getting the assembly to agree to the innovation. The collection was £3 7*s*. 8*d*.

From that time the missionaries have given earnest attention to the matter of self-support and self-government, with a view to producing a sturdy type of character. Their efforts have not been without success, for in 1912 the work was more than self-supporting, and large plans are now under consideration for the consolidation and strengthening of the mission.

In common with the islands of the South Seas, Samoa is now passing through a transition stage. Each generation sees the old order changing, giving place to the new. This is the law of growth. Without such a process originally, good customs would eventually corrupt the world. But the transition through which the inhabitants of the South Seas are now passing differs from that of the ordinary and gradual development of Christian Europe. Civilization has suddenly laid its hands upon Polynesians and Melanesians unprepared by previous experience and training; and there is risk to them and to the cause of God.

The Rev. E. E. Crosby, B.A., a former missionary to Tonga, who visited Samoa and Tonga in 1910, puts the case very forcefully: 'These natives are now on their road to Christian manhood, and that path is hard and testing enough in itself, and in the difficulties and temptations that are incident thereto. But, unfortunately, the problem is yet more seriously complicated by difficulties that have been thrust upon them from outside, and to-day the question is: Will these infant Churches be able to hold their own by the grace of God and the help of the missionaries, or will they fail where Sardis and Laodicea failed, and where our own modern Church life is so weak? For one thing, the inrush of commerce has exposed them to all the temptations of the money god; they are leaving their simple life far behind, and are indulging in European houses, food, clothing, boats, &c. . . . Never was the missionary's fostering care and enlightening instruction more needed than to-day. For the present generation does not realize what it has escaped

from, and so it cannot realize its debt to the *lotu*. On the other hand, it is in imminent danger of being so caught by the glamour of material prosperity that it will become dead to things spiritual. Thus the missionary finds on these mission fields the very difficulties we are confronted with in Australia; only they are accentuated there, because the natives are new to these things, and more easily caught by them. . . . They are in a most difficult and yet most interesting stage of development, and we must stand by them for some time to come, if the toil of the past is to reach its consummation, and these "babes in Christ" are to become full-grown men.'

This makes it clear that the task confronting the missionaries in Samoa will tax to the utmost their patience, tact, and resources. The German Government helps all mission work. It behoves each of the societies to plan wisely and work strenuously to promote the best interests of their people, by affording them every possible educational advantage, and such industrial training as will develop the natural resources of their country on the lines of their racial aptitudes. The incoming hordes of Chinese are now creating a problem which must be solved. The Methodist Church should be prepared to take her full share of this work, facing the difficulty in its early stages, lest the same perplexity overtake her as now exists in the Indian work in Fiji. The course of legislation in regard to Chinese coolies needs to be closely watched, and every opportunity seized to protect the Samoans and save the Chinese.

The love of the Samoan for the Word of God affords solid ground for faith in his ultimate triumph over adverse circumstances. The Bible is the chief text-book in the schools, and from early years the people are thoroughly instructed in its teachings. It is the treasure of the aged. In the early morning its pages are scanned, and at night it is carefully read. In times of danger it is their strength. The writer cannot forget a Samoan teacher sitting with his

family one night in New Britain calmly reading the Word, while excited, wild men surged around the frail house. To the Samoan Christian there is no book like it. It is his first and his last message, the great record of God's greater love. The Samoan version is the most perfect translation of all the South Sea versions. The missionaries of the London Missionary Society have conferred a great boon upon the people. Some Methodist missionaries bore an honourable part in connexion therewith. It is a monument to their scholarship and zeal. The Church possesses a limited amount of other literature; but efforts are being made to augment it. The life of a missionary leaves little time for study; and until the Church provides a library of good general books the people must lag behind in those branches of knowledge which add to effective life. United action is needed for the purpose of feeding the growing mental life. Better the Church do this, than that it fall to the lot of men with little sympathy with religious truth.

The outlook is bright with promise, despite the evils which threaten. There is no variance between the two societies. They are a mutual benefit and help. Their resources and energies are devoted to the promotion of the highest interests of the people. An understanding exists with regard to matters common to both; and there is a brotherliness which makes for the advancement of the Master's kingdom. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the spiritual condition of both Churches never stood higher than now. The Methodists love their Church, which gives promise of great usefulness.

CHAPTER IV

NEW BRITAIN

By BENJAMIN DANKS

Sydney; Pioneer Missionary to New Britain

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

Names—History—Brown—Fijian teachers—Physical features—People —Pioneer mission work—First churches—Amimo Bale—Martyrs—Kabakada — Danks—Workers — Feeling after God — German government — Literature — Translation — Education— Industrial work — Plantation — Giving — German workers—Cannibalism—Effects of Gospel—Providence—Present conditions—Wanted.

CHAPTER IV

NEW BRITAIN

The islands of New Britain, or the Bismarck Archipelago, lie between the equator and 8° south and from 150° east to the coast of German New Guinea. Since 1884 they have been under German government. Rabaul, the capital, is at the head of Simpson's Harbour. The two main islands are New Britain (Neu Pommern) and New Ireland (Neu Meelslenburgh), separated by St. George's Channel, in the middle of which lies the Duke of York group (Neu Lauenburgh). The other islands are: the Admiralties, New Hanover, St. Matthias, Sandwich, Gardiner, Gerrit Denys, St. John's, Sir Charles Hardy, Fischer, the Kaan group, Fead, Butsa, and Bougainville. The two latter are important islands in the German Solomon group. They are included in the New Britain Mission.

The history of these groups began in 1617, when William Cornelius Schouten sailed down the east coast of New Ireland, quickly followed by Tasman, Dampier, Carteret, D'Entrecasteaux, Bougainville, and others. The information in their publications was so meagre, that when the Australian Board of Missions issued its circular in 1874 all that could be said was thus stated: 'We are not able to give much information concerning the islands, for the reason that so little is known. At a few points some intercourse has been held with Europeans; and we know of two or three places in each of which a solitary trader has resided for a time; but they have taken their departure. A glance at the chart will show that little has been done to facilitate navigation. The large islands are bold and mountainous. On New Britain there are vol-

canoes in a state of activity. Most of the islands appear to be very fertile, and to abound in tropical vegetation. We believe that these islands are occupied by people of the Papuan and Malayan races. As to their moral condition, we are sure they are not innocent and pure; but testimony accuses them of cannibalism and cruelty. We conjecture that they will be found in a state very similar to that of the inhabitants of Fiji forty years ago. We are informed that the population is large, the abundance of food and the contiguity of these islands to New Guinea leading us to believe that our information is correct. This, then, is our contemplated field of labour —extensive, populous, and yet compact. It possesses another recommendation, that, so far as we are able to ascertain, it has never yet been visited by any Christian Church; its inhabitants have never yet heard the Glad Tidings. We cannot, therefore, be charged with building upon other men's foundations.'

He who inspired the desire for advance also provided the man in the Rev. George Brown. Mr. Brown met the Board of Missions on September 9, 1874. After listening to his address, a manifesto was issued. The manifesto said that there existed a strong desire for a new mission enterprise; that the time had arrived when such work should be undertaken; that the mission vessel, *John Wesley,* should pay a visit of inquiry to the islands of New Britain and New Ireland; that a deputation, accompanied by native ministers from Fiji, Samoa, and Tonga, should go; and that the influential chiefs should be visited, and native agents settled in suitable places. This appeal fired the imagination, and opened the way for the advocacy of the proposal. It was publicly announced in Ballarat, Victoria; and the Rev. J. J. Watsford was elected secretary of the movement. The first public meeting was held in Lydiard Street Church, on September 21, 1874. Meetings were also held in Mount Pleasant and Barkley Street churches, and it was resolved to organize the movement and prepare a statement for circulation, containing the substance of Mr. Brown's address, together with estimates of the cost of the

trip of the *Wesley*. The mission was enthusiastically taken up in all the Conferences. Mr. Henry Reed, of Launceston, donated a steam launch costing £500, which Mr. Brown named after the donor. It was of great service in the pioneer days.

A mission not responsible for discoveries concerning the resources of God is not likely to make a conspicuous mark on the history of the Church. The New Britain Mission failed not in this respect. It was the first mission initiated by the Australian Methodist Church, and it afforded an opportunity to test the converts of the older missions under difficult and deadly circumstances. At the end of April 1875 Mr. Brown left Sydney for New Britain, via Fiji, Samoa, and Rotumah. In the first group an epidemic of measles had run its devastating course, carrying off one-third of the Fijians. Though the district deeply felt the need of all its teachers it passed the following resolution: 'In our opinion Mr. Waterhouse (the chairman of the district) will be justified in placing at the Rev. George Brown's disposal such of the students, married or otherwise, whose superintendents may have given their consent, and whom he considers to be suitable.' Six married and three single men were selected. Joeli Bulu gave these volunteers some excellent and cheering advice. The Government who closely questioned and informed them of the sickness, perils, and want that probably awaited them, asked if, in view of these circumstances, they still wished to go.

Amimo Bale replied that they knew what awaited them; nothing had been hidden by the missionaries, concluding his noble address in these words: 'We have fully considered this matter in our hearts; and if we die, we die; and if we live, we live.' Each one signed a document declaring that he understood the nature of the work for which he had volunteered, and that he went of his free will. On June 15 the party left Fiji for Samoa, arriving on the 30th. Two married Samoans joined the party, and in a few days the ship sailed for Rotumah. The Rev. William Fletcher, the

resident missionary, who was waiting an opportunity to return to Sydney, decided to do so, via New Britain. They left the island July 31, and dropped anchor in Port Hunter, Sunday, August 15, 1875.

New Britain, the main island, crescent in shape, is 400 miles long, having an average width of 50 miles. New Ireland, lying NW. and SE., like a long bow slightly bent, is 200 miles long, with an average width of 12 miles. The Duke of York group is spread over a sea area of 15 by 20 miles, and consists of thirteen islands, mostly inhabited. Around the coasts of New Britain and New Ireland are islands, some carrying a large population. To the north of New Ireland lie the New Hanover and the Admiralties groups. As one passes along the coasts of the occupied part of these islands to-day and sees the large coco-nut plantations and the evidences of civilization, he can form no idea of the wild grandeur and beauty which met the view of the mission party. The tangled mass of vegetation came down to the water's edge. Behind this brilliantly dark-green fringe lay open country, on which a coarse, sedge-like grass grew tall, strong, and sharp-edged.

To pass through forest or grass was no easy matter. The former was an interlaced mass of trees, thomes, and creeping vines, with the narrowest of foot tracks through mud and slush; for the land was never dry. The forest was steamy hot, and at times suffocating; while the rough, saw-like edges of the grass were a source of irritation, with its sharp needle-points swaying in the breeze. The wild boar, the curious cassowary, ground fowl of great variety, the wallaby and the couscous, non-venomous snakes and lizards in great variety abounded. Overhead the parrots screamed; the hornbull and the pigeon found a home in the tree-tops. Gorgeous butterflies flitted to and fro; while spiders, centipedes, and scorpions were everywhere. The land was full of hissing, buzzing, screaming life promoted and sustained by the warm, moist atmosphere, creating a fauna which crowded every nook. The land was mountainous and rugged, bold in outline, and

difficult to traverse. Water was abundant, especially on the coasts of New Ireland. Good harbours were not numerous; Blanche Bay, on the Gazelle Peninsula, being the most commodious and safe, except Kawieng in the north of New Ireland.

The people were Melanesians of a black, chocolate colour, with frizzly hair growing in matted, thin curls, which sometimes hung down to the shoulders. They dressed the hair with lime or red-coloured earth; or, when mourning for the dead, with black pigment made from scented grass tinder and coco-nut oil. In personal cleanliness there was much to be desired; and yet their grounds were scrupulously clean. Of clothing they were innocent, old and young of both sexes generally being nude. In some districts the women wore a small apron. They lived in isolated groups, and were so long divided that villages near each other had developed a dialect. Continually at war, they went in constant dread of death. Superstitious in the extreme, demons, witches, and wizards made their lives miserable. Their houses, when newly built, were neat, compact, and picturesque; but they were made to render long service, so that villages often presented a dilapidated and miserable appearance. The women who did most of the work soon became haggard and old-looking. The children were bright, merry, and uncared for save in the customs of the people. Canoes were neatly made, and of fair capacity. New Ireland had a craft like a whale boat; but it did not offer encouragement to a European. The war weapons consisted of the spear, battle-axe, club (made from water-worn boulders, ingeniously attached to a long handle), and the sling.

The first task was to provide accommodation for the native helpers. An old sailor, Jack Holmes, volunteered to remain with Mr. Brown, and his offer was gladly accepted. He rendered excellent service, and was a staunch friend. On Sunday the people came to the ship, and soon a friendly understanding existed. That afternoon the first service was

held on deck. Mr. Brown determined to stay with the teachers. It was at first intended that they should be left in selected stations. Monday was spent in searching for a site for a mission house, and Kinawanua, the northern promontory of Port Hunter, was selected and bought. In a few days a house was erected, and in this the stores were packed, together with the mission party and their luggage. A trip to the mainland was made in the *Wesley*, various places being visited. On September 6 she hove anchor and left for Sydney, the party watching her disappear round Waira Point with mixed feelings. The pioneers were left face to face with their herculean task.

When the time came for stationing the teachers, and the call for volunteers was made, every man answered: 'Here am I, send me.' Ratu Livai, a chief, who had left all, and Peni Caumea, another Fijian, were appointed to open the fight with heathenism at Nodup, on the mainland of New Britain. Under the direction of Tobula, the chief, a good house in a fine position was erected for the teachers, and their welcome, though boisterous, was kindly and assuring. They took possession on October 12, two months after the advent of the party. This station passed through many vicissitudes, the men having endured dangerous and trying experiences.

The first service was held on New Ireland at Kalil, on December 5. The people attended fully armed, many of their spears being adorned at the back end with a human thigh bone. The service was conducted in 'pidgin' English. Pauliasi Bunoa was appointed to this place, with Elimotama Ravono. Concerning his early experiences, Pauliasi Bunoa told me the following: 'Those were hard and trying days; we were much afflicted. The people looked at us in wonder, and did not understand our speech and work. They were suspicious too, and at times would neither sell nor give us food. Many days have my family and I been hungry and could get nothing to eat; and no one would assist me to build my house or plant my food without being heavily paid. There

was no love in their hearts to us; and many weary, anxious, hungry days we passed through.'

On January 28 the first church was opened at Kinawanua; and on March 18 the first at Kalil, on New Ireland. The work rapidly spread. The *Wesley* returned to Port Hunter on August 10, bringing six teachers and one native minister, the Rev. Sailasa Naucukidi. The Rev. Eroni Fotofili also came, being deputed by the Rev. F. Langham, chairman of the Fiji district, to interview the teachers and report upon their work. Making arrangements for the carrying on of the work, Mr. Brown left for Sydney. The Board passed a resolution appreciative of his work. A gloom was occasioned by the sudden death of Eroni Fotofili while ascending the mission office steps. Nobly did these teachers respond to the trust reposed in them. For patient endurance they rank among the foremost missionaries of the Church. Space permits of a few representative types only.

Who can forget Amimo Bale? Under him great victories were won. His life told powerfully on the life of wild Molot and Duke of York. He took charge of the town when there was not a Christian in it. When he left there was not a heathen. He was a father to the children, a trusted leader to the young people, and a brother beloved to the old. His sufferings and losses are recorded in the 'book of remembrance.' Migieli, a man of Christ-like patience, occupied Waira, a place of murderers, liars, and thieves. He was despoiled of his goods, his plantation was robbed, and he was treated with derision. When we sympathized with him he said: 'Wait awhile, sir, they will know better soon. At present they are ignorant, but light will come to them, and then it will be different.' So he worked and waited until, worn to the shadow of his former self, he left for Fiji on furlough. But he died on the way. Eroni was brave, strong, and great-hearted. Pain, hunger, or sickness could not daunt him. His work, and always his work, was his first thought. Frequently brought in a frail canoe across the stormy channel

to the head station, apparently at the last gasp, he impatiently awaited a measure of health, and then insisted upon returning to work. 'What will my children in the Lord do without me?' was his constant plea.

Peni Raievolui did much good on the Kininiqunan coast. He passed away upon his knees, crying: 'Jesus! Jesus!' Anasa Rakabo, at Raluana, endured the contradiction of the heathen, and was content to toil though little fruit appeared. Ratu Livai dwelt first at Nodup, a difficult place, and then at Matupit, an island dark and cruel as death. The fruit of his labours may still be seen in the changed lives of many Matupit people. Misieli, a Samoan, won admiration by his calm bravery. One day he rushed between two contending parties, regardless of flying spears and sling stones, and, by entreaty, put an end to the fight. When spears were poised and words were threatening, Misieli stepped in front of the writer, offering his body as a shield. Mesaki Bahulu, Hafoka, Sositeni, Malato, and a host of others crowd upon the mind —good men who held not their lives dear in the interests of the Saviour's kingdom.

Mr. Brown returned in August 1877. He found that the work had not been prosecuted as he hoped during his absence. Only three appointments had been observed, the other teachers and the native minister having remained at Molot. That was immediately rectified, and the large house brought from Sydney was soon erected. The native minister was taken to Kabakada, the largest native town on New Britain. Ratavul was also occupied. There were now seven stations on Duke of York, eleven on New Britain, and five on New Ireland. The army of martyrs was now to receive recruits from New Britain. On Sunday, October 3, 1875, Amimo Bale preached to his fellow workers, when he related some of the trials of faith and patience endured by the early missionaries in Fiji. He concluded: 'You say, "What about us? We live in a heathen land and have no trials; the people don't hate us, and we have plenty to eat, and we sleep in peace

night after night. Where is there any trial experienced by us?" Well, I say to you, *malua* (wait a while), *malua*, our turn will come. God's Word is true, and we shall be hated yet. Wait awhile till you know the language. Wait awhile till you have to reprove these men for their sins. Wait awhile till you begin to preach repentance. Wait awhile till you reprove their pride. Wait awhile till you preach the Cross of Christ, and your turn will come.' This man was no false prophet.

On April 8, 1878, a native reported to Mr. Brown that the hill people above Blanche Bay had killed and eaten Sailasa, the native minister, and three young Fijians who had gone with him. It was also reported that the widows and children were in danger, and it devolved upon Mr. Brown to devise means for their rescue. The next day the story was confirmed by Ratu Livai, who had escaped with another party. Sailasa and Ratu Livai had agreed to meet at a certain place inland, the former going from Kabakada, the latter from Raluana. Sailasa's party was suddenly set upon and killed. Ratu Livai's party suspected treachery and, starting back to the beach, reached home safely. The story of what followed, the means taken to save the widows and children of the murdered men and other teachers whose lives were endangered, is told at length by Dr. Brown in his *Autobiography*. I was waiting in Sydney to sail for New Britain when news of this massacre arrived. It caused a great commotion throughout the community, and vividly brought to mind the condition of the people and the nature of the work. It also roused much interest in the mission, and drew out many hearts in prayer.

On December 2, 1878 we stepped ashore at Port Hunter. By sunrise I was busy on the steam launch, which was out of repair, and in a couple of hours we towed the *Wesley* to anchorage. The Board of Missions directed that the new house, the materials for which were aboard, should be built near the first house. It was soon apparent that to do so would be a mistake. There was not sufficient scope for two men at

Port Hunter, and the need of oversight in New Britain was urgent. In a few days we were steaming along the shores from Birara Point, round Blanche Bay and away to Kabakada, looking for the best site. It was decided that we should build at Kabakada, the town from which Sailasa and his companions went forth to meet death six months previously.

On Sunday December 8, the first converts were baptized by Mr. Brown. The large church at Molot was crowded, and many stood at the doorways and windows. Not a few were fully armed with spears, tomahawks, slings and guns. The following week was occupied in landing materials for the new house. All was bustle and confusion; but we were received kindly, and the work went swiftly forward. The author of *Wanderings in a Wild Country,* who was in the group at that time, wrote: 'Junior Mission House Point is the north-eastern point of Kabakada, and is now distinguished by a mission house that has lately been erected here for the residence of the junior white missionary. It is rather a warm corner for him though, having Tarlily on one side and a chief called Bulilie on the other, who is anything but a true friend of the mission.' How 'warm a corner' none but ourselves know!

The house was ready by the end of April; but Mr. Brown's health was so shattered that he was forced to leave for Australia. As there was room for one passenger only on the small steamer, Mrs. Brown and her three children remained, and we resided together in the Kinawanua house. As we said farewell I had little hope that we should meet again. During Mr. Brown's absence sickness, sorrow, and death came upon us. Two of his children died under most distressing circumstances. Mrs. Danks and I were much reduced by severe attacks of fever; while most of the teachers and their wives suffered from the same cause. There were wars and epidemics among the people, cannibalism and cruelty all around, and it seemed as though the forces of heathen rage had been let loose upon our party. In addition, some unscrupulous whites arrayed themselves against us because we

resisted their method of securing labour for Queensland and elsewhere. Through all this trouble Mrs. Brown moved like a ministering angel; her resignation and bravery are still an inspiration. Mr. Brown returned in March 1880, finding progress in every department. We resided at Kabakada till January 1881, when Mr. Brown finally left the mission amid the weeping of many to whom he and Mrs. Brown had been the messengers of God.

It is not possible to follow in detail the progress of the mission. Six months after the departure of Mr. Brown the Rev. I. Rooney, who had been appointed to the district as chairman, arrived. Mrs. Rooney had died at the Solomon Islands on their way down. This necessitated our remaining on Duke of York. At the latter end of 1882 sickness compelled us to return to the colonies on furlough. During our absence the Rev. R. H. Rickard arrived, and began a successful career. Mr. Rooney was soon forced, through sickness, to visit Australia, and the mission work devolved upon the young missionary. In 1883 we returned; the same year Mr. and Mrs. Rooney were back again to work on Duke of York, Mr. and Mrs. Rickard opening a station at Raluana, and we resided at our old Kabakada station, remaining there until the end of 1886. Mrs. Danks could bear the strain no longer, and we were forced to leave a mission where we had hoped to remain for many years.

We were succeeded by men who thought not of personal ease and comfort. Australasian Methodism holds in honour the Revs. F. B. Holdham, W. J. Chambers, C. Doley, J. Crump, W. H. Cox, G. Pearson, W. Brown, H. Fellmann, and H. P. Wenzel. Neither should the lay missionaries be omitted. Mr. A. J. Andrews, a self-denying and hard-working man; Mr. A. S. Booth, who for seven years toiled successfully in the Ulu plantation, and did rough pioneer exploration; Mr. Sprott, the first white missionary to reside at Omo; and Mr. Hurry, who, with patience and kindly conduct, led many young men into ways of useful and profitable industry, are all

worthy of mention. Capable young women, as missionary sisters, gave themselves to the women and children of the land. Misses Gill, McInnes, Nickle, McKee, Diem, and others still labouring in New Britain are held in high esteem. The opening-up of New Ireland more especially fell to the lot of the Revs. W. H. Cox, G. Pearson, and Mr. Sprott. The long, fatiguing journeys over mountains high and rugged; the meeting of cruel and treacherous savages in their own fastnesses; the endurance of much sickness, together with the death of Mrs. Pearson, is a record of heroic effort.

The people were now feeling after God. The Synod report for 1900 says: 'As an instance of the desire of the people of New Ireland for the *lotu* it was mentioned that the men living in the villages nearest to Kurumut, our most northerly station on that island, start to walk on Saturday and travel all through the night, wading swamps and crossing mountains, so that they may reach Kurumut in time for the morning service. They throng the church, and stand outside in the compound, a serried mass of hundreds of naked cannibals. Those outside hear no word of the service. They rise and sit and kneel as they see those inside the building; and feel, no doubt, they are doing their best to worship that God whose Holy Spirit has brought them together. Then, service over, they eat a little food they have brought with them, rest an hour, and tramp back to their homes, arriving on Monday morning.' The Society was suffering from shortage of money, and nothing more could be done. But the Rev. Thomas Champness came to the help by sending Mr. and Mrs. Pearson, *Joyful News* missioners.

The expansion of the work on the main island was also great, and equally as arduous as that of New Ireland. Mr. Rickard made long and difficult journeys into the bush around Raluana at great risk to life, and with much patience in frequent illness. Similar work went on in the Kabakada district, even as far as Bainig. Since then exploration has been pushed rapidly forward until the stations extend along

300 miles of coastline, and inland to the foot of the mountain ranges on the north-west coast of the Gazelle Peninsula. Exposure, sickness, and danger have been the portion of those who bravely extended the frontiers of the kingdom of Christ. The Conference of 1913 appointed three more missionaries to the group. In 1912 a minister was received from Germany, the Rev. E. Boettcher. There are now eight missionaries engaged.

The islands were annexed by Germany in 1884. The missionaries found the Government sympathetic. It has shown in many ways its practical appreciation of the missionaries and their work. The writer, who visited New Britain in 1907, reported thus to the Board: 'That the material interests of the natives are safeguarded by the Government is clear; and I am convinced that, on the whole, its native policy is a just one. Forced labour on the roads seems to be the one thing which bears hardest upon native life, and when great power is of necessity vested in individuals, cases of hardship are sure to arise. On this point I made extensive inquiries, and was led to the conclusion that where such cases can be proved the Government acts promptly and vigorously in defence of the people. The refusal of the Government to sanction the purchase of large tracts of country without sufficient provision being made for native reservation is worthy of note; also the establishment of a large Government High School for the more thorough training of young men and women in general education and industrial pursuits. The disciplining of a number of young men in the native constabulary, and the ruling of the people through their own chiefs, makes the strong and kindly hand of the Government felt in every part of the people's lives.'

In the spiritual and educational work of the mission there is perfect liberty, the understanding being that if any foreign language is taught, it shall be German. Where that is done, a small subsidy is granted by the Government in recognition of services to the State. The mission has a

legal status in the community by reason of the fact that it has been registered as an association in the law courts, and can legally hold land and transact business. In the formation of this association the Society received great help from the Government officials. The rapidly growing German community also looks with favour upon the work of the mission. A church has been erected at Rabaul for their use, the resident missionary acting as minister.

The creation of a literature is no light task. When created, there still remains the equally difficult task of inducing the people to avail themselves of it. The work done must be considered in relation to the time occupied, and to the number and circumstances of the agents employed. Measured thus, the translation and other literary work in New Britain is far from insignificant. The first book by Mr. Brown, in the Duke of York dialect, did not reach the mission till the end of 1879. It contained ten reading lessons, the First Catechism, including the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and fourteen hymns. In 1882 the Gospel according to Mark was translated by Mr. Brown. In 1883 a dictionary was published by Mr. Brown and myself, containing 5,000 words. It remains to this day the only dictionary in the Duke of York dialect. A book of Scripture lessons, a revision of the Catechism, a kind of *Peep-o'-Day* book translated from the Fijian, and containing 100 lessons, the Gospel according to Matthew, and the Book of Jonah, together with a goodly number of hymns, I also prepared.

The Rev. I. Rooney was an indefatigable student of the Duke of York dialect. He translated the Old Testament, with a few omissions, from the account of the Creation to the death of Moses, many of the Psalms, parts of Isaiah, revised Matthew and Mark, and translated large portions of Luke and John. Mrs. Rooney and her husband also added many useful hymns. This practically closes translation work for the Duke of York Islands, the New Britain language being adopted as the literary language of the

group. In 1883 we went with the Rev. R. H. Rickard to reside upon the main island of New Britain. Within four years the four gospels were translated in 118 lessons in the order of the Bible Society's Gospel Harmony, also the First Catechism, a Scripture lesson book containing 100 lessons, the Acts of the Apostles, the Book of Jonah, the story of Daniel and Esther, and some school books. Soon followed the four gospels in complete form, and a splendid dictionary by Mr. Rickard.

Succeeding missionaries divided the literary work, and the New Testament was completed in the New Britain dialect. In 1900 the Rev. J. Crump brought the manuscript to Sydney, and saw it through the press. One specially bound copy and one copy bound as for the natives were enclosed in a handsome casket, and sent by the Board of Missions through the Governor of New Britain, for presentation to his Majesty the German Emperor. This reply was received by the chairman of the district: 'His Majesty, the Emperor and King, has graciously accepted from the chairman of the Methodist Missionary Society in Raluana the two copies of the New Testament translated into the native language of the Gazelle Peninsula, and sends his thanks for this gift. With the greatest pleasure I also have to communicate that his Majesty has graciously commanded us to hand over to the chairman, the Rev. H. Fellmann, the Order of the Crown of the IV Class, which decoration will be given to the gentleman when he returns from Germany.'

The Rev. H. Fellmann is now engaged in the translation of the Old Testament, having carefully revised and seen through the press the New Testament. In the early stages of mission work, schools are a great weariness and disappointment. Up to the time of our landing on Duke of York, educational work was intermittent. Schools there were none, and what teaching was done was conducted in the teacher's house by the light of a smoking kerosene lamp. In 1879 we began morning school at six o'clock, and continued

till eight, doing the best we could with slate and blackboard, for we had no lesson cards. Daniel Tomakait, now a catechist in New Ireland, was the first to read and write. His first letter to Mr. Brown was characteristic of a New Britain man.

The educational system is that which obtains in all Methodist South Sea Missions, viz. primary village schools, conducted by the village teacher or pastor; advanced primary schools, conducted by the catechist of a district over which he has powers of supervision; schools for more advanced scholars under the charge of the native minister, who has the oversight of village and catechists' schools; the circuit institution conducted by the missionary at head quarters, into which are gathered those selected from the primary schools for preparatory training for the office of teacher or the ministry. Above all is the district training institution, where young men, selected from the institutions, receive their final training for village work, and as teachers and ministers Where practicable, boarding schools are established for young people of both sexes, conducted by missionary sisters under the supervision of the superintendent. There is a school for teaching German at Raluana conducted by a German lay missionary.

The New Britain Mission is responsible for the establishment of definite industrial mission work, its chief advocate being the Rev. J. Crump. In 1897 the island of Ulu was purchased by the Board, and it was determined to establish a district training institution and an industrial department. The proposal was to begin plantation work, and to teach young men the scientific cultivation of the coco-nut. After much discussion the proposal was endorsed on the understanding that it be not a commercial concern only, but that it minister to the spiritual needs of the people, training them to be industrious, and affording educational opportunities and Christian instruction. In 1900 Mr. Crump wrote: 'The progress made in the scholastic department has been considerable. We have spared no pains to give

the students a sound training, and have striven to make the daily Bible study the most interesting and profitable part of the curriculum. They have not only grown enough food for their own use, but have sold a considerable quantity, and so obtained money for missionary contributions. They have planted 10,000 coco-nuts without infringing on their ordinary school work.'

In the course of years it was necessary to separate the training institution from the plantation, and to hire labour under proper safeguards. In 1904 Mr. Crump said: 'One young man returned home converted from his sins. We have striven to be overseers of souls as well as bodies. It is unique to hear each night hymns of praise rising from the labour huts, and to see the heads bowed in prayer. Visitors contrast this happy state of things with what obtains on other plantations. These young men are not labourers only, but souls for whom we have to give account. While we plant palms on our land, we sow also the seed of the kingdom among our workers.'

A year later it was necessary to appoint a manager to the plantation, and a suitable man was found in Mr. A. S. Booth, who for seven years worked in this department. Night schools were started for the 'boys,' and two hours each day were given to the same work. Mrs. Booth superintended the education of the girls and women. In 1911 Mr. Booth reported: 'The spiritual work among the workmen and their wives has been carried on with good results. Two of our young men passed the local preachers' examination. Mrs. Booth has spent much time and labour upon the workmen's wives, with encouraging results. School has been held each day, Bible classes on Sabbath mornings. Mat-making, washing, and sewing have also been taught.' In 1912 the plantation yielded a profit of £400. It is anticipated that in a few years considerable revenue will be obtained, while the training given will, it is hoped, yield rich results.

Other trades have been added to this branch of the mission, viz. carpentry and saw-mill work. The benefit of the former is felt in cheaper work and accelerated progress in the erection of mission premises. The young men were very proud of a boat built by them under the direction of Mr. E. A. Hurry, their instructor. The saw-mill bids fair to supply the timber needed for the mission. A printing office has also been established, with a monthly paper called *The Voice of Truth*. It is hoped that developments will take place, putting this work on a stronger basis. These branches are linked up by telephone, and are thus brought easily under the supervision of the chairman, the Rev. W. H. Cox.

From the first, efforts were made to induce the people to do all they could for themselves. Where possible, they were required to build teachers' houses and churches at their own cost. Tobula, of Nodup, did this within twelve months of the starting of the mission, and many others were induced to do the same. To those who know the people's love of wealth, and the reasons underlying that love, the results achieved in this direction are marvellous. The first missionary meeting was held on New Ireland twelve years after the starting of the mission. The amount collected was £4 16*s*. Other meetings were held in the circuit during the same year, and £32 was given. The annual missionary meeting is now well established, and is the great day of the year. Even neighbouring heathen people render assistance. The giving in 1912 amounted to £2,210 7*s*. 1*d*. Add to that the income from the industrial department and other sources, and the total was £2,689 3*s*. 11*d*. There is also an income from other native sources for the maintenance of teachers' houses and churches. Memorial churches of a durable kind have been erected at Watnabara, Raluana, Dawaona, and Kabakada at considerable expense, the money being provided by the people. A few villages support their own teachers.

After the annexation of the group by Germany, it became apparent that the appointment of a German minister would greatly facilitate business between the Government and the mission. Overtures were made to the British Foreign Mission Committee, the Church in Germany being under its direction, and the Rev. H. Fellmann was sent out. Mr. and Mrs. Fellmann arrived in Sydney, December 1896, and left for New Britain in January 1897. They have more than fulfilled the hopes centred in them, and for sixteen years have served the cause of missions with unswerving zeal and success. When the Methodist Episcopal Church of the U.S.A. took over the Wesleyan Church in Germany, the same valuable help was continued. The mission has been enriched by the gift of the Revs. H. P. and Mrs. Wenzel, Karl and Mrs. Schmidt, Kurt Wenzel and E. Boettcher. There are at present three German ministers and one layman engaged in the work, all loyal and cultured missionaries. German Methodism has signified its willingness to continue the supply. In July 1913 two young women arrived in Sydney, trained by the Martha Maria Verein, a training institution in Germany, one a trained nurse, the other fitted in every way for the work of a missionary sister. This has been done free of charge to the Board. They will also be maintained by the Verein. It will thus be seen that while German Methodism is unable to undertake the whole cost in New Britain, its practical sympathy is gladly given.

The work is crowded with incidents of a most interesting character. During a visit paid to Kait on the south-west coast of New Ireland early in 1879, my attention was drawn to a man on the beach, and I was told the following story: 'That man is a native of the hills. These Kait people raided his town, capturing him and some others. The others have been killed and eaten before his eyes, and he knows that he may also be killed and eaten any moment.' I sent a message to the man, saying that I would take him in my boat and save his life, if he would come. He promised, but when

the time came he declined. I heard no more of him, but hope he escaped to his native hills. I can never forget the feelings of pity which thrilled me as I gazed upon that young, healthy man thus mercilessly devoted to the cannibal oven.

Writing in 1900, the Rev. H. Fellmann tells the following: 'There has been a horrible piece of cannibalism committed by natives living south of Birara, near Kabarga. Native visitors from the south of New Britain came to Herbertshohe, and when returning they stopped for a night at Ragaru. Nine of them were cruelly murdered and cooked. They may have killed more, as there were quite a number of people in the party, and it is very difficult to find out the exact number killed. Only a short time ago I was with these people, and I should not have thought them capable of such awful cannibalism. I went on that occasion to station a teacher there at a place called Kulauma, and I am glad that this people had no share in the murders, nor did they get any of the human flesh. It is very sad indeed to hear these ignorant offenders say now: "Why did you not send some teachers to us too? Then we should not have done it." The police force went to punish them, and found some of the flesh of the murdered men between the hot stones of the oven, and portions hanging up in the houses.'

As another instance of the gruesome lives of the New Britain savages, take the following: Tastas was chief of the village of Eratubu, New Ireland. A year before this incident occurred, he pleaded for a teacher to reside in his town, and Aisea Toilom, a native of Duke of York, was appointed. Now Tastas had been employed on a sugar plantation in Queensland, and it certainly had not improved him. Three men had run away in a stolen canoe from one of the plantations on New Britain. They landed at Eratubu, and Tastas offered to lead them to their home in the mountains. His offer was gladly accepted. When they were crossing a

ravine, he suddenly attacked them with a tomahawk, killing one. The other two escaped. When he returned to his village the young teacher met him, and he looked so strange and frightened that the teacher said: 'Tastas, you have done something wrong, for you look frightened.' He stoutly denied wrongdoing, but the story soon came out. Being questioned by the native minister, he said he did it to avenge the murder of one of his relatives, who had been killed by members of the village to which the slaughtered young man belonged. Revenge was the native's creed in those days! But the story reveals some bright and encouraging aspects. His people were shocked by the evil deed, and would not help Tastas to eat the body. His relatives in the mountains came at his request, took the body, cooked and cut it up, and distributed portions to the surrounding villages. One piece was sent to Bom, a village adjacent to Eratubu, where a teacher was stationed. The people sent it back with disgust to the murderer. Thus sin and evil custom were made to strengthen Christian conscience and practice.

Contrast the above with the following from a letter by a New Britain teacher, Jonathan Towakoga, a man redeemed from heathenism. I give the story in his own language: 'One thing I would like to tell you about. Three men ran away from some traders, and at length came to my home early in the morning while we were at prayer. When they entered, they knelt with us in the house. When our prayers were over we were startled to find them there, for we were ignorant of their presence, and we did not know them. When I asked the three: "Whence came you here?" I could not understand their speech when they answered. I called them that they should draw near to me, and I gave them food to eat. Then the people desired to fight these three. They brought their battle-axes and spears to kill them, and asked me to hand these three men over to them. I replied: "It is well you should kill me first." Then they said: "We will kill them as they pass through the bush."

I replied: "God rules us when we are in the house; and He rules us when we go forth into the bush. Severe is the ruling of God towards those who, without just cause, kill men." When they heard these words they placed their weapons on the ground. I pitied these three very much, and gave them my canoe. They embarked therein and went back to their homes in Nusa, and now these three live.' Comment would spoil such a story.

Elieseri Amo, a native teacher of New Britain, was stationed in a New Britain village. I translate his letter: 'I will tell you one of the things the people did to me in that place in which I was first stationed. One Sunday they were holding a meeting of the Igiet (a heathen secret society with very dark and bad superstitious rites), and in the afternoon I beat my drum for service, and they did not come because they were busy with the Igiet. I waited for them till it was nearly dark, and then I reasoned with myself after this fashion: "I have been sent here that I may teach these people the truth. It is well that I should go out after them." I arose right away, and went to them at the Nara-Wot (the Igiet grounds, which are forbidden to the uninitiated and the women), and I said to them: "Come along all of you, and let us worship now before you go any further with that business." The chief, Ioikak, was unwilling, and being very angry, desired to kill me. I said: "I will not run away from my duty. I have been sent here to teach you about Christianity, and it is my one desire for you that I may do so. If you kill me, my body alone will perish, but my soul will live and perish not." This was a serious thing which they did to me; but my heart was not anxious or frightened, because I knew my Father helped me, and that they could do me no real harm. I escaped through the love of God to me. I could not hold the service that day, but do not think that I would have given it up had it been only a little thing they did to me.' This man does not say what was done, but knowing

the people, I have no hesitation in saying that it could not have been an ordinary mauling.

The providence of God often produces unlooked-for results on the mission field, and dark, trying circumstances are frequently the harbingers of light, as the following shows. A teacher stationed at Bom wrote to me as follows: 'Some fighting has been going on over the other side of the island. As yet there is no missionary there. They came soliciting help for this fight to these two towns in which Aisea and I live (Eratubu and Bom). In my town I spoke against it and prevented them, and our *lotu* people did not join them. A rich man once went from this place, and it was he who asked for the *lotu* to come here, and to which place my wife and I were sent. He and his brother and I did not know at the time. Some *lotu* people from Aisea's place went with them, and straightway he (the rich man) was speared, but not unto death. He only went (or was the cause of the going), and he only was speared. The *lotu* people from Aisea's place, many of them, went to fight, two of them were killed and eaten, and two of them were pierced with spears, but they live. When this thing was seen—that only the *lotu* people were speared—the *lotu* chiefs changed their minds, and they no more wanted to fight. The words they said were these: "Very good is the *lotu,* very bad is fighting." Now this fighting is finished the chiefs are busy in the *lotu*.' The mixing and apparent contradiction of numbers is characteristic of native thought and speech.

The same letter says: 'In my place is a man who used to work for a buying man at Matupit. When his term was measured (expired) they paid him off, and while they were absent this man stole some dynamite. He came to my place, and on the day of preparation (Saturday) he killed fish with it. On the sacred day (Sunday) he took a dynamite cap wherewith to sew his oxskin (leathern belt) with it. He thought it was like a thimble, such as the women use when

they sew cloth. While he was sewing, the *lotu* people rebuked him concerning the cap, and because it was the sacred day on which he was sewing his oxskin. Now this was his reply: "You do not understand this thing. When I was working for the buying man, we worked at anything on the sacred day." While as yet these words were in his mouth the cap exploded, and blew off the fingers of his hand, and he died straightway. When the people saw this thing which happened to the man on the sacred day, they greatly feared the sacred day, and they now reverence very much the work of the *lotu*, which is God's.'

After seed-time cometh the harvest. The work of grace began in the Kabakada circuit, where some remarkable cases of conversion took place. Kabakada has always been the most difficult place in the mission. Mr. Crump said: 'We had a few cases of conversion at nearly every monthly meeting, which indicated a preparation for harvest, and after much prayer and thought I decided to hold a special service at Kabakada without giving people or teachers warning. The first day the drum called a congregation, each member of which wondered why he had to *lotu* on Monday afternoon! I told them God had laid it on me to ask them to follow Christ, and I was afraid lest one soul placed under my care should perish, and God hold me responsible.

'I spoke of having written to you, and of the grief you would feel to learn that some you had taught better things were now living in sin. I told them that Mrs. Danks and Mrs. Rickard were suffering to-day for their sakes, and so led on to Christ's grief, so much greater than Mrs. Danks'. I also pointed out their accountability as greater than mine. Seeing them moved, I said: "They love you yet." Fearing to ask them to give a sign of their desire for salvation, lest some should on insufficient grounds profess, I dismissed them, saying that if they were desirous of leading a new life they were to go to the teacher's house, and he would deal with them singly.' Seven, with sobs and tears, found their

way to Christ. The same gracious work was seen in all the circuits, until in sheer gladness the missionaries cried: 'The reaping-time has come.'

The present condition of the work gives hope. Writing from Omo, the Rev. D. T. Reddin says: 'The contrast between past and present struck me the other day when returning from Piniqidu. I was about 50 miles down the coast, and had to buy some coco-nuts. When I got the nuts from a village which has not had the *lotu* near it, I asked my boys for a knife, but neither of them had a knife with which to open the nuts. They were doing the 96 miles with their load, and had not even a pocket-knife.' Let this incident tell its own story of the peace and orderliness of New Britain under German administration. The lawlessness, the savage opposition, and the constant danger of former days are gone. There is every opportunity for the peaceful occupation of every village, if teachers are available. That the people are capable of distinguishing between spiritual teachings that differ, and are willing to take trouble to secure the truth, is evidenced by an old man who lives in the mountains a day's journey from Raluana. He is the only Methodist here. Despite all attempts to lure him away, he clings to the truth, walking a long distance every week to attend the services. At his own earnest request he was received as a member on trial. This case may be exceptional; but it is the exceptional men who strengthen and lead a Church.

The effective occupation of the whole of this district is the great question of the hour. About 200,000 people await the light, and how to reach them is the problem. Wonders have been wrought with limited means, and the work brought to a stage which constitutes a crisis. The 1912 Synod sounds this note of warning: 'We have heard it said that the greater number of the children now being trained in the Roman Catholic schools here are of Protestant, that is to say Methodist, parentage. This is a serious matter, and

the cause is put down to lack of workers. It must be remembered, too, that these children's children are not likely to be Protestants.' The district cannot be effectively occupied unless the schools and colleges are adequately staffed and equipped. Men and women, both white and native, are necessary. More schools of a superior kind are needed, and a larger staff of competent teachers. Above all, the fire of God is needed. Men like Joeli Bulu of Fiji, Elijah Vuani, Peter Vi of Tonga, and others, who ran before the white missionary successfully calling sinners to repentance, are loudly called for. That strong Christian character, the result of a baptism of the Spirit, is needed in every department of Church life. Money, machinery, organization, apart from that may do much good, but not all the good possible, unless endued with the Holy Spirit. For this the Church should pray.

CHAPTER V

NEW GUINEA

By WILLIAM E. BROMILOW, D.D.
Sydney; Pioneer Missionary to New Guinea

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

British Protectorate—MacGregor—Methodism invited—Other missions —Physical features—Mission Conference—Customs—Character—Grade—Religion—Magic—Disease—Entrance of Wesleyans—Dobu — Difficulties — Advance — Kiriwina—Numbers—Women—Martyrs—Schools—Problems—Prospects.

CHAPTER V

NEW GUINEA

It was in the year 1889 that the attention of the Methodist Church of Australasia was directed to British New Guinea as a sphere for missionary enterprise. The large island of New Guinea, compared to a 'huge bird hovering over the north of Australia,' was annexed by three European powers. Holland had been in possession of the western half of the island since 1828, and the Germans had hoisted their flag in the north-east a short time before the British Protectorate was proclaimed over the south-eastern portion of the island in the year 1884. British New Guinea, which has borne the name of Papua since the direct control of the territory was taken over from the Home Government by the Commonwealth of Australia in the year 1906, has been 'likened to the bird's tail, and an enormous tail it is.' It is 800 miles long, and 200 miles wide near the Dutch boundary, tapering off to a small promontory in the east. The area on the mainland and the islands is estimated at 90,540 square miles, and the coastline at 3,664 miles.

The opinion is held by many that had it not been for the dilatoriness of the British authorities, that portion of New Guinea now under the control of Germany would have been included in British territory. Be that as it may, it was in November 1884 that the British Protectorate was proclaimed, this being, according to the Rev. J. Chalmers, the fifth time the Union Jack had been hoisted on New Guinea soil. The British squadron then doing duty in Australasian waters visited the most important points on the south coast between the Dutch boundary of Tugera and East Cape. Twelve years

before the proclamation of the Protectorate, the London Missionary Society had commenced operations at Daru near the Fly River, establishing mission stations along the coast. By the aid of the missionaries the terms of the Protectorate were explained to the natives. In December of the same year, H.M.S. *Raven*, with the Rev. J. Chalmers on board as interpreter, concluded the work by hoisting the flag at Huon Gulf, at Dawson Straits in the D'Entrecasteaux group, and at other places of importance.

The following were the terms of the proclamation as read by Sir James Erskine: 'You are placed under the protection of Her Majesty's Government; evil disposed men will not be permitted to occupy your country, to seize your lands, or to take you away from your homes. I have been instructed to say to you that what you have seen done here to-day is to give you the strongest assurance of Her Majesty's gracious protection of you, and to warn bad and evil disposed men that if they attempt to do you harm they will be punished by the officers of the Queen. Your lands will be secured to you; your wives and children will be protected.' These words were translated to the natives who were present, and as other tribes were visited, the proclamation was made known.

British New Guinea was formally annexed to the Crown on September 4, 1888, by Sir William MacGregor, the first Administrator. During ten years of administration, with indomitable energy, great bravery, and constant tact, Sir William made friends with the natives, and introduced a system of government which gave these 'fluttered folk and wild, new-caught, sullen peoples' confidence in the rule of the new power. One of the first principles taught experimentally was, that the old custom of punishing any member of an offender's tribe, and not necessarily the guilty, must be changed, and that the guilty only were to be punished, and that by the responsible authority. The success of the régime has been abundantly proved by the fact that, without a single

foreign soldier or policeman, the territory has been successfully controlled by a few white officials and a staff of native chiefs, constabulary, and village police.

Sir William MacGregor recognized the value of Christian missions. In an introduction to Lieutenant-Governor Murray's fine work on Papua, he has written these words: 'The two finest and best institutions I left in New Guinea were the constabulary and village police and the missions. The great distinguishing feature of the four missions of Papua is the division of the country into four specified working areas. The fundamental ideas in that were: to prevent overlapping, and not to confuse the native mind by conflicting doctrine and practice. No attempt at encroachment was ever encouraged or facilitated by the Government, which was, however, always ready to procure land for any new settlement, without regard to Church or sect. To encourage mission work in every possible way was considered a sacred duty by the Government. Not to do so would, indeed, have been a complete departure from the principles on which British or English colonization first originated.'

The first steps toward mission work in British New Guinea by the Methodist Church were taken by the General Conference of 1890, in response to the appeal of Sir William MacGregor. When in Brisbane in 1889 Sir William requested the Rev. George Woolnough to ask the Mission Board to undertake a mission to the eastern end of the territory. The Conference directed the General Secretary (the Rev. George Brown) to proceed to New Guinea, and report to the Mission Board. On the reception of that report the Board directed the General Secretary to organize and to conduct a large band of missionaries and native teachers.

The native population of the territory was estimated at between 400,000 and 500,000. The London Missionary Society had the honour of first introducing the gospel amongst this animistic people, the Revs. MacFarlane and

Murray stationing a number of South Sea Island teachers in the year 1872. The Roman Catholic order of the Sacred Heart followed in 1886, establishing their head quarters at Yule Island. The area to be covered was so large that the London Missionary Society welcomed the proposal that the Anglican and the Methodist Churches should send Christian workers to the possession.

During Mr. Brown's visit a conference was held, attended by the Revs. W. G. Lawes, F. W. Walker, and H. M. Dauncey of the London Missionary Society, A. MacLaren, B.A., Anglican, and the Methodist General Secretary. This conference assigned the boundaries of each society's operations, to prevent overlapping, and to spread over as much ground as possible in as short a time as possible. This arrangement was ratified by the Mission Boards represented, and the policy continues to-day, so far as the natives are concerned. The area allotted to the Methodists includes the 20 miles of coastline on the mainland between East Cape and Cape Ducie, and all the islands in the eastern part of the territory, with the exception of one or two near Samarai, which were retained by the London Missionary Society. The long-established station of the L.M.S. at Teste Island was handed over to the Methodist Society. Amongst the first appointments two Samoans were located there.

The largest group of islands in the Methodist sphere is the D'Entrecasteaux, which, at its northern and southern ends, approaches to within 10 miles of the mainland. Its largest islands are Normanby, 45 miles in length; Ferguson, 40 miles long by 20 in width; and Goodenough, 22 miles by 15. Dobu, where the mission commenced operations, in the month of June 1891, is a small island 6 miles in circumference, lying midway between Normanby and Ferguson. Ubuia Island, the present head quarters of the mission, lies close to Normanby on the west, and has one of the safest harbours in New Guinea. The whole group is fertile, and

bears a large population. The tropical vegetation and scenery in this mountainous group are unsurpassed.

The Trobriand, or Kiriwina group, lying 40 miles east of Fergusson and connected with it by a chain of islets, sand-banks, and coral reefs, is low-lying and uninteresting in appearance; but it contains a population of 10,000 most interesting people, whose fine physique and mode of living in large villages, and under powerful chiefs, always strikes the visitor with wonder as to how these tribes came to within such a short distance of the eastern end of Papua, where the inhabitants are much shorter in stature, and where no chiefly control prevails. The soil on these islands is very rich, and tons of native vegetables are sold yearly. There is also a valuable pearl fishery in the lagoon.

A chain of upheaved atolls lies between the Trobriand group and Murua (Woodlarks), which is 90 miles distant, 40 miles long, and 10 wide. The native population on Murua is not large. Gold was found there in 1895. Alluvial mining has been carried on with more or less success, and several companies are engaged in deep mining. Other groups are the Engineer, Moresby, and Louisiades, populated more or less with tribes, who in trading and gold-mining have become familiar with foreigners for a longer time and to a greater extent than the other parts of the territory allotted to the Methodist Mission.

After the Methodist and the Anglican Missions had been established in their respective districts for two years, another conference was held at the L.M.S. station of Kwato on May 8, 1893. There were present the Rev. J. Chalmers, the Christian hero; the Rev. W. G. Lawes, D.D., type of the true Christian gentleman; the Revs. Pearce, Dauncey, Walker, and Abel,—all of the L.M.S.; the Rev. Copland King, M.A., Anglican; and the Rev. W. E. Bromilow, Methodist. The Rev. A. MacLaren, B.A., the self-sacrificing, zealous pioneer of the Anglican Mission, had died on the *Merrie England* on his way to Cooktown on December

27, 1891, a victim to malaria, scarcely six months after the commencement of his work. At this conference the representatives of each society wished each other God-speed; a lengthened consultation was held on the question of native marriages; the Sabbath question was considered; and the members of the London Missionary Society decided to alter their custom of keeping the Day of Rest from sundown on Saturday to sundown on Sunday to the usual mode in civilized countries. The mode of writing Bible names in the native dialects adopted by the L.M.S. was accepted by the other societies. In these and in other ways the spirit of federation was consummated.

Papua is a most fascinating country, because of its wonderful variety in scenery and in its people. Even in the islands apportioned to Methodism there are numerous varieties of custom. The houses are different. At Dobu they are saddle-shaped roofs on piles; at Panaeati the shape of a whale-boat turned upside down; at Kiriwina they are built down to the ground. Their canoes are not alike; at Dobu they are cut out of one tree and are propelled by paddles, being also fitted for sailing only with a fair wind; at the Louisiades they are built up with planks and with the mast in the centre. Domestic life is also varied. At Dobu, where the custom of exogamy is very prominent, the wife retains her house and land in her own village. At Kiriwina the women leave their homes to live with their husbands. Every few miles different customs prevail; but all over the eastern end the mode of native dress is decent, that of the men being leaves sewn together and worn in T-shape; that of the women, petticoats made of vegetable substance, reaching below the knees. The petticoat is much shorter in the Trobriands. Sorcery, which is universally practised, is the great controller of events; rain, wind, drought, crops, success in trade or war, health and sickness, life and death, are all under the direct influence of wizards and witches. According to the native idea no one dies a natural death.

The good people of the land are the healthy, the wealthy in food or property, the wise in sorcery; the bad are the poor, the weak, the aged, the sickly. Immorality, unless found out, in the case of the married, is considered a virtue; lying, a trait of character not condemned; abortion, a common practice; the marriage tie very slight, divorce taking place for trivial causes. The *tabu* and burial customs are all powerful, and while not altogether evil, contain much that is degrading. In many instances the women are cruel to their offspring, causing their death, frequently in anger at their husbands. In their heathen state people of low rank were often buried before the breath had left the body. When a mother died, her surviving infant child would be buried with the corpse, except in rare cases of adoption by a relative. One of twins was almost always killed. In most of the islands, with the exception of the Trobriands, cannibalism prevailed, more especially to take revenge. A legend tells of a woman being the first to partake of human flesh after she had tried its effect upon a dog. War was waged with little intermission. Prisoners were tortured, and one tribe of warriors was a source of great terror by the practice of drinking human blood.

Notwithstanding many degrading customs, there is much in the inner life of the people deserving of admiration and encouragement. The land laws are perfect. Descent is through the mother, and thus the inheritance remains in the tribe. Land is inalienable, and every man and woman has a plot of ground. Communism prevails, and the poorest, though despised, can be sure of daily bread, unless in times of famine. Their feasts help to keep up the supply of food, and in some parts the new crop must be assured before the great day of rejoicing is appointed. The yam gardens, banana patches, and taro beds are kept scrupulously clean. Pig and wallaby hunts and fishing expeditions are efficiently organized. The chief amusement is dancing to the monotonous beat of the drum, the end of which is covered with

stretched iguana skin. The principal games are sham-fights and the sailing of toy canoes. The only stimulant is the chewing of areca-nut and lime with the leaf of an astringent creeper.

There is no native money, and no substitute for it. All articles are bartered, the most valuable property being the *moari* (armlets made from a shell) and the *bagi* (pendants of flat beads made from a red shell by being ground down and bored with a native drill). These are interchangeable, and are used with stone tomahawks, nose ornaments, ear-rings, &c., to purchase wives, pigs, or canoes. With reference to native customs, the rule adopted by the Methodist Mission has been to condemn all customs that are evil in themselves or inseparably connected with evil, and to encourage all others. For instance, dancing, other than that of a lewd character, is allowed to Church members. European clothing is discouraged, except of the lightest kind and of a fashion suitable to the country.

It has been stated that the Papuan in his natural condition has no idea of a creator. In the D'Entrecasteaux group, however, a crude conception of the Creator was found to exist. The being who was called Eaboaine and lived in the heavens above was credited with the power of forming the different parts of the human body before birth. A deformed child would be called by his name. At harvest feasts, or the launching of a canoe, or on the return of warriors from a successful head-hunting expedition, led by the chief sorcerer, the whole assembly would join in a boastful shout to Eaboaine, calling upon him to look upon the results of prowess. Another god, Kekewakei, brought death into the world through the disobedience of a woman and her children. Worship of a deity was unknown, and there were no idols. The remains of ancestral worship were found. The names of the dead are sacred and must not be mentioned, under severe penalty, except in two instances. When a person of influence is sick nigh unto death and all incantations have failed, the beneficent possessor of occult powers may solemnly

beseech the spirit of an ancestor by name to save the dying. Secondly, when a mighty oath is taken in complete abandonment of self for revenge or some great undertaking, then the name of a dead ancestor is called upon by the one taking the oath. The people listen with bated breath, and woe to the man who does not keep such an oath!

There is strong belief in the efficiency of secret incantations, and in the powers of those endued with occult influences for beneficent or malevolent purposes. Prophets have arisen in these latter days professing the power to call up the spirits of the dead, and receiving rich reward for granting interviews and awakening pleasant anticipations of future earthly blessings. But the great feeling inspired by the belief in occult powers is that of terror. Not only are there spirits who cause thunder, and earthquakes, and hurricanes, and the woods filled with beings who slay the unwary and the foolhardy, but the sorcerers and witches possess power over life and death.

The poor Papuan lives in constant fear lest a sorcerer touch him surreptitiously with a secret hand, or an invisible stick or stone, and so cause his death. A sorcerer is believed to have the power to cause death by secret incantations over food, drinking water, the fire under a cooking-pot, or footprints in the sand. He can kill a child by simply resting his hand on the head. A man climbing a tree is at the sorcerer's mercy, for he can cause him to have a fatal fall. Under certain circumstances a touch or a look is fatal. Witches also exercise dread dominion. They can cause the heart to burst, or the blood to dry up in the veins, or the muscles to snap, or the bones to break, or the mind to lose its balance. Children cry in the night because witches seize their throats, and they die because the pressure of the fingers is not taken off.

The only salvation from the ills of life is secret incantation. No garden is planted or kept clear of weeds without incantations. So with the ordinary harvest and special crops for feasts, with hunting, fishing, house-building, canoe-making, going on a journey by sea or land, occult influences are

exercised. To omit incantations would cause failure in trading and defeat in war. Every implement or instrument is charmed. Before a sea voyage the bodies of the voyagers, the canoe itself, the rudder, the bailer, the mast, the conch-shell, and the sea have all to be brought under the true influence. There are secret charms to prevent distant relations from paying too frequent visits, to check the too prosperous gardener, to keep young men from going too far from home, to heal the sick. To describe the belief of the Papuan in a few words: 'Charm without ceasing! In everything perform secret incantations!'

The human personality consists of a body, shadow, and spirit. The mind is in the chest and throat; the emotions in the vital parts. The shadow has a separate existence, and remains near the place of death as a harmless ghost, heard but not seen. The spirit at death wends its way to a mountain in some parts, to an island or under the sea in others. The abode of spirits is divided into two parts. A place of happiness for those who had the best in this world; a place of misery for those who had the worst when living. The only sins are theft of food or property from a friend, and the removing of a landmark. Nothing but being *found out* in one of these crimes causes any deep feeling of shame.

Papua lies between 5° and 12° south latitude. The temperatures vary but little, the thermometer seldom registering up to 100° in the shade, the average in the south-eastern parts of the territory being between 80° and 90°. The south-east trade wind is supposed to prevail from May to October, but is not to be depended on near the mainland. The north-west monsoons prevail the rest of the year. The rainfall on the islands to the east and south-east is heavy, though occasionally there are periods of severe drought. The continued humid heat, and the prevalence of malarial fever preclude the possibility of long residence for foreigners, except in few cases. It has been stated that 'with the exception of fever, the country is remarkably free from disease of a serious

kind,' and that ' white people may successfully avoid serious illness and live comfortably and healthily if reasonable precautions are taken.' And yet Papua has a sad record for the numbers of deaths among the white population. There are three kinds of fever to which the resident in Papua is liable: the intermittent, or simple ague and fever, which is more or less easily controlled; the remittent, which is more malignant because of the persistent high temperature and the difficulty of producing perspiration; the blackwater, which, with its complications, is the worst of the three, and requires quick and careful treatment.

At Samarai, the eastern port of entry, an island of about 60 acres, where Government officials, merchants, and hotel keepers form the bulk of the population, successful experiments have been carried out in exterminating the germ-carrier mosquito—the *anopheles*. The swamp has been drained, the tanks are either covered in, or kerosene oil is used to form a complete air-tight surface on the water; sanitary arrangements have been brought up to date; no old tins or other receptacles for stagnant water and mosquito germs are allowed to lie about. The result has been highly satisfactory. The climate has a great influence on mission work. For instance, in the year 1891 about fifty men, women, and children from Australia, Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa arrived in Papua as the first Methodist Mission band. In twenty years not one of the original party remained, some dying of fever, and others returning to their own land broken down in health.

The question is often asked: ' Why do not missionaries adopt scientific methods, and save themselves from fever?' In some respects they can do this. They can ' place screens of wire-netting over the inlets to tanks, or pour kerosene over the water '; they can ' bury empty tins and other receptacles '; they can ' sleep under a mosquito net at night '; they can ' drain pools,' &c. But how can missionaries follow such instructions as the following? Not live near native children, because they are mostly full of malaria! Not go out after

sundown, but stay in a mosquito-proof room! Have all the banana trees on the students' plantations shaken clear of rain and dew every morning! How can a missionary be a good Samaritan and always save himself from fever? The natives suffer from malaria and other ills that flesh is heir to, and they need the attention of the missionary, one of whose chief duties is to heal the body while saving the soul.

In consequence of the unique invitation issued by the Administrator, and the inspiring report of the new field and its needs given by Mr. Brown, great interest was excited in the Australasian Methodist Church over the inauguration of this mission in 1891. The centenary of Wesley's death was commemorated by raising the necessary funds for opening the mission to British New Guinea, and extending the work in New Britain. A large party, consisting of ten members of the Australasian Churches and sixty-five South Sea Islanders, met in Sydney during May. Of these, three of the English-speaking portion were bound for New Britain, and seven for New Guinea. Several of the South Sea Islanders were also on their way to New Britain, twenty-two men, twelve women, and seven children being the British New Guinea contingent.

On Wednesday, May 27, this large band, with the exception of three Fijians, who were to follow in the Mission ketch *Dove,* not yet ready for sea, sailed out of Sydney harbour in the barque *Lord of the Isles,* under the direction of the General Secretary of Missions. The passenger list, besides the General Secretary, who journeyed with the vessel on the round trip to New Guinea, New Britain, and back to Sydney, was as follows: the Rev. R. H. Rickard, chairman of the New Britain Mission, the Rev. W. and Mrs. Brown, with South Sea Islanders and their families; also four New Britain students returning from Navuloa College, Fiji, all for New Britain; the Rev. W. E. Bromilow, chairman of the new district, Mrs. Bromilow and daughter, the Revs. S. B. Fellows (New Zealand), J. T. Field, and J. Watson (Victoria), Mr. G. H. Bardsley (Queensland), with South Sea Island

teachers and their families, all for British New Guinea. The cargo consisted of materials and furniture for two bungalows, a small cottage, and an iron store; medicines, articles for barter, supplies for the teachers, missionaries' private goods, a three-ton cutter, two whale-boats, a cow, and several dogs.

The party arrived in Samarai after a pleasant passage on June 13, and reached Dobu Island, chosen as head quarters because of its central situation and large population of notorious warriors, on Friday, June 19, the vessel being towed into anchorage by the Government steamer *Merrie England*. The Administrator, who was on a cruise through the D'Entrecasteaux group, arrived at Dobu the same day. For the next three weeks the excitement was great. Land had to be purchased through an officer of the Government; native houses erected for the South Sea Islanders; a mission house made habitable for the accommodation of the missionary's wife and daughter, and a temporary store erected for the furniture and goods. Many of the natives showed an outwardly friendly spirit, and for articles of barter brought yams, bananas, and coco-nuts for the South Sea Islanders. They also helped to clear the land, bring the mission house piles from Normanby, and build the houses. Very valuable assistance was rendered by the New Britain contingent, the Revs. R. H. Rickard and W. Brown working with the rest in unloading cargo, in house-building, and attending to the wants of the teachers. The General Secretary was ubiquitous, visiting the whole of the Dobu coast and parts of Ferguson. The presence of the women and children allayed any fears the natives had as to the purpose of such a large party, their attachment to an expedition being a sign of peace.

The *Merrie England* and the *Lord of the Isles*, the latter with the General Secretary and the New Britain party on board, left three weeks after the arrival at Dobu. The steaming in and out of the *Merrie England*, the interested visits of the Governor, the presence of the General Secretary and the chairman of the New Britain district, the rendezvous on the

ship, were all cheerful helps; but now these things were of the past, and the real work of the Mission had to be faced patiently and devotedly. Three hours after the departure of the General Secretary, the wife of Nêhemiah the Fijian catechist died, a victim to malaria, casting a sad gloom over all. Within a month another woman and a child passed away. The natives were not slow in stating that their sorcerers had killed them, and would in the end slay the whole party.

On the evening of the day the vessels left, Gaganumore, the notorious head-hunter and cannibal, who always fled into hiding when any Government boat came near, called at the half-built mission house at nine o'clock to say that he was pleased at the missionaries' arrival, but did not want any more white men on Dobu. He continued to be a friend of the mission in his own way. In the month of July a man was killed and eaten two miles from the mission station, and about the same time a plot was formed to massacre the whole of the mission party, in revenge for the treacherous and cruel conduct of the recruiting schooner *Hopeful* seven years before. The attempt was prevented by two of the leading chiefs. On Sunday, July 19, the first Christian services for the natives were held through the aid of some visitors from Ware Island, who knew 'pidgin' English and interpreted imperfectly. A few sentences in the language of the place had been acquired and were used by the missionaries. From the commencement a goodly number attended.

The greatest difficulties the mission had to contend with were the unhealthiness of the climate, the conservative hold the people had of customs of a degrading character, the intertribal warfare and readiness to take up spear, club, or knife at the slightest cause of offence, the terrible power of sorcery, and the keen trading instinct, which prevented acts of generosity even to friends. Prejudice against foreigners had to be overcome. The Dobuans, for instance, were bound by custom not to allow strangers to live amongst them.

Short visits could be made (the shorter the safer the first time), but unless it were decided to adopt the stranger into the tribe, he was never allowed to remain. The risk of life then was not slight. The task of establishing confidence was not so long and tedious as might have been expected, though the habit of carrying spears and of decorating the houses with grinning skulls was not given up for some time. The missionaries have justly acknowledged the judicious conduct of the Government officials in establishing order, and in helping Christian workers personally.

As soon as suitable places could be chosen, twelve South Sea Island pastors were stationed two by two on Dobu and the adjacent coast of Ferguson, one remaining with the missionaries at the head station. The women and sorcerers were most active in their opposition to the opening of the villages to the mission agents at first, in some cases entirely blocking the way. In the month of July 1891 the mission ketch *Dove*, a vessel of fifteen tons burthen, which had been provided by the children of Australasian Methodism, arrived. In August the chairman of the district and the Revs. S. B. Fellows and J. Watson, with six teachers, proceeded to the Louisiade group, calling at Kwato to consult the missionaries of the London Missionary Society about Ware Island, which had been handed over by that society, together with houses, 5 acres of land, and the native church. The Rev. F. W. Walker accompanied the party in the schooner *Niue*, and introduced the missionaries to the people. Two Samoan teachers were left at this place. The *Dove* then sailed for Panaeati, 100 miles eastward of Dobu, the island chosen as the most suitable place for the second station. No difficulty was experienced in securing a site, and the Australian and South Sea Island workers in a short time gained the respect and affection of the people. Panaeati has been fortunate in its missionaries, such men as the Revs. A. Fletcher and J. R. Williams from Australia, and Joni Kuli and Simioni Momoivalu from Tonga and Fiji, besides the two already mentioned,

proving themselves courageous and wise leaders and messengers. There are now 2,956 attendants on public worship in this circuit, with 775 meetings in the membership classes. In October two Fijians were stationed at East Cape on the mainland. Unfortunately, Nehemiah, the catechist, after gaining very great influence, died, his companion returning to his own land.

In 1892 the Rev. J. T. Field, who had resided at Dobu with the chairman, was appointed to Tubetube, the principal island of the Engineer group, midway between Dobu and Panaeati. He was married to Miss Harding at Dobu, and with his wife and four South Sea Islanders commenced his work at the new station, erecting the mission house himself. Mr. Field had rendered great service at Dobu by erecting a large church, built of native material, with such assistance as could be obtained from the people. Later, the mission house at Tubetube was taken down and re-erected by the same missionary at Bunama on Normanby Island. Leva, a Samoan, was of great assistance. When Mr. Field left Papua for health reasons, the Rev. A. and Mrs. Fletcher successfully carried on the work so well begun. The present superintendent is the Rev. G. A. Burgess. There are 419 names on the class-meeting rolls, and 3,656 attendants on public worship.

In August 1894 the Rev. S. B. Fellows, having removed from Panaeati for the purpose of pioneer enterprise in the Trobriand group, and having married during a visit to Australia, proceeded with his wife to Kiriwina. Mr. A. J. Andrews, lay missionary, and two Fijians accompanied them. Unique difficulties were met with amongst this excitable people, the difficulties being increased by the discovery of a pearl fishery and the advent of traders, some of whom were not helpful in word or conduct. Under the able superintendency of Mr. Fellows and, after his departure to Australia, of the Rev. M. K. Gilmour, a man of many parts, many of the inhabitants of this group were brought under the influence

of the gospel, and a number led to offer themselves as teachers and preachers. The Rev. G. R. Holland also rendered splendid service during the short period he was able to reside in Papua. Special mention should also be made of Opetaia Muanivanua, a noble Fijian. The latest numerical returns prepared by the present missionary, the Rev. E. A. Johns, give the attendants on public worship as 6,200, with 334 in the class-meetings.

In 1900 the Rev. A. Fletcher was appointed as the first missionary to Bwaidoga, on Goodenough Island, in the D'Entrecasteaux group. His experience at Panaeati prepared him for this work. Following him was lay missionary E. J. Glew, and later the Rev. A. Ballantyne, the present superintendent. Mr. Ballantyne, who reports 2,800 attendants and 649 members, states that there is a growing sense of responsibility amongst the class members. Si'atua, a Samoan, has impressed his personality on this place for many years. To Woodlark Island, where gold was discovered in 1895, Mr. E. J. Glew, lay missionary, was sent in 1900. He worked principally amongst the miners and the native labourers from the D'Entrecasteaux group. His quiet, persistent efforts and gentle Christian life exercised great influence. Mr. Harrison, the lay missionary now in charge, three years ago removed the head station from Kulumadau, the chief centre of the mining industry, to Gwasope, in the south-east, where the bulk of the native population resides. He reports increased numbers at the services, regular attendance at the classes, and monthly services for the white residents and indentured labourers.

Since the inception of the mission, the Dobu circuit has advanced, until the latest report gives 8,970 attendants on public worship, 2,153 members of the class-meeting, including 1,377 catechumens. Ubuia became the head quarters of the mission in 1906, when the chairman of the district, who was also superintendent of the Dobu circuit, left Dobu, where he had lived for fifteen years, to establish the Central Training

Institution on that island. Mr. W. C. Francis was appointed to Dobu, but was soon compelled to leave because of his wife's ill health, his successor being the Rev. W. W. Avery of New Zealand. The influence of men such as Joape Narara, Maanaima, and Ponipate Vula will ever be remembered in Dobu. When the first chairman of the district left Papua in 1908, the Rev. M. K. Gilmour was appointed to succeed him and to reside at Ubuia. The numerical returns for the whole of the Methodist district in Papua are most interesting, indicating the various classes of workers engaged in the up-building of the native church. There are 61 churches; 219 other preaching places; 8 ministers; 1 lay missionary; 7 sisters; 4 South Sea Island ministers; 18 South Sea Island catechists and village pastors; 60 Papuan village pastors; 55 Papuan local preachers; 1,051 members; 632 on trial for membership; 2,647 catechumens; 8 training institutions; 292 students; 464 scholars in boarding-schools; 3,885 Sunday-school scholars; 4,090 day scholars; 24,582 attendants on public worship.

No account of mission work in Papua would be complete without special reference to the part played by women in the evangelization of the race. The self-sacrifice of the wives of the Australian and South Sea Island missionaries has been heroic. Unselfishly and with quiet bravery they have wrought day and night for the good of the people. With equal devotion missionary sisters have been engaged in teaching, village visitation, and nursing since the first two Christian women, the Misses J. Tinney and E. Walker, were sent to Dobu in response to Mrs. Bromilow's appeal of October 26, 1891, in which she pointed out the needs of the women and children. Despite the unhealthiness of the climate, lengthy and valuable terms of service have been given by the two named above, and by such women as the Misses Benjamin, Billing, Lloyd, Griffiths, Truscott, Jenness, Corfield, and Gibb. Papua had the honour of introducing the first missionary sisters to the Methodist Mission in the Pacific.

The only member of the mission staff who has been murdered was a beautiful Tongan woman, named Seruaia, the wife of Josaia Mau. She was perfect in patience, and by her gracious manner and smiling face won the hearts of all. The Tongans are naturally proud, but Seruaia had a chaste humility, for she was a true servant of Christ and had completely surrendered herself to Him. After a term at Dobu her husband was transferred to Panaeati, and it was there she fell a victim to savage passion. One of the minor chiefs, who was a polygamist, on returning from a trip in his canoe, was met with the news that one of his wives had gone away with a policeman, a native of a distant group of islands, and therefore a foreigner. He became uncontrollable in his anger, and rushed out determined to kill the first one of foreign blood he should meet. Seruaia was the first, and he savagely attacked her with a large knife, the wounds inflicted causing death. But though only one member of the mission has been slain, many passed through dangerous experiences. Mrs. Bromilow and Kulia were mercifully preserved at Dobu when protesting against the burial alive of an aged woman of low rank; an angry woman lifted a tomahawk to strike Mrs. Fletcher to the ground because her daughter had been saved from an evil life; Mr. Field was surrounded by a yelling mob, whom he reproved for cannibalism; Mr. Fellows, at Misima, swam ashore and was confronted by a party of armed natives who were in rebellion. The South Sea Islanders and their wives had many narrow escapes.

But the roll of martyrs of the Papuan Mission is heavy because of deaths through fever. The zeal of the South Sea Island missionaries has been a sign of great devotion, and their calm meeting of death without fear has been a great testimony to their faith. They have died 'unknown to and unheeded by the outside world.' Of the Australian workers four have died: lay missionary E. J. Glew, faithful in all things, on June 28, 1904; Mrs. Williams, the second wife of

the Rev. J. R. Williams, after years of successful work, on November 8, 1904; Miss Truscott, who gave her life in loving devotion to the women and girls of Dobu, on November 4, 1908; and the Rev. J. R. Williams, who died at Bendigo, Victoria, when on sick leave on October 1, 1913, after fifteen years' useful service at Panaeati. The Church of Australasia is bound to Papua by the roll of her dead.

In the month of February 1893 a woman in the village of Gaula, on Dobu Island, was supposed to have died, but the village pastor, Alesana, was so strangely impressed with the appearance of the body that he recommended the postponement of the burial until next day. Notwithstanding the opposition of the sorcerers, this was agreed to, and to the astonishment of every one the woman revived. She told a wonderful story. 'I was dead,' she said, 'and my spirit went up to heaven. I met Jesus there. He is so good! I am so bad! He told me to return and tell my people that the religion is true. He also said that I was to return and not go in yet because I was not ready, and the missionary and his wife were to tell me all about it.' By this trance she was prepared for the truth, and soon trusted in Christ for salvation. In three weeks she died a triumphant death, the first-fruits of Dobu unto Christ. Soon after this five men and three girls were converted, and a class-meeting was formed on April 30, 1893, to meet after the service on Sunday mornings. At the General Conference of 1904 the class-meeting was retained as a test of membership for the Foreign Mission districts. The name in Papua is Ekalesia (Ecclesia). The first baptisms were performed on Sunday, July 22, 1894, when three men who had been instructed in the faith, and had been true to Christian principles, were baptized at Dobu in the presence of a large congregation.

One of the principal features of mission work in Papua has been the formation of settlements at each station, the aim being to gather boys and girls into boarding schools free of cost to the parents; to rescue girls from a life of immorality;

to save infants from death by desertion or burial alive with deceased mothers. Further, to train the Papuans themselves to become preachers and teachers, students have been received for instruction.

Industrial work is also incorporated, and the Rev. M. K. Gilmour has been very successful in teaching Papuan youths to repair boats, build launches, &c. The District Training Institution at Ubuia was established for two reasons. First, it was felt by the missionaries in New Guinea and the General Secretary (Rev. G. Brown) that the students who were to become village pastors should be gathered from the circuits for special training in some central place. Secondly, the work at Dobu had grown so large that with boarding school and orphanage the settlement was too congested. There was no room for extension, and no planting-land near not already in occupation of natives. To-day Ubuia is a very busy centre with its orphanage, boarding school, central training institution, and plantation. The Principal, the Rev. M. K. Gilmour, with his expert knowledge of so many branches of industry, and his wife, whose whole life is devoted to the work she loves so much, are ably supported by Ponipate Vula, the Fijian native minister, and the Misses Corfield and Gibb. The Mission Board has appointed Mr. H. K. Chapman, an expert agriculturist, to the management of the plantation. The students from the circuits are taught together in the Dobuan language, in which the New Testament has been published, and into which several books of the Old Testament are being translated. To have a native literary language is a great advantage, especially as Dobuan is known over such a wide area and is so easily learned. No missionary in Papua believes that *all* the natives can learn English well enough for that language to be used as a means of instruction, or of preaching the gospel.

The problems are many and great. The retirement of so many of the South Sea Island pastors necessitates a speedy increase of the white staff, so that the Papuan pastors may

have necessary leadership for some years to come. The policy of the Government in changing the educational regulations, so that attendance at day school is obligatory only where English is taught, is a distinctly retrograde step. The increase in the number of traders, miners, and planters who are constantly recruiting labourers from the villages is in some parts causing a decrease in the native population. It is cause for gratification that Lieutenant-Governor J. H. P. Murray, the Government Secretary, the Hon. A. M. Campbell, and many of the officials are in sympathy with the natives; also that the Commonwealth Parliament is determined that the Papuans shall not be unduly exploited. Yet the increase of the white population and the opening-up of large areas for rubber, coco-nuts, and other tropical products must necessarily affect and change the conditions under which the people live. The estimated revenue from Customs duties for 1913–14 was £75,598.

That the Papuan is no mean subject of the British Empire is proved by his capabilities as sailor, carpenter, and workman. Sir William MacGregor lately wrote that the bravest man he had known was a Papuan. He is worth saving; for when converted he understands spiritual truth just as all other members of the Father's great family understand; and he becomes an evangelist. He is worth helping mentally; for a Papuan is ready and alert, and can learn almost anything. His lack of application can be remedied by training. To bring the Papuan to a knowledge of spiritual truth, and then to hand him over to those unsympathetic with or antagonistic to Christianity, is wrong on the face of it. In the western parts of the territory a most interesting movement has been inaugurated by Mr. F. W. Walker, of the Papuan Industries, Ltd., whereby native industries are being developed by Christian men. The experiment will be watched with interest. In the meantime the Methodist Church of Australasia needs to be wide awake to the interests of the natives under her charge.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOLOMON ISLANDS

By JOHN F. GOLDIE

Pioneer Missionary, New Georgia Group

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

Unknown—Head-hunters—Savage idolatry—Decreasing population—Roman Catholics—Kanaka mission—Methodists called—Brown—Goldie—Reception—Pioneer work—Fear—School work—Difficulties—Child-birth—Deaths of workers—No furlough—'Worth while'—Note of joy—A class-meeting—Simbo—Vella Lavella—Choiseul—Rooney—They remained—A mistake—Women—Sisters' work—Industrialism—Not in vain!

CHAPTER VI

THE SOLOMON ISLANDS

QUITE recently to most people the Solomon Islands meant nothing more than a geographical term. Even now the name calls up little more than visions of ferocious head-hunters and cannibal feasts. Comparatively few people realize what a fine possession we have in this beautiful group of islands. Having a land area of between 12,000 and 14,000 square miles, the group is one of the finest in the Pacific. On the large islands great mountain ranges rise to heights of 8,000 and 10,000 feet, densely wooded to their summit; and the beautiful, well-watered valleys, with their luxuriant and vari-coloured tropical vegetation, show how wonderfully fertile is the soil. The largest island, Bougainville, and the smaller island lying to the north-west, called Bouka, form part of German New Guinea Crown Colony. The other islands form the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, the British Commissioner having his residence at Tulagi, in the eastern portion of the group. Only a rough guess can be made in estimating the native population. The best informed estimate the population of the British portion of the group at 150,000.

The people are of Melanesian type, and vary in colour, language, manners, and customs as much almost as the vegetation in their tropical forests, or the fish in their beautiful coral seas. They have long been known as the most blood-thirsty savages in the Southern seas, and there is no doubt that, until comparatively recent times, they lived up to their reputation. On the island of Malaita and some parts of Choiseul no man dare venture far without an escort even now. The natives of New Georgia were, perhaps, the most daring.

In their wonderful war-canoes, or tomokoes, they went hundreds of miles on their head-hunting raids, even going as far as Gola, or Florida, and the most southern portion of Ysabel. They looked upon the unfortunate natives of Choiseul and Ysabel as legitimate prey, and these once populous islands were almost depopulated by these head-hunters. They carried off human heads, and living prisoners as slaves. True, these slaves were well treated, but before the unfortunate exile there was always the fear that when a head was required for the launching of a war-canoe, or human flesh wanted for a religious festival, he would probably be the victim.

One of the high chiefs of New Georgia, also one of the most notorious head-hunters of his day, became one of my earliest friends, and in the first days of the mission often piloted me in the uncharted waters of the western part of the group. As we drifted through the Manning Straits one day, the old fellow was in reminiscent mood.

'Do you see that little island away over there on the starboard side, sir?' and his hand followed the direction of his eyes.

'Yes,' I replied; 'what about it?'

'We had a great fight there one day, a very great fight indeed.'

'Tell me about it, Gumi. Did you fall out and fight amongst yourselves, or was it with the people of Lauru, or the people of Sambana?'

'No,' said the old man, 'it was not our own people. We came over on a turtle-hunting expedition, and found the Lauru men poaching on our hunting-grounds. They thought we were not aware of their presence, and hoped by hiding to take us by surprise, or else to escape in the darkness of the night. We allowed them to believe that we did not know of their whereabouts, but we laid our plans, and just before dawn we fell upon them. They fought well, but'—and the old man spat his disgust—'the Lauru men could never stand before Roviana men.'

'Were many killed, Gumi?'

'They were all killed. Some of them, when wounded, jumped into the water, and the current, which is very strong, carried them away. But we took 200 heads back with us to Roviana!'

It is nearly ten years since the old chief told me this story. As I pen these words, his son is sitting at my elbow typing the translation of Mark's Gospel. Leaning over his shoulder, I read in his own language: 'All things are possible to him that believeth.'

One navigator, who visited the group many years ago, avers that the natives of New Georgia 'were the most treacherous and bloodthirsty race in the Western Pacific,' and that 'human flesh formed their chief article of diet.' This may have been true fifty years ago, but I much doubt the latter part of the statement. The people of the New Georgian group were cannibals, but not in the same sense as the Fijians, who loved human flesh as an article of diet. Those who have taken part in these cannibal feasts tell me that in connexion with human sacrifices and great religious festivals human flesh was partaken of, but few liked it; to many it was so obnoxious it made them ill. The New Georgians were crafty and cruel; but they were also remarkably clever and intelligent. Their skill as canoe-builders is known the world over. Their houses were not surpassed for neatness, convenience, and comfort. In the manufacture of weapons and ornaments they displayed marvellous ingenuity. Even to this day the natives of the most distant parts of the group will give any price to obtain these articles.

All the filthy and degrading customs associated with idol-worship obtained. Sorcery and witchcraft flourished, and the most powerful, because the most dreaded, person was the local *hiama*, or sorcerer. None died a natural death; all sickness was attributed to witchcraft; and the most revolting and horrible cruelty was practised to extort confessions from the unfortunate women charged with the offence. On the

island of Vella Lavella and other places widows were strangled in order that their late masters might still command their services in the spirit land. The lot of women was a particularly hard one. They were the burden-bearers, doing almost all the work in the villages and food plantations. I have frequently seen families returning from the gardens, the man carrying his battle-axe and shield, the woman following with heavy loads of yams, taro, or firewood, with a child on her back or across her hips. Under such circumstances the women shirked the responsibilities of motherhood, became skilled in the black arts, and resorted to horrible practices to prevent child-bearing.

One of the saddest things in this sad land is the rapidly decreasing population. Men talk of the survival of the fittest, and the fate of the black man to go down before the white man. But *is* this necessary? What is the cause of this racial decay? What can be done to arrest the decline? Of the many theories advanced, none seem to fit all the facts of the case. I have my theories, but this is not the place to parade them. One thing is certain. The advent of the white man, though a contributing cause, is not the principal cause of this decline, which has been going on for years. Going into a heathen village for the first time, seeing the filthy condition of the people, the wonder is not that they decrease, but that they are not extinct.

The first attempt to evangelize the Solomon Islands was made by the Roman Catholic Church, and ended in disaster. In 1844 Bishop Espalle, with a devoted band of followers, landed on the island of Ysabel. The leader was murdered the same day, and the other members of the party died from malaria or were murdered by the natives. Not till 1898 was work again attempted, when stations were established on Guadalcanar and the Shortland Islands. A few years later Bishop Selwyn the elder, of New Zealand, visited this part of the Pacific with a view to do something for the natives. In 1856 Bishop Patteson began work in connexion with the

Melanesian Mission at the eastern end of the group, which was continued by Bishop John Selwyn and his successor, Bishop Wilson. Of the work of this society I cannot write here. With Dr. Guppy, I can only say that 'the quiet heroism of the members of the Melanesian Mission, under circumstances often the most dispiriting and insecure, it would ill become me to praise.'

In 1904 the Queensland Kanaka Mission decided to continue the work begun amongst the Solomon Islanders on the sugar plantations in Queensland. When the White Australia policy drove the islanders out of the Commonwealth, this society continued its work, under the name of the South Sea Evangelical Mission. With the exception of the Roman Catholic station in the Shortlands, these efforts were all confined to the eastern portion of the group, leaving the New Georgian group, including Ganonga, Simbo, Vella Lavella, and the large island of Choiseul untouched by missionary effort of any kind.

In the year 1902 the Methodist Church definitely began work in the Solomons. Following the usual practice, it decided not to enter any island already occupied by another society, but to evangelize the heathen people of the New Georgian and adjacent islands. The acquaintance of the Methodist Church with the Solomon Islands began much earlier than 1902. In passing to New Britain many years before, the Rev. George Brown cast wistful eyes on this great and untouched field. On one occasion he landed, and conducted service at one of the trading stations. Had the appeals of this missionary veteran been listened to, the Church would have undertaken work in this group many years earlier. It will be our eternal regret that we allowed the opportunity then presented to slip.

The call that moved the Methodist Church to action came from the Solomon Islanders themselves. This appeal came from natives of Guadalcanar and Malaita who had gone to the plantations in Fiji. There they found their way into

Methodist schools and churches, and not a few of them became earnest Christian men. When their souls were 'lighted with wisdom from on high,' their thoughts turned to their own people. What the gospel of Jesus Christ had done for Fiji it could do for the Solomon group. These men, though anxious to return, refused to do so unless missionaries accompanied them, and year after year they appealed to the Conference to send missionaries. The General Conference of 1901 decided to begin work amongst these savages, and Dr. Brown was instructed to visit the group and gather information with this end in view. Dr. Brown, who left Sydney in July of the same year, recommended that we make our head quarters at Roviana, on the south-west of the main island of New Georgia. The Roviana people, who were the most powerful tribe in that locality, were greatly feared by the natives of the adjacent islands. If they could be influenced, the missionary would experience little difficulty in teaching the others. Experience justifies this step.

Then began the work of preparation, no light task! I had just been ordained by the Queensland Conference. In answer to the appeal for volunteers, my wife and I decided to place our services at the disposal of the Board of Missions. To my surprise, I was selected as superintendent of this new mission, and the Rev. S. R. Rooney, of West Australia, was chosen as my colleague. An appeal was made to the older mission districts for native helpers, and the following became our first native assistants: Joni Leqere, Aparosa Rakuita, Wiliami Gavidi, and Rusiati Sawatabu, from Fiji; Muna, Saiasi, and Seru, from Samoa. We also took Samuela Aqarau, a young Solomon Islander converted in Fiji, and Hosea Ulu, a native of Santo, in the New Hebrides, educated in our schools in Samoa. Mr. J. R. Martin, of Orange, N.S.W., was engaged as carpenter, and served the mission well. The Methodists of Sydney said farewell to the party at a valedictory meeting in the Centenary Hall. We sailed from Sydney in the S.S. *Titus*, Saturday, May 3, 1902.

The *Titus* steamed through the Diamond Narrows into the beautiful Roviana Lagoon on Friday, May 23. This day began a new era in the history of New Georgia. The New Georgian people had no method of marking time. Their year was from one fruit harvest to another. Of the age of anything, or the time of any event, they took no account. One event stands out above all others; the coming of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Time is dated from the year 1902. We had many hardships to endure and difficulties to overcome before much impression was made on the natives of Roviana. There were two trading stations in the lagoon, the one belonging to Mr. Frank Wickham, the other to Mr. N. Wheatley. They did all they could to help us, the former placing his house and boats at our command. Our reception by the natives was mixed. Some were indifferent, some curious; others made no secret of the fact that we were not welcome. We owed much to the wisdom and experience of Dr. Brown.

After landing stores and timber, our first duty was to select a site for the head station. The island of Nusa Songa had been purchased, but it was too small. With the old chief of Koqu, Mia Bule, I walked miles, cutting our way through dense tropical jungle, looking for the right position, finally deciding on the spot where the main station now stands. We purchased the site from the natives, through the good offices of Mr. Mahaffy, the resident magistrate at Gizo, who rendered every assistance. We made our temporary home on Nusa Songa, and it was there the work of the mission began. On Sunday morning Dr. Brown preached at one of the trading stations. Few of the local natives came near, and they would not have understood much if they had. To the white members of the party and to the native helpers it was a time of blessing. The Doctor preached first in English, then in Fijian, then in Samoan, so that all might understand. It was a never-to-be-forgotten service.

Owing to the superstitious fears of the natives, it was

impossible to obtain local labour. For Mr. Rooney and myself, that meant cutting great piles in the forest for the foundation of the houses, getting them to the boat and across two miles of water to Nusa Songa. We were everything; builders, carpenters, and cooks. Our native colleagues, who felt the climate more than did we, were so frequently laid up with malaria fever that they could not render much assistance. After a stay of nearly two months Dr. Brown returned to Australia, and we settled down to pioneer mission work. Going through heathen villages for the first time, we found dirt and disease everywhere. The villages of Roviana were shocking. Filth of every description, bodies covered with skin disease and native ulcers, without concealment or dressing, though native doctors were in every village, as we discovered afterwards. Men living in idleness and women in drudgery seemed the usual thing. Our task seemed wellnigh hopeless.

Though the Resident Commissioner, with the help of warships, had stopped head-hunting raids amongst the Roviana people, nothing had been done for the natives in other directions, nor, indeed, was it possible to do much. They were left in idleness and filth. Fear had been the predominant note in their lives, fear of everything, natural and supernatural. A new terror now threatened them: the strong arm of retributive justice, in the form of Government officials and armed bluejackets. Their condition in 1902 was deplorable indeed. If any people needed the gospel of Christ, the people of New Georgia did.

Our greatest difficulty was superstitious fear. The people did not understand our position. The business of the trader they understood. That men should come so far to preach and help them was beyond their comprehension. Were we going to interfere with ancient custom, with belief and worship, thus bringing upon them the wrath of their gods? An old chief, named Liliti, came in a great state one day to pour out his fears. We promised not to interfere with him, or

even to visit his island, until he invited us. I shall have more to say about Liliti. He was a notorious character, type of many with whom we had to deal. One of

> Your new-caught sullen peoples,
> Half devil and half child.

Ingava, the king, a fine specimen of an old savage, Gemu, Gumi, two high chiefs, and Mia Bule, chief of Munda, were friends from the first, though still clinging closely to their old customs. To overcome the language was another difficulty. It had not been reduced to writing, and this must be done before much progress could be made. I preached my first sermon in the Roviana language four months after arrival. I was proud of the effort then; I blush to think of it now!

We could not wait until the houses were built before we began school work at Roviana. After a day's work in the forest or at house-building, we gathered the men and boys, who watched our progress, and after family worship we gave them their first lessons in the three R's. Bright, intelligent lads they were, and eager to learn. Some are with us to-day in the training institution, and some are preachers of the gospel. We took every opportunity of visiting the villages in the lagoon, gradually winning the confidence of the people by helping them in various ways, administering simple remedies in sickness and dressing their wounds, until we had more than we could do. In January 1903 Mrs. Goldie and little Ula joined us. In the following March, Miss Davidson, of Victoria, was married to the Rev. S. R. Rooney, and we were able to begin a work amongst the women and girls of Roviana.

It is not possible to give the history of those early years. The struggles, the labours, the disappointments, the sickness and depression, dangers on land and sea, are almost forgotten in the joy of harvest. To-day there are hundreds of bright, intelligent school children in the lagoon, and many earnest Christians in the villages. In those first days, as we sat on the mission-house verandah, looking on one of the most

beautiful prospects in God's fair creation, we heard sounds from the villages dotting the shore-line of the lagoon which filled us with sorrow; the funeral wail, the hideous death chant, the blowing of conch shells, telling of some poor unfortunate suffering as a witch. For us the beauty of the scene was blotted out. To-day we look on the same wonderful panorama, but the conch shell is no longer heard, the mournful death chant is silenced for ever, and there come other sounds which fill our hearts with gladness; the sound of laughter and Christian song, of happy children at play, of the 'church-going bell' calling the people to prayer and praise.

The Roviana people had peculiar customs regulating the birth of a child. The mother was not allowed to give birth in the village. Her women friends built a tiny shelter of coco-nut leaves in the bush, no man being permitted to touch anything. The father was not allowed to see wife or child until fourteen days had elapsed. Were the shelter weather-proof, no exception could have been taken; but the rude huts were of the flimsiest nature, and the rain poured down on the unfortunate patient, who often sank under the ordeal, both mother and babe being sacrificed to this superstition.

One morning Mrs. Goldie was called to Miriami, the wife of Joni Leqere, a Fijian catechist, who had given birth to a child. The news caused great commotion amongst the natives on the station, and the men and boys took fright. Driven by fear of breaking this *tambu*, they ran from the station, and within one hour of the fact becoming known we were left without a native. Two lads only were brave enough to remain; Kabo Haru and Samuela. They had a terrible time, and the witches predicted Sam's death. Knowing how often they help fulfil their own predictions, we kept careful watch over Sam. Shortly he became very ill. It seemed to me a case of malarial typhoid, but the natives were sure that it was the result of remaining on the station when the baby was born. His case, said they, was hopeless.

To give proper attention and to see that no harm came, we took him into the house to nurse. For three weeks he lay at death's door, and for three weeks the witches croaked at the apparent fulfilment of their prophecy. Meantime we did what we could, and made it daily a matter of prayer. Much depended on this sickness, and, though serious indeed, God gave the assurance that Sam would live to glorify His name. Our faith was severely tested, and almost failed, for once the spark of life seemed to have left the body. His people brought all kinds of remedies, and even came for his body, as they believed him to be dead; but they were not allowed access to him. Sam began to recover, the witches ceased to boast, and the village folk began to think. The lad said the sickness was God's message to him, saying, 'Seek ye My face.' During the days of his convalescence, Rusiate, our Fijian teacher, one of the most Christ-like men I have met, sang to him the songs of the new life, and in broken Roviana told this heathen lad the story of Calvary. Sam became a new man in Christ Jesus. He is with us to-day, a preacher of the gospel. He married one of the mission girls. When his first son was born he proudly came to me and said, 'There are two things I greatly desire, Sir; to name my son after you, who first brought us the gospel, and to name him after God's servant Moses.' I replied, 'By all means call him Moses, but that in itself is name enough for any child.' Sam had his way, and the little toddler is called 'Joni Moses.' He thrives in spite of it.

There is no royal road to success in mission work. Twelve years in pioneer mission work has taught us that the road to victory is via Calvary. The word *bless* is derived from the Anglo-Saxon word for *blood*. In the mission field it is true, as in no other sphere, that 'whosoever will save his life shall lose it, but whosoever will lose his life for My sake, the same shall save it.' There is no power that will influence heathen people but the power of love, and love means sacrifice. The hands of Christ's servant must bear the print of the nails.

It was not long before the little band had to dig a grave on that far-off shore. We had left our homes with that possibility in view. When Wiliami Gavidi fell sick, and day after day lay racked with burning fever, I offered to send him home to Fiji, but the poor fellow pleaded to remain. 'What will my people say if I go back when the work is only just beginning in the Solomons; if I, a soldier of Jesus Christ, become faint-hearted and desert? If death comes to me, Sir, I am ready to meet it; but let me die at my post.' Far from his own folk, amid strange and savage surroundings, he fell, after six short months of service.

Rusiate Sawatabu was the next to go. He and I went down with fever at the same time, and for weeks we struggled against its ravages. Mr. Rooney assisted Mrs. Goldie to nurse us. I had been given up, and they watched daily for my death, while Rusiate gave promise of pulling through. On Friday he crawled to my room to bid me good-bye, but the poor fellow had a relapse, and was carried to his grave on Monday. There were brave men and women from Samoa who laid down their lives for the gospel. Others stood round the grave of wife and child, with stricken hearts. With not a word of complaint, they brushed away the silent tear and went back to their work. They live again, these brave pioneers, in the lives and love of those for whom they lived and died. The living Church is their best memorial.

We were due for furlough in 1906, and the Board of Missions gave us permission to visit Australia. We found it impossible, however, to leave at that stage without imperilling the work. In October 1907 the way seemed clear, and we prepared to leave. Our boxes were packed, and some of them had already been taken to the steamer. Before we got away dysentery, that terrible scourge of the tropics, broke out and spread with great rapidity through the villages. We knew that it would make its appearance on the station also, and we decided to let the steamer go, so that we could see our people through this trouble. Then began a fight with

sickness and death such as I hope never to see again. Numbers of people died in the villages, and we had on the mission station quite sixty cases at one time. Mr. and Mrs. Rooney came over from Choiseul to take our places, but Mrs. Rooney herself went down with the disease. Our children were great sufferers, and my little boy was taken from us after three days' illness. They were dark and terrible times, and I often wonder how we came through them. To take your dead child out of its mother's arms, that she may attend to her dying child in the next room, is an experience that one hopes never to pass through again. Yet God was good, for of all the natives on the mission station we did not lose one. Is it to be wondered that we love the Roviana people? They have cost us a great deal.

Was it worth while? Could I take the reader into our day school at Kokeqolo and let him see the crowd of bright, intelligent boys and girls, clean, alert, obedient, bending over their work with happy eagerness, he could give one answer only. There are twenty such schools in the Solomon Islands to-day. Or if he visited the college where the students are at work, each one the son of a head-hunter, some having taken part in raids, now anxious about one thing only—how best to fit themselves for the work of spreading the gospel—he would say it was worth it all.

Or let him go with me to one of my Sunday appointments. An hour and a half in the little launch would bring us to the island of Kepi, ten miles from the head station, and in the wonderful Roviana Lagoon. Landing at the little stone wharf, we are conducted to the finest native building in the Solomons. It is the Methodist church, and the people of Kepi are proud of it, as they have good reason to be. We take our place on the rostrum and look on the crowd of eager worshippers. It is hard to realize that on this spot there stood, but seven years ago, the most important heathen altar in New Georgia. Here the men who had been on head-hunting raids came to offer sacrifices and to take part in

cannibal feasts. Some of the men who worshipped at that shrine are now sitting before us. With their own hands have they taken their sacred images and the bones of their ancestors to bury them. They have levelled the altar stone by stone to the ground, and on the spot they have built this beautiful church at their own expense. Look into their calm, peaceful faces as they sit in God's house; see them reverently and intelligently joining in the service of praise, listening intently to the reading of God's Word in their own tongue; see by their sides happy children and contented wives, who have come to thank God for the dawn of brighter, happier days. See this, and you will say, 'Yes, it is worth while.' This change has not been forced on the people. It was at their urgent request that teachers were sent to them.

All who renounce heathenism and become followers of the Christ are gathered into weekly classes. My class meets every Thursday afternoon. What a class it is! There is not another like it in world-wide Methodism. It is composed of 100 of the finest young men of New Georgia, not one of whom, less than twelve years ago, had heard the name of Christ. Almost every one has been baptized by myself. I remember them in heathen days, when some of them were so given over to crime and passion, plunged in black ignorance, and preyed upon by hideous and grotesque delusions, that the image of the Creator was almost obliterated. Then the predominant note of their lives was fear. Now it is joy. As I look round I see men who were murderers in days gone by, hunters of human prey and hunted in turn, sitting with the light of heavenly joy on their faces. I hear the name of Jesus spoken reverently and lovingly, as though that name charmed their souls, and I thank God for the transforming power of His love. They speak freely of their spiritual experiences, their struggles, difficulties, and failures, their victories, and blessings.

The first to rise is Joni Sasabeti, a young chief of Roviana. He is the eldest son of Liliti, who came to us after our arrival

in 1902, and expressed his fears as to the anger of their gods. Liliti's son is a most acceptable local preacher. He speaks of his father's early fears, not slightingly, but with loving pity, and he tells how those fears were dispelled. The old man's dying wish was that his son should become a Christian. His experience is as bright as his countenance, and he cheers all hearts as he tells of his confidence in God and his desire to live the Christ life.

The next is Joshua Sua. He speaks in abrupt, broken language. 'Let my life speak, and let my lips be silent. I am a man of few words,' which is true. 'You all know me, what I was, and what I am by God's grace. When I first heard of the missionary and of the mission schools, I came, thinking that I would soon become a scholar. I was a fool then, and if I have since learned anything it is that my ignorance is greater than I thought. The youngest child in the school easily outstrips me. But, brethren, I came seeking then what I know now to be a small thing, and I found here the greatest thing in the world: the love of Christ.' As the old man speaks, memory goes back to the day he first came to us, axe in one hand, his shield in the other, hair matted with lime, and skin covered with filth; a wild, savage creature, hunted by his fellows for crimes committed. I have watched his life since conversion seven years ago. Earnest, sincere, devoted follower of Christ, his life speaks. He is a living epistle, a monument of God's power to save.

Near by, Timoti Loe is sitting ready to speak. I know of no better illustration of the transforming power of the gospel than this young man. He came to the mission eight years ago, a wild, unkempt, uncouth lad, ready for anything from theft to murder. He worked on the plantation under myself, and, though a good worker, was a most difficult lad to manage, always fighting with the other lads. We bore with him for long, till, hearing of some fresh act of disobedience, I told him I should have to turn him off the station. 'Sir,' he said, 'do you really mean to send me away? I have nowhere

to go to but back to the old life of the villages. I know that I am a bad man, but all that I know of goodness and happiness I have learnt with you, and though you may not think so, I am a better man than I was. Within me there are two men fighting for the mastery: the old Loe, fierce, and quick, and strong; and the new Loe, which wants to do what is right. I will not promise you to be better, for perhaps I shall grieve you again by failure. O sir, can the Christ, about whom you preach, give me power to be good? Thrash me, kill me, if you like, but don't send me away.' We knelt together in my study, and that day Christ took possession of his heart. Timoti has been my constant companion since that time. He has helped me to establish new mission stations in difficult and dangerous places. He has watched by my side through long and stormy nights at sea. He has sorrowed with me over the fall of some young convert, and in the spirit of meekness and love has helped to restore such a one. He is a preacher of Christ's gospel, and his life shines forth as an example of the power of that gospel. The change wrought in his life is one of the greatest of moral miracles.

Others speak, telling of difficulties, of failures, and of joys, making request for the prayers of others. There are failures also, but there are failures in other and more favoured lands. We remember with thankfulness that even in failure these people rarely fall quite as low as they were before the gospel reached them.

Not long after we began work at Roviana I visited the island of Simbo, 50 miles away. The people of Simbo are first cousins to the Roviana natives, and we had not much difficulty in establishing a teacher there. The first man to influence the Simbo people was a fine Fijian, Joni Leqere. I landed Joni there on September 15, 1903, and he did good work. Had he stayed longer he would have won many for Christ. He was followed by Muna, a Samoan catechist, whose fine work on that island stands to this day. Through lack of men we were not able to keep this station well manned,

and our work suffered. We have a fine Tongan catechist there now, and we number many of the people amongst our members.

The next station opened was Bilua, on the island of Vella Lavella. I conducted the first Christian service on this island on Sunday, March 19, 1904, landing the day before, when I had a long talk with the chiefs and leading people. They were wild and savage at that time. A little while before a Government punitive expedition had burnt the villages on the site where our mission station stands. We were well received. Acting on the advice of two Roviana chiefs who accompanied us, the Bilua people requested me to leave a teacher. The man selected for this pioneer work was Ratu Aparosa, a Fijian, and he soon made his influence felt all over the south end of Vella Lavella. He built a good native church and gathered a congregation, and we were soon able to open other stations.

In 1907 the Rev. R. C. Nicholson was appointed to Vella Lavella, and great progress has been made. It is the story of Roviana over again. The school work, Sunday services, and class-meetings all evidence a vigorous spiritual life. The devotion of the native Christians can but excite wonder when one remembers what they were. In 1911 Mr. Nicholson was married to Miss Bessie Lancaster, of Victoria. Mrs. Nicholson has made a vast difference in the lives of the women of Vella Lavella.

I first visited Choiseul in August 1904. On entering into negotiations with the natives of the south end of the island, I narrowly escaped losing my life. On Choiseul in the early days I had several close calls. In August 1904 I induced the people of Varese to receive a teacher, and held the first Christian service on the island in August of that year. A few months later another station was opened at Kuboro, and in May 1905 the Rev. S. R. Rooney landed at Babatana. We invited the chiefs to a conference on board the mission lugger *Bondai*, and Mr. Rooney was put ashore with all his

goods. Mr. Rooney had been with me on the head station, and no man ever had a more loyal and devoted colleague. It was thought wise that he should take the oversight of this important work. He had a difficult and dangerous task. To land without equipment or arms in the midst of a people noted for their deep cunning and savage character required courage.

Mr. Rooney's shelter for the first two weeks was a native hut, 10 feet by 8, with walls 3 feet high. By that time a leaf house had been built. In this he lived until his own residence was erected, and he was joined by Mrs. Rooney. I cannot write of the troubles through which Mr. Rooney passed in those days: the opposition of the tribes, and the attempts made on his life. I can only say that by God's grace he and his brave wife won through. In that circuit to-day there are 400 Church members, nearly all led to Christ through his efforts.

My first acquaintance with this tiny group of islands was in May 1904. Two years previously Dr. Brown paid a short visit, but nothing was done. The place is merely a coral atoll, with a number of tiny islets, lying about 250 miles to the north-east of the head station at Roviana. It is often difficult to find these islands, as they are flat, and can only be sighted from the masthead a few miles off. The length of the group is about 40 miles. As the ocean currents are exceptionally strong, it is easy to pass the group without seeing it. As I had not learned the art of navigation, I arranged to go with one of the traders who hoped to obtain labour recruits. We drifted on day after day, as there was little wind, and Julius 'took the sun' every day to determine our position. On the fifth day, as he was making the usual observation, I said, 'Well, Julius, where are we now?' 'According to my reckoning,' replied Julius, 'we are right on top of the blessed place.' 'Indeed!' I said; 'let us get the lead and sound for it.' 'No, we'll go on this course till noon to-morrow,' said this descendant of the Vikings, 'and

if we don't sight land, we'll beat up in a south-east direction for two or three days. Then, if nothing shows, we'll go for a week west, and after that, if we do not strike it, we'll get back to the Solomons.' We did 'strike it,' and were soon anchored in the great lagoon, off the island of Pelou. We also visited Lua Niua, and tried to persuade the people to receive a teacher. The opposition, however, was too great.

I visited the place the following year, and met with a similar reception. In 1906 I had with me two native teachers, Semesi Nau, a Tongan, and Pologa, a Samoan. When it was evident that the opposition was as keen as ever, these men offered to remain, if I would give them permission. I told them that I could not consent to this, as it was so far from head quarters. I said, 'If I could remain with you I would not hesitate, but I do not care to expose you to risks that I cannot share.' I said that as we would not leave until the following day, they had better make it a matter of prayer, and if still of the same mind, I would listen to what they had to say. After prayerful consideration they said, 'Sir, if you will take our wives and families back to the Solomons with you and care for them, we are willing to remain and do our best to win Lua Niua for Christ.' I asked, had they considered all that this involved? I shall never forget their answer: 'Sir, we have thought of all these things, the distance from help, and the risk, and we have also considered what Christ has done for us. If it is God's will that these things should come to us, our lives are His.' They remained. I gave them a boat and an old sail to shelter them, with provisions and medicines, and left them anchored in the lagoon. It was three months before they got permission to land. They were denied access to the only well of water on the island. An old man took pity on them, and swam out to them at night, carrying green coco-nuts, which, to the natives, are both meat and drink. The chief of Pelou, an island 40 miles away, sent for them, and received them kindly, but the Lua Niua people would have nothing to do with them or their messages. At the end

of the third month an epidemic broke out, and the superstitions of the king and priests connected this epidemic with the treatment they had given the two missionaries. After consultation the teachers were brought ashore, and a house built for them. The tide turned in their favour, and in a short time the Lua Niua folk were nominally followers of the *lotu*, and many of them were converted.

In 1908 the Rev. E. E. Shackell, who was appointed to Lua Niua, was removed after two years by an unsympathetic Government official, under circumstances discreditable alike to the British Government and to the Methodist Church, which permitted such high-handed action to pass unchallenged. The commissioner went to Lua Niua as the guest of traders antagonistic to the work, and though not intentionally unfair, he acted unjustly and illegally. As chairman of the district I did all that could be done, and was loyally supported by the District Synod. The Board of Missions was committed to a certain course by one of its officials, appointed under a misapprehension as to its powers. Disregarding the opinions and appeals of the local missionaries, he took no action. Hundreds of people at Lua Niua were thrown back into heathenism. A few young converts at Lua Niua stood the test of these dark days, braving the bitter persecution of the king and others. The commissioner seems unable to put a stop to this persecution. The chief is under the impression that he is carrying out the ' Governor's ' will, but he is mistaken. At present there is neither missionary nor native teacher stationed there.

The worst feature about the Commissioner's action was that the mission was also removed from Pelou, where almost every man, woman, and child was connected with the mission. In spite of the united protests of the inhabitants, and amid the bitter cries and lamentations of the entire population, our teachers were dragged from their homes with their families, and taken to the head station at Roviana. As the official representative of the Church, no reason was given to me, nor

compensation offered, for this high-handed and stupid blunder. The reason given for the removal of the mission from Lua Niua was that Mr. Shackell had been guilty of excessive zeal, and wished to compel the natives to adopt the Christian religion. Were this so, such charges should be inquired into, and Mr. Shackell held innocent until proved guilty. But no such opportunity was afforded. At Pelou no excuse was offered. There was none to offer. There was no possible justification for such action. I was able to re-establish our mission at Pelou, amid general rejoicing. I found that the troubles which had befallen them had not caused them to lapse into heathenism again. We now have a flourishing cause there.

The lot of the women in the Solomons is a hard one. This work was started by Mrs. Goldie and Mrs. Rooney in 1903. After Mrs. Rooney's removal to Choiseul it was carried on by Mrs. Goldie for several years. Sewing and mat-making classes were formed at various centres, and in her little boat, with a crew of native girls, Mrs. Goldie went all over the lagoon, attending the sick and instructing the women and girls. The fruits of these efforts are seen in the number of clean, bright Christian wives and mothers, seeking to lead their offspring in the way that leads to life.

The results of these efforts are also seen in the Christian families springing up. As hinted before, these women were expert in evil ways, as the following incident shows. Liliti, the Roviana chief before mentioned, came and asked me to preach on a particular subject. 'Our women are very wicked,' said this old man, 'and if things go on as they are going we shall soon die out. They refuse to undertake the responsibilities of motherhood, and we want you to talk plainly to them. I know that these things are *tambu* with you white people, but it is not so with us; we speak with the utmost freedom. If you do not care to speak in the presence of the white women, ask them to remain at home. We will see that our women are present, but you must speak very plainly

indeed to them.' After some hesitation I consented, and spoke in condemnation of these horrible practices. The matter passed from my mind, until, years afterwards, at a special service, Liliti's son said, 'Do you see that row of little children from Roviana Island? They were not born when you spoke to their mothers that Sunday morning long ago. Not one of them would have been born alive but for that talk, and the influence of the missionaries' wives.' The work has been long and difficult, but it has not failed; and to-day in every village we hear the laughter of clean-faced children and happy mothers coming to welcome us as we approach their homes. These are the women who, sullen, lazy, and dirty, fled at the sight of us years ago. We are not without hope that at Roviana the decline in the population has been arrested, and that these people have a bright future.

In 1909 we commenced our sisters' work at Roviana. Miss M. Davey and Miss Keyte were the first sisters appointed. The latter returned almost immediately, but Miss Davey has done splendid work amongst the women. She has given freely of her strength, and the loving service rendered has been wonderfully owned and blessed of God. In 1912 Miss Gartrell and Nurse Yandell were appointed. They have been very successful. What is true of Roviana is true of Choiseul and Vella Lavella. The teachers' wives have done much for the women of the villages. Mrs. Rooney has done her best for the women of Choiseul Island. Her task has been a difficult one, as the villages of Choiseul are mostly in the mountains. The women have been persuaded to come down for the Sunday services, sewing classes, and medical advice. Many of them have been influenced for good, and not a few have become Christians.

On Vella Lavella not much was attempted until Mrs. Nicholson arrived in 1911. Since that time considerable progress has been made. The terrible custom of strangling widows caused much sorrow and anxiety. As the result of Mrs. Nicholson's exertions this has almost ceased, and many

of these unfortunates are living on the mission station bright, happy, and useful lives. It is a beautiful sight on Sunday to see the clean, happy maidens, under the care of the missionary's wife, file into church to worship. We look on this part of our work as most important, for the women have the making of the home and the training of the children. Many a Christian native has been ruined by being mated to a heathen.

One who came as a lay missionary years ago told me that he 'had come to preach the gospel, not to work.' The first part of the statement I doubted; the latter was self-evident. This pious cant explains many failures on the mission field. I am convinced that mission work amongst savage people, if it is to succeed, must be on industrial lines. I hope that I shall not be misunderstood when I say that the most objectionable creature in the Pacific to-day, with the exception of the white beach-comber, who has sunk below the level of the natives on whom he sponges, is the religious loafer. The loafer is at all times objectionable, but the half-civilized native who loves to strut round quoting passages of the Bible, singing hymns, and shaking hands on the slightest provocation, but who has learned nothing of industry, honesty, or cleanliness, is the most objectionable of all. He is a by-product of Christian missions. He has been taught a Christian creed divorced from Christian conduct. He, too, is ready to 'preach the gospel, not to work,' but, unlike our white friend, he is to be pitied more than blamed.

As one result of missionary effort and civilized government, the natives cannot follow their old occupations. The head-hunting raids, the heathen feasts, the long and tedious ceremonies connected with the practice of ancient superstitions, these have gone. To get the best from these people, we must teach them to be industrious, honest, clean, and self-reliant, and, if need be, self-sacrificing. We must show them how to apply the new standard of conduct and the moral code we have forced on them. We must teach them to translate

Christian creed into Christian practice. Can this be done? It *can* be done, and it certainly should be done. The difficulty is to know *how best* to do it. Speaking to a high Government official from Fiji, who approved of industrial mission work, but criticized the methods adopted, I said, ' It is an easy thing to criticize. Show us how best to do the work, and we will do it. Point the way, and at any expenditure of time, energy, and money the Church will follow.' But we must be convinced that it *will* serve their interests.

We have done a little in this direction. On the head stations we have plantations which find employment for school-boys from a distance. Here they are taught the best methods, and they learn the value and dignity of honest labour. The students are also taught carpentering, which is immensely useful to them on stations of their own. It has been our policy to teach on these lines, and we have been well repaid by the increased efficiency of the young men already stationed out. The Rev. H. R. Rycroft, who was appointed in 1912, and who is specially qualified to take charge of this work, will devote his time to training students on these lines, as well as in the ordinary school course. On the out-stations we insist on the converts undertaking some form of service. Where the chief is a member of the Church, he is taught how to organize the work of his people for the general welfare. In this way the Christians form themselves into bands of workers, ready, if need be, to do evangelistic work. They are making model villages, and improving the conditions under which they live. They are learning how to utilize their idle lands, and are making plantations of food and coco-nuts. These are their own property. The mission has no other reward than the knowledge that these people, emerging from heathenism, are learning how to make the best of their lives.

We began this work amongst a purely savage people in May 1902. No track had been blazed, and we were the pioneers. We have not laboured in vain. We held our first

Synod on the island of Nusa Songa in July 1902, and compiled our statistics for Conference. We had little to report: churches none; schools none; and so on. At the Synod of 1913 we reported: churches 31; other preaching-places 28; catechists 14; local preachers 19; class-leaders 10; Sunday schools 19; Sunday-school scholars 1,550; day-school teachers 29; day-school scholars 826; native members 511; native members on trial 524; adherents 6,625. These figures represent something, though not everything, for there is much that cannot be tabulated. The medical work and the child-life saved cannot be entered in returns, but they count for much in the lives of the people. The languages of Roviana, Choiseul, and Vella Lavella have been reduced to writing for the first time; and portions of God's Word, the catechism, and hymns translated are given to the people, in addition to a short *Life of Christ* in the Roviana language. We are thankful to that God who has guided and blessed us in past years. We look forward with confidence to that time when the Solomons shall, from one end to the other, have the light of the gospel given them.

PART V

GENERAL

CHAPTER I

COMMERCE

By THE RT. HON. JOSEPH COOK, P.C., M.P.
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SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

A hundred years!—Food supply—Meagre exports—Experiments—Wool—Macarthur—Table of wool exports—Sydney Smith—Gold—Trade in 1912—Days of unrest—Island trade—Macarthur's memorial—South Sea traders—Big profits—Outer Pacific trade—Japan—China—British Columbia—Panama Canal.

CHAPTER I

COMMERCE

The story of the development of the commerce of the Pacific during the past hundred years is one of romance and adventure beyond the belief of those content to take the tabulations of the statistician and rest there. Behind the facts and figures is a moving, human story of stress and struggle and danger; which, while readable as a novel, supplies a fascinating study of the philosophy of life. The pulse thrills at the mere narration of the events which have, in a brief century and a quarter, so completely changed the face of Nature in these new lands of the Pacific. They make one wonder, in the contemplation, whether we have, by some magic touch, been taken into the fairyland of the Arabian Nights. At one end stands the picture of the nude native wandering through Nature's solitudes, relying on Nature to furnish the scanty and elemental fare of a still scantier and barer civilization. As he roamed through the forests covering the hills of his native land, or paddled his canoe through the innumerable coral islands, no thought of the potential value of the islands and the forests concerned him. To him it was a sealed book. His sole idea was self-preservation and how to obtain his daily sustenance. He was free from care and cash. One day the white man came from over the seas with his busy and ambitious brain, and his more adventurous and contriving spirit; and lo! the bare land is turned to gold, literally and directly from below, and indirectly also from above. The record of what lies between that day and the present we may only glance at in this

article; the fuller delineation must be for some other time and place. But no account of the progress of the century in these New World centres would be complete without a description of the material setting in which the crown and flower of the full and varied life of those radiant and spacious days are posed.

In the following narrative, the facts of which have been culled from many sources amid many interruptions, we see that the obligation to face the fundamental facts of existence has shaped and determined the trade and commerce of our fruitful day. Necessity, stern and relentless, has been the principal moving factor in the building up of our newer, and more wonderfully coloured, and, may we also hope, long-enduring national fabric.

For many years after the first settlement of Australia the efforts of the little community were directed towards maintaining a sufficient food supply. It was some years before it was able to provide even the barest necessities of life. In the meantime it had to fall back upon assistance from England to supply even its primitive wants. Accordingly, the early records tell, not only of the importation of articles of British or foreign manufacture, but also of articles of food, required for the internal consumption of the settlement. In the nature of things this precarious state of existence could not long continue. It was clear that assistance from England would not be likely to continue indefinitely. Hence the early efforts were directed towards making the settlement self-supporting, and capable of bridging over any temporary misfortune, such as failure of crops, floods, drought, &c.; and, after that, to produce and export such goods as could be exchanged in payment for the large amount of imports. Vessels were coming to Australia laden with produce, and returning to England in ballast. In this way our trading facilities and means of communication with England came into being. Naturally, these efforts were small in scale, although moved and shaped by the most heroic endeavours.

It was not until a late period that the volume of trade became considerable.

In the early beginning there was a clear distinction between the trade of the islands of the Pacific, as compared with that of the mainland. In the islands, trade was confined to indigenous produce, such as copra, bêche-de-mer, sandal-wood, and pearl shell; whereas on the continent the articles of export supplied by Nature were meagre, temporary, and uncertain, consisting only of sealskins, whale oil, &c., and such things as would not eventually become staple articles of commerce.

Even to as late a period as the administration of Sir Thomas Brisbane, although a few sealskins, a few tons of coal, and a few bales of wool had been occasionally exported, the chief, if not the only, support of the infant settlement was the expenditure of British money. From the establishment of the colony efforts were made in the direction of making the settlement self-supporting, and giving an exportable value to the productions to which the soil and climate appeared to be favourable. It was therefore necessary to find out what those productions were, and for the settlers to devote their energies to their cultivation. For example: it was thought that the cultivation of flax would prove successful. In the year 1810 Governor Macquarie offered a bounty for its cultivation; and also promised to receive at the Government factory at Parramatta any quantity exceeding that required for domestic purposes. The effort did not meet with success. In 1823 the production of flax was just sufficient for local needs. The cultivation of tobacco ended in failure, in spite of the increase of duty on this article of import from 6*d*. to 4*s*. per lb. A few tons of bark of a particular species of the mimosa-tree suitable for tanning purposes were exported, but the price obtained, £6 per ton, did not pay the cost of collection and freight. Logs of stringy-bark were also sent to England, but the wood was not found suitable for use.

Again, in 1819 a cargo of flour was exported to the Cape of Good Hope in a vessel built in Sydney. It was hoped to establish trade relations with that portion of the Empire; but the profits of the venture were not such as to encourage a repetition. It will thus be seen that the earliest trade was experimental; that is to say, an endeavour was being made to find some constant and exportable article of commerce. But though the endeavours of the settlers in this regard were not crowned with success, it was during these years that the foundation of the staple article of export of the continent for the long years to come was being laid, and upon which the prosperity of Australia was primarily to rest. This came about in an unexpected manner, as did the discovery of gold in the middle of the century, a discovery which had a material effect on the trade of the continent.

In the year 1792 or 1793 a few English sheep, which had been accidentally carried out from Ireland, were landed at Port Jackson. John Macarthur, one of the military officers, observing the effect produced by the cross with the sheep of the hair-breeding types from the Cape of Good Hope and Bengal, of which there were a number, was particularly struck with the improvement of coarse-woolled sheep and the growth of the wool. In 1804 some of the most eminent manufacturers of woollen cloth in England saw specimens of this wool, and they were impressed with its fine quality. The year 1811 was the first year in which Australian wool was noticed in the official returns. The export was then 167 lb. Sir Joseph Banks' clerk, reporting on this matter, declared that 'the herbage of the colony is by no means so well adapted to sheep farming as that of Europe; but as the true merino breed will certainly retain the superiority of their fleeces, and produce wool worth 6*s*. per lb. at least, when washed and scoured, or £172 sterling per ton, there can be no doubt that it will bear the necessary charges, insurance, &c., and become in time a profitable article of cargo from Port Jackson to London.'

When, a few years later, Macarthur went to England with a small quantity of wool, Australia probably did not carry more than 10,000 sheep. To-day there are nearly 90,000,000 in the Commonwealth, and 24,000,000 in New Zealand. Between them the two countries supply about 65 per cent. of the wool imported into Europe and North America. Wool sales, held at the important centres of Australia and New Zealand during the season, from October to January, are attended by a large number of buyers from English and continental houses. The best customers for Australian and New Zealand wool are the United Kingdom, France, and Germany, nearly half being shipped to the first-named country. A ready market is also found for Australian 'Bradford Tops' in Japan, whither 2,703,000 lb., valued at £290,000, were forwarded during the year 1912.

The appended table, supplied by the courtesy of Mr. G. H. Knibbs, Commonwealth Statistician, to whom I am much indebted, shows the quantity and value of wool (excluding skins) exported from Australia and New Zealand to the principal manufacturing countries during 1912.

Country.	Australia.		New Zealand.	
	lb.	£	lb.	£
United Kingdom .	267,997,000	10,419,000	187,235,000	6,508,000
Belgium . .	66,002,000	2,480,000	552,000	18,000
France . . .	181,631,000	6,528,000	2,913,000	91,000
Germany . .	128,607,000	5,051,000	5,797,000	207,000
Japan . . .	14,841,000	703,000	20,000	1,000
United States .	8,786,000	460,000	5,105,000	223,000
Other Countries .	16,477,000	713,000	1,489,000	57,000
	684,341,000	26,354,000	203,111,000	7,105,000

Note.—The weight of the wool is computed as in grease.

As there was no regular communication with the outside world prior to 1823, it is impossible to give any conception

of the volume of trade, as it varied greatly each year. In the coasting trade the number of vessels engaged did not exceed twenty-nine, of which seven were not more than fifteen tons burden, and the largest did not exceed 184 tons. Certainly the amount of trade was very small, consisting of the importation from Hobart and Port Dalrymple of wheat, salted meat, and potatoes. On the other hand, hats, coarse cloths, blankets, &c., the manufacture of which had been commenced in Sydney, were exported to Van Dieman's Land.

The foreign trade covered the importation of sugar, spirits, soap, and cotton goods from Bengal, and tea and sugar candy from Canton; to which may be added Chinese silks and wearing apparel made in China of cloth imported from Great Britain. The importations from Europe consisted of iron and hardware goods, cotton, millinery, wines, porter, cheese, and salted provisions. A few successful attempts were made at one period to supply China and Batavia with sandal-wood, pearl shell, and bêche-de-mer from the South Sea Islands, and in return to import cargoes of tea. Owing to constant trouble with the natives and the competition of American traders, the project was dropped. The East India Company had control of the shipping, and the trade with China was carried on by India-built vessels; and, in one instance, by a vessel carrying a register from the Isle of France, for which a licence had been obtained from the Bengal Government.

Referring to this period, Sydney Smith, in an article on Botany Bay, wrote as follows: 'This land of convicts and kangaroos is beginning to rise into a very fine and flourishing settlement; and great indeed must be the natural resources, and splendid the endowments of that land that has been able to survive the system of neglect and oppression experienced from the mother country.' At this period, namely, 1817, the figures for the settlement stood as follows:

Population	20,379	
Land in Cultivation	47,564	acres.
Horned Cattle	44,753	
Horses	3,072	
Sheep	170,920	
Hogs	17,842.	

Smith also states that there was a bank, with a capital of £20,000, a newspaper, and a town containing about 7,000 inhabitants. In the year 1835 it is recorded that 3,776,191 lb. of wool were exported; and in the same year 2,492 tons of coal, 2,904 tons of sperm oil, and 1,159 tons of black oil figured in the list of exports.

It was along these lines that development proceeded slowly, doggedly, and determinedly until the discovery of gold. Then began a transformation scene. With the advent of the gold seekers to California and Australia, there came the swifter ship in response to the demand for greater speed and comfort; and the graceful clipper which had been constructed for the carriage of tea from China to the western countries was made available for those who went hurrying in search of the precious metals. The romance of the clipper remains; but her glory has departed after a keen and severe, but withal unsuccessful, competition with the more powerful and rapid, though far less beautiful, steamship.

To the mineral industry Australia may be said largely to owe her nationhood. It was due to the discovery of gold in 1851 that many thousands came to her shores, thus laying the foundation of her present population. The total value of gold produced in Australasia at the end of 1912 was no less than £628,000,000 sterling. In the same year, other minerals were produced in Australia to the value of £15,749,000. Much of this output found its market oversea. The table shown hereunder will indicate the nature and extent of the export trade of Australia and New Zealand during the year 1912.

	Australia.	New Zealand.
	£	£
Butter	2,342 300	2,088,800
Meats, Poultry, and Game	4,567,900	4,048,100
Wheat	6,403,200	95,700
Flour	1,456,700	2,900
Hides and Skins	4,289,100	1,091,900
Wool	26,354,600	7,105,500
Tallow	1,548,500	684,700
Coal	1,147,000	24,400
Ores and Concentrates	4,011,900	39,300
Copper Ingots and Matte	2,214,300	
Gold Bullion	1,877,400	1,319,800
Lead Pig	1,262,000	
Other	18,486,600	4,771,300
Total	£75,961,500	£21,272,400

Looking back over the years, there stands out a vivid parallel of these days of unrest. In this respect times have changed scarcely. That spirit which, for want of a better term, we call human nature was active then as now, and its manifestations were much the same. Governor King was instructed to 'put an end to the unwarranted and scandalous monopolies' that existed. These were declared to be the cause of much ruin and distress to the settlers and other institutions, and also of great injury to the public interest and that of His Majesty's service. Accordingly, a dispensation to trade was insisted upon by the Government. The disposal of the traders' cargo was dictated, the margin of profit was specified, and must not be exceeded. Prices were fixed for clothing. Salt beef was 9*d.* per lb., and salt pork 1*s.* 3¾*d.* per lb. These prices were fixed in proportion to what the Government paid for animal food to the settlers. The advanced Socialist of to-day could surely desire no more. So it is that throughout the ages 'one increasing purpose runs.' Our economic troubles of to-day are not so very different from those of yesterday and the day before.

Turning to the islands of the Pacific, we trace the beginning of their commerce in sandalwood 'to burn before the

Chinese idols,' and in bêche-de-mer 'to gratify the palates of the Chinese epicures.' These attracted the adventurous spirits to an arduous and dangerous life. In those days trade was attended with many difficulties, through the peril of uncharted seas, resulting in innumerable wrecks, and the treacherous behaviour of the natives. To narrate the history of trade during the first forty years of the nineteenth century would be to tell the story of the shipwreck and massacre of many a ship's crew, and the subsequent cannibal feasting of the islanders. 'Many an antiquated gun and anchor still lying in the Fijian towns and villages on the smaller islands and the coast of the larger ones bear silent and sad testimony to the risks and dangers and wild events of those years.' As may be imagined, trade was limited and meagre, copra and pearl shell not being obtainable in quantities. It was confined to vessels going from one island to another collecting sandal-wood and bêche-de-mer from the natives, in return for various kinds of bright-coloured piece goods, beads, muskets, knives, and such things as appealed to the Polynesian taste.

Commerce between the mainland and the Pacific islands would seem already to have begun when John Macarthur memorialized Governor King for permission to dispatch a trading vessel to the Fiji and Friendly, and other islands in the Pacific. For this purpose he had purchased a brig, so he said, and entered into engagements with a respectable and intelligent young man, a member of the missionary society. This man had resided for years in the islands, and was therefore well acquainted with the language, customs, and manners of the inhabitants. He declared his further object to be to rescue a lucrative trade from the hands of the foreigners, who traded under American and other neutral flags. Evidently the Americans were busily engaged in the seal fisheries. Their competition appeared to be as keen then as now; for a bill which was introduced at the time made provision for preventing American intercourse

with the infant colonies. With these and other highly protective provisions we gradually got the trade. It is a way the Britisher has when left alone.

In the year 1808 the cost of a vessel fitted out to trade with the Fiji Islands for sandal-wood was stated to be £2,000. The monthly wages of the master and crew were set down at £100 per month, or £600 for a voyage estimated to take six months. The total expenses were set down at £3,354. The cargo was valued at £6,500, the net profit being £3,546. So ran the balance sheet of this tiny craft. Compare it with the mammoth liners of to-day, and behold the miracle and magic of our progressive civilization!

This method of trading among the islands continued until late in the century; now it may practically be said to have passed away. But after the middle of the century, when civilization, such as it was, spread among the Polynesians, and they were experiencing the humanizing effects of contact with the outside world, there grew up another class of trader. This class was recruited by deserters from the whalers and merchant ships frequenting the islands. Weary of hard work and the small recompense of a seafaring life, these deserters chose to spend their existence among the copper-coloured Polynesians. Some made fortunes; others eked out a bare living. Still it was a life of freedom, devoid of the hardships and miseries of life at sea. Louis Becke says that the general conception of the South Sea trader in those days was that of a wild buccaneer whose life was spent in one long series of murders and debauchery. This may be true of some of the traders, perhaps escaped convicts from the continent; but it is only fair to say that the majority of traders were just and hospitable, although wild and rough. These men usually devoted their energies to the bêche-de-mer fishery, on account of the small outlay necessary to enable them to embark on such an undertaking. With the assistance of the natives, who were remunerated for their labours by beads, clothing, and pieces of bright material, they

passed from one island to another, collecting and preserving the bêche-de-mer, which they stored until some passing vessel chanced to call and purchase it.

Here, as elsewhere, human motives were the same. Men with capital and business ability set up as merchants, locating themselves in certain central spots in the Pacific, from whence they sent out agents to the surrounding isles, great or small; men accustomed to the natives, speaking their language fluently, and intimately acquainted with their habits and wants. These men were supplied with small parcels of goods to enable them to make advances to the natives, and to establish little trading-posts in all the populous villages, where they gathered much valuable produce, generally copra and pearl shell. Here they awaited the periodical visits of steamers of small tonnage, which came at stated times to take away what they had collected, leaving a fresh supply of goods for the ensuing season. The produce thus obtained was carried to central dépôts, such as Tahiti, Samoa, or Tongatabu, where it was stored until transhipped into larger vessels, to be conveyed in turn direct to Europe.

The method of these traders, as well as the extremely lucrative character of the trade, is well set out by Mr. Sterndale in a report on the trade of the islands. The report to the New Zealand Government in 1874, from which the following extract is taken, states: 'The price usually paid by the traders for the dried material' (referring to copra) 'varies from one to three cents per lb. in goods upon which the usual profit varies from 100 to 300 per cent. Thus, low lines of prints costing from 7*d*. to 8*d*. per fathom are retailed at 2*s*. Shirts which cost in the colonies 15*s*. per dozen are sold at 6*s*. a piece, needles 1*d*. each, and a small reel of sewing cotton at 1*s*. A card of what is called Vandyke braid (an article in great demand in the islands) costs 7*d*., and contains 21 fathoms; it is usual to retail it at 6*d*. per fathom. What comes under the denomination of

manongi, that is to say bergamot, musk, or the like strong scents (of which the Polynesians are extremely fond, and which they consequently buy with the greatest avidity), constitutes a very profitable medium of exchange, insomuch as in Sydney this article is obtained at 7*s.* per dozen vial bottles, which it is usual to retail to the barbarians at one dollar each. Combs, looking-glasses, and gilt ornaments command proportionately high prices; and upon fish-hooks, files, and various iron implements, the profits are very great. Cavendish tobacco is in all cases a dollar a pound; and prints, of whatsoever kind, are never sold at less than half a dollar a fathom. The superior lines and Turkey-red muslin, as likewise Denims and twilled duck always at 75 per cent. profit or more.

'Once get Kanakas to fancy a thing, and they are not particular what they have to pay for it. In 1871 Mr. Vogleman sold to the King of Apiang a 4-lb. iron gun (which had been put into his vessel as ballast) for 30,000 dried coco-nuts, of which the value in the islands was 300 dollars (£60). The piece of ordnance itself was intrinsically worth £1, the price of old iron, it being thickly coated with rust and honeycombed to a degree which rendered it very dangerous to discharge. At the same time his Majesty bought a quantity of gunpowder at a rate corresponding to five dollars per lb., and a number of lobster cans filled with scrap-iron at a proportionately high figure. It was about this time that Captain Hayes, more familiarly known as "Bully" Hayes, sold to the people of Huahine a 9-lb. gun, upon a slide, for 1,000 dollars' worth of coco-nut oil and oranges, and swords at twenty dollars each, which he had bought from Spence Brothers in Melbourne at half a crown.'

The trade and commerce of the islands grew apace, and by the end of the century had assumed large proportions. The trade in sandal-wood and bêche-de-mer passed away, and the principal article of export from the islands at the present day is copra. The value of the quantity exported

during 1911 may be set down at about £500,000. With regard to Fiji, the cultivation of the sugar-cane has progressed with rapid strides, and the green fruit (banana) trade bids fair to grow with the years. The imports of Fiji for 1911 reached the sum of £957,079, of which £164,636 came from the United Kingdom, close on £700,000 from the Commonwealth, New Zealand, and India, and £92,565 from foreign countries. The imports consisted of food-stuffs, biscuits, rice, flour, preserved fish, meat, drapery, manufactured articles, and hardware. The exports for the same year totalled £1,276,206, of which £713,000 went to the Commonwealth and £523,000 to New Zealand. The articles of export consisted of copra, sugar, and fruit.

The same may be said of the other islands. Copra forms the largest proportion of the export. In return they are supplied with foodstuffs, articles of apparel, machinery, hardware goods, &c. The importance of the trade passing from the Commonwealth to the islands of the Pacific may be estimated when it is stated that in 1912 it amounted to close on £1,500,000.

We can only glance here at what we may call the outer Pacific trade; that, for instance, which relates to the exports and imports of California. Here, again, it was the discovery of gold which set it bounding along the path of prosperity. In the year 1850 the population was only 106,000. In 1912 the number had risen to 4,192,000. It should be said, however, that the United States conducts only a small proportion —about 6 per cent.—of her trade through the Pacific ports, the long rail haulage from the manufacturing east proving a serious obstacle to cheap transport. It is presumed that the bulk of the trade between America and the Orient is conducted through the harbours fronting the Pacific. Here she receives huge shipments of raw material from Oceania and the Orient, and in turn sends out her supplies of manufactured articles, such as iron and steel manufactures, machinery, kerosene, and other oils, motor vehicles,

tobacco, &c. Chief among these importations should be mentioned the large quantities of raw silk from Japan and China. The value of her production of silk goods is in the region of £50,000,000 per annum. Here also go our wool, hides, and skins, copper, kauri gum, &c., to the value of £2,500,000 annually.

But perhaps the greatest commercial wonder of the century is furnished by Japan. It was in 1854, when the commercial treaties were signed by Japan with other peoples, that she awakened from her sleep of ages, broke down the walls of isolation, and went forth boldly into the arena of international competition to shape her commercial destiny. The year 1858 saw the opening of Japan to the commerce of the world, and the settlement of the first European traders at Yokohama. But it was many years before the trade of Japan assumed any proportions. The factors militating against its development was the fact that the early Japanese traders were comprised of a 'very low class, outcasts of their own people, without capital or sense of honour.' Furthermore, the Government was too concerned with domestic and foreign affairs, and with problems of financial stress and embarrassment, to assist the trade and commerce of the country. But when, in later years, the prejudice against traders was broken down, when the Government recognized that the future life of the nation depended upon foreign commerce, and when there was fostered in the hearts of the people 'the ambition to be to the East what Great Britain was to the West,' the commercial development was marvellous in the extreme. As late as 1884 the imports of Japan totalled only £5,862,000, and the exports £6,195,000. The figures in 1912, the latest year for which figures are available, had increased to the stupendous total of £61,899,000 for imports, and £52,698,000 for exports.

Mr. H. J. Longford, in *The Evolution of New Japan*, thus describes the development of the trade of Japan: 'Japan, which, forty years ago, could in one year only send abroad

manufactured goods in the shape of a few aritcles *de luxe* to the value of less than £50,000, exported in eleven months of the year 1912 partly manufactured goods to the value of twenty-three and a half millions sterling, and wholly manufactured to the value of fourteen and a quarter millions. They included cotton yarn, cotton and silk piece goods and handkerchiefs, clothing, umbrellas, matches, refined sugar, paper, floor-matting, carpets, straw plaiting, and cigarettes, and, to a minor extent, machinery, electric fittings, stoves, bicycles, boots, saddlery, trunks, cement, soap, tooth-powder and brushes, chemicals, beer, mineral waters, clocks, lamps, stationery, glassware, and a hundred other miscellaneous articles, all of which she has learned to make from Europe, and all of which find a ready market in China and the Straits Settlements, where they are sold at prices with which even German makers cannot compete.' A glance at the list of exports shows how readily and with what facility the Japanese have appropriated and adapted to their own use the methods and inventions of Western nations. Withal, the economic standard of living in the country is very low; and the manufacturers in some lines are able to compete very successfully with European competitors.

A similar development has taken place in the merchant navy sailing under her flag. In 1880 the net tonnage of steam and sailing vessels on the Japanese register was 89,300. In 1912 it had risen to 1,938,000. At first these vessels were officered by Europeans, but to-day they are manned entirely by her own highly trained officers.

As to the future, it would seem that development lies in the direction of China and India, because the Japanese do not quite understand the tastes and requirements of the Europeans as they understand them themselves. A statement recently made by the present Minister of Agriculture and Commerce in Japan, Baron Makino, indicates that the Japanese will have to turn to China for their economic salvation. He said: 'It is true that Japan enjoys a profitable

trade with many countries of the west. Our exports to America are of increasing volume and value, while the various nations of Europe welcome what we can supply; but this Occidental trade, at its best, is difficult for us to handle with any satisfactory degree of achievement, for it is always more difficult to deal with highly developed commercial nations than with those less advanced in modern progress. Trades with peoples of lower social standards is always more easy and profitable. There was a time when Japan hoped to find her chief field of commercial enterprise in the west; but to-day the mind of Japan is all toward China as the commercial hope of our future, not to say anything of our geographical and racial advantages with that country.'

The case of Japan was largely that of China: a long sleep, a quick awakening to full and complete activity and efficiency. It is said that the mariner's compass and gunpowder were invented by China centuries before the Christian era. Indeed, her progress seems to have come to a full stop before the Christian era commenced, remaining stationary until the year 1830. A war with Great Britain seems to have awakened her, and now she is clothing herself rapidly with all the attributes of the best modern nations, and boldly challenging the commercial magnates of the world. One-third of the world's supply of silk comes from China, to say nothing of tea and other articles. What China's future is to be is a problem already beginning seriously to occupy the western world. It is wondering whether she will shake her powerful mind free of the philosophical and ethical ideas which have 'cribbed, cabined, and confined' her, so far as material things are concerned. Certainly we who live in the Pacific theatre of movement must watch keenly and hope earnestly for favourable results.

Of Canada's maritime province on the Pacific side in British Columbia there is not space to write at length. The principal factors in her development were lumber and fish,

and the discovery of gold. These form the staple exports of the country, and have helped to transform this portion of the Hudson Bay concession of former times into a powerful and flourishing State. The trade of these Pacific ports has steadily risen in volume year by year. The increase in the past forty years has been from £761,000 in 1871 to £14,310,000 in 1912. Efforts are constantly being made to develop trade between Canada, New Zealand, and Australia, as well as to China and Japan via the Canadian Pacific Railway.

An event which may have far-reaching results throughout the Pacific is shortly to take place, namely, the opening of the Panama Canal to traffic in 1915. To what extent it will affect shipping between Europe and Australia and the eastern countries it is at present difficult even to conjecture. However this may be, it is certain that the trade of the United States of America will receive a great fillip. It may, indeed, be safely predicted that direct trade will be stimulated between the United States and Australasia, Japan, and the western countries of South America. Altogether it is clear that forces are at work, both scientific and practical, which are destined to lead to a gigantic development of the natural resources of these new theatres of industrial operations; and to us there comes the clarion call to play a worthy part in the realization of our destiny.

Sir Charles Dilke, in his *Greater Britain*, written in the middle of the last century, declared that 'the future of the Pacific shores is inevitably brilliant.' It is easy thus to prophesy when surrounded by all the elements of commercial greatness, with minerals, flocks, and herds in almost unlimited abundance. All that is wanted is the master-touch of the directive mind allied with the craftsman's art and skill, and the glint and gleam of a varied and highly complex civilization begin to appear. Not that this combination is always in itself sufficient. As Sir Charles Dilke points out, many of the Indian isles possess both coal and skill, but

energy and push and stamina are absent, and the lotus-eater *lazes* upon the surface while inexhaustible stores of wealth are beneath and around him. His spirit is damped and dimmed by the dampness of the climate; so that, despite the plenitude and prodigality of Nature, his material position does not improve. Happily for us and our future prospects, we live in a land where, for the most part, the 'wine of life' is diffused with the dry, tonic, invigorating atmosphere. Already Australia is realizing the manhood which Tennyson describes as

> Iron jointed, supple sinewed, they shall drive and they shall run,
> Catch the wild goat by the hair, and hurl their lances in the sun.

Some of the results of this favoured environment have been briefly and imperfectly sketched in this article. The prediction of Sir Charles Dilke has already come true. The present is surely brilliant, but the best is yet to be.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION

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SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

System, English — Early neglect — Wilberforce — Grants — Orphan schools—Church schools, State aided—Board of Education—Council of Education—No unity of faith—Roman Catholics—Scattered districts—Teachers—Colleges—Secondary education—Arnold—Grammar schools—Weigall—American system—Inspection of private schools—Co-ordination—Results—Sport—Morals—School chapels—Universities—Classical ideals—Sydney—Melbourne—Adelaide—Queensland—Affiliated colleges—Wide range—Practical—Women—Non-resident—Evening—Technical.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION

AUSTRALIA offers to the visitor none of the peculiar sights of old countries, ancient halls and gateways, with the traces moulding Time has left behind. Its glory, alike in its educational and other achievements, lies in its power to show what a mere handful of people have accomplished in a century and a quarter. It cannot claim to be in the front rank in comparison with other nations. No daring originality marks its educational systems. These are rather an exotic transplanted from other soil into new climatic conditions; but the plant has undergone development, and its distinctive characteristic is that the changes have been made to meet the new conditions of a British people settled in a new and peculiar country. Though not of a radical character, these changes are quite distinctive; and the best to be said of them is that they have successfully met the general needs of the people.

The Australian colonies were peopled from all parts of the United Kingdom. Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, and Welshmen have met on common ground, where they have been joined by a goodly number of Germans, no small number of Frenchmen, Italians, and other Europeans; while the gold rush brought not only a large influx of Americans, but strangers from all parts of the globe. These imported with them many of their national ideals and customs; but it is perhaps safe to say that, as regards education, the methods and aims that have taken root have been pre-eminently English and Scotch. Our elementary school system is largely English; our secondary school system is perhaps more based on English models than any other; while our University

system has, especially of late years, assumed much of the Scottish type. This is a broad generalization, and must not be taken as an exact statement of the case, apart from its qualifying considerations.

In another respect our educational system is the outcome of different, sometimes rival, bodies. In the earliest days of settlement, the main movement came from the Church; in later days, the chief agent was the Government. At certain periods, between these two, there have been friction and open antagonism, and these have not wholly passed away; but it is a fair statement to say that the tendency is towards some sort of understanding between the two. The Church cannot do all the work unaided, if it wished to; while many of the typical advocates for State effort appear willing to recognize that there are elements in the case that are best left to the care of the Church and its representatives.

For many years the only question of importance was that of primary or elementary education. It was not till long after the founding of the colony that the necessity for secondary education came into sight, and the establishment of Universities came later still. If the educated parents of the early years wished their boys to receive an education similar to their own, they were sent to an English school or University. When Governor Phillip brought the First Fleet to Australia he carried instructions that near every township 200 acres should be reserved for the maintenance of a schoolmaster, a proof that some provision for education was in the mind of the English Government from the first. But nothing was done until the first chaplain, the Rev. R. Johnson, drew attention to the neglected condition of the children, and a grant of £40 was made by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts. Though the building first used as a schoolroom was wilfully burnt down, Governor Phillip states that some 150 or 200 children were taught in it, under the direction of the chaplain.

The fact is, the forces of religion were almost the only ones

that were seriously used to promote the education of the young. The great Wilberforce had interests other than those connected with the abolition of slavery. Among these was the new settlement in New South Wales. He kept himself in touch with Richard Johnson and Rowland Hassall, an agent of the London Missionary Society, who had settled at Parramatta. As he had the ear of the English Government, so also it is probable that he counted for something in the eyes of the Missionary Society already mentioned. Be that as it may, these modest grants were continued till 1830, and the London Missionary Society made small contributions towards the same general object; while all the chaplains were assiduous in pressing for the intellectual as well as the spiritual training of the children. It is due to the Governors of the period to say that they too appear to have been fully alive to the necessities of the case.

Philanthropy, again, was responsible for a distinctive class of school. In 1800 it was estimated that there were 958 children in the settlement, of whom 398 were euphemistically described as orphans. These were children born out of wedlock, or cast off and forsaken by their parents; and they included even child convicts, transported for their crimes! Johnson and Marsden pleaded powerfully for these innocent victims of sins not their own, especially the girls, before whom there was no prospect but a life of degradation. Governor King supported the plea. Means were somehow obtained, a house was purchased, and a school opened. Similar schools were opened in other places, the chaplains again taking the lead. There followed, some years afterwards, the establishment of a similar institution for boys. The master of this was Thomas Bowden, who had come to the colony at the suggestion of Wilberforce. He had been a schoolmaster at the Great Queen Street Charity Schools in London, and was a Methodist class-leader. The letter is yet in existence which Bowden addressed to the Governor and the committee, and in which he delineated his plans for a Boys' Orphanage. It

is marked by a vigorous, wholesome common sense; and provides for everything relating to the food, dress, and instruction of the orphans. While the three R's constitute the foundation of the education, the arts of making clothes, hats, and shoes are to be included. The orphans are to assist in baking bread, chopping wood, and carrying water to the tanks; while he seizes on the art of printing as one that could, with special advantage, be taught, the more so, as it could be made to bring in £1,000 a year towards the maintenance of the institution. Those who have watched the successive changes and reforms that have been made from time to time in our elementary education, cannot but notice how much was clearly seized from the first by this sensible, practical Englishman. With these purposes the institution was founded, and Bowden presided over its destinies for six years.

The combination of Church and State, the Church leading, and the State assisting, gave its character to the general education of the little community. Certain customs dues provided a small revenue, which, with the modest fees paid by the parents, provided the teachers' scanty salaries. The schools were wholly independent of each other, and there was no unity of system. Possibly that was not so great a loss as it appears now to many; for whatever the system, in the long run it is the personality of the teacher that is the dominating factor in all the schools in the world. Yet, in one respect, there was unity. Religious instruction was given, conscience clauses had not come into existence, and the Church catechism was a very general textbook. As time went on more denominations than one participated, and denominational education was generally accepted as the natural and most appropriate type.

But opposition was growing. In 1836 Governor Bourke advised that the Irish National System of Education should be adopted. And in 1844, on the proposal of Robert Lowe, afterwards Lord Sherbrooke, a select committee was appointed to report upon the state of education in the colony. The

committee's report was unfavourable. It stated that there were 25,676 children between the ages of four and fourteen, of whom 7,642 were being taught in the State-aided denominational schools, and 4,865 in private schools, leaving about 13,000 not taught. It also declared in favour of a national system. The Legislative Council carried, by one vote, a resolution 'that it is advisable to introduce Lord Hanley's system of national education.' But four years passed before any decisive step was taken, when, in 1848, a Board of National Education was incorporated. The leading principle by which it was to be guided was that it should afford the same facilities for education to all professing Christians, without attempt to interfere with the peculiar religious opinions of any, or to countenance proselytism. At the same time a Board of Denominational Education was appointed, consisting of one representative each from the Church of England, the Roman Catholic, the Presbyterian, and the Wesleyan Churches to distribute the sums voted for the denominational schools.

For eighteen years this double system continued, involving overlapping, rivalry and waste of means. In 1866 the dual control was abolished, and the control was vested in a Council of Education, whose duty it was to expend all moneys voted for public education. Under this system the denominational schools received assistance on certain conditions, while the instruction given in the State schools, though unsectarian, was not wholly secular. In 1880 the control of education was vested in a Minister of the Crown, responsible to Parliament; and State aid to denominational schools was abolished. The changes that took place in the control of education in New South Wales are fairly typical of what took place in the other States. The States that were constituted later, such as Victoria and Queensland, commenced their life when the subject had received popular attention and had advanced one or two stages. Their experience, therefore, does not show all the development undergone in the older settlements.

Certain outstanding features of the case, however, strike

the observer. It seems fair to say that the warfare against ignorance in the continent of Australia, as in England, and in the Puritan States of America, was fought primarily by the forces of religion and the Churches that represented them. The State, as such, was not seriously concerned, and would probably have allowed the population to grow up as hewers of wood and drawers of water without regret. At the same time, it is just to say, so far as Australia is concerned, the State, when approached, showed itself sympathetic. Successive Governors and Executive Councils, before responsible government was conceded, honestly exerted themselves to second the efforts prompted by the earliest of the clergy settled in the land. The idea of a partnership in the work was, therefore, in the minds of the rulers and of the people for many decades; and Church and State laboured on, side by side, with such means as they could command. A working alliance between the two on the basis of contributions from both parties, supplemented by such small fees as the parents were able to supply, might have been the permanent solution of the problem, but for one fact—the Church was not a unity. If the population had been uniform in faith, like Scotland, or had there been but one line of religious cleavage, constituting only two parties, as is roughly the case in Germany, a permanent settlement might have been effected many years ago. But the heterogeneous population of the Australian States defied all unity of faith.

From the early days the Churches recognized by the colony were four in number; the Church of England, the Roman Catholic, the Presbyterian, and the Wesleyan Methodist. The number gradually increased, and the attempt to find a common basis on which all could work was hopeless from the first. The rising tide of opposition to the early settlement of the question was directed, not against religion, but against sectarianism; and however much it has to be lamented, the impartial observer can only admit that it was natural to find a working scheme by eliminating all sectarian education from

consideration. The price we have to pay for the unhappy divisions of Christendom is that too often religion cannot be recognized at all.

It is needless to recount the successive Acts of Parliament that brought about the present settlement. The same forces were at work in all the States, and expressed themselves in divers acts at sundry times, leading to the same goal. In some the recoil against sectarianism led to extremes that were ridiculous, as when it was seriously decided to expunge all reference to Almighty God, on the ground that it was a violation of the compact to refer to Him at all! The swing of the pendulum has been away from extremes, in the places where it has gone to extremes; while there are parts where its movements have been within moderate limits. For example, in New South Wales the reading of the Bible has been retained as a part of the course, while the right has been conceded to all the clergy to visit the schools and demand their children for religious instruction. Christian people over the borders have looked wistfully at this liberal concession; and it was regarded as a great triumph when in Queensland, after a long secular period, a referendum of the electors decided in favour of concessions similar to those in New South Wales.

It is generally supposed that, as regards elementary education, things have reached the position of stable equilibrium. But there is one disturbing cause. The clergy of the Roman Catholic Church scornfully reject the present condition as satisfactory. With rare exceptions, they refuse to visit the State schools, or to recognize them as fit places for the lambs of their flock; though, with what appears to others a strange inconsistency, they permit many of their people to take service as teachers. They take upon themselves the erection of their own schools and the support of their teachers, and hold it as a permanent grievance that their schools are not maintained, or at least subsidized, by the State.

Conflict is often the proof of interest and vitality; and the educational struggles between contending parties should not

blind us to the points in which they were in agreement. In the minds of the antagonists was a common faith, a belief in the value of education to every child; and a common aim, to make arrangements so complete that no child should be left out, and so effective that the education given should be excellent of its kind. In the large towns this was not impossible; but the scanty and scattered character of the population, less than five millions in a continent, presented peculiar difficulties. It is safe to say that the success attained will compare favourably with that in older lands. The Departments of Public Instruction have pursued their aims with unremitting ardour, a large number of the teachers have worked with unselfish enthusiasm, and oftentimes with something of missionary zeal; and, however far into the lonely bush the pioneers have penetrated, wherever a few scholars could be got together, a school and a teacher have been found for them. In the State of Queensland, a number of teachers are kept constantly itinerating in the outlying parts; and even the motor-car has been called into use to cover the ground. If to any it should seem almost useless that certain families receive but one visit in the year, it is none the less something of a triumph that so much should be accomplished. A single visit, extending perhaps over a few days, is sufficient to remind the dwellers 'out-back' that they are not forgotten, and that efforts are ceaselessly being made to bring their children more and more within the range of those for whom the educational authority cares.

As the railways are State owned they, too, are utilized, and free passes are granted to enable children to cover the distance that separates their home from a school. There are, of course, parents who are indifferent about their children's education; but the law stands as guardian of the children's rights and interests, and insists that these shall be respected. If the parents do not care, the State does. Public money is voted freely and cheerfully to provide what is needed. The teachers are civil servants, deriving their support entirely from the

State, for the schools are now free. In the large towns the buildings are commodious, well-planned, and often architecturally beautiful. Great care is taken of the children's health, doctors, and sometimes dentists, being employed in their interests. Physical exercises, games, and often swimming are prescribed, and the idea of training the mind without caring for the body is scouted.

The teachers are well trained for their work. The old system of pupil teachers is rapidly passing away, and the aim of the departments is to send out none but duly qualified men and women. The salaries paid are anything but contemptible, and the best of the teachers may be said to be well paid. In many places they count for much in the life of the town, their education giving them oftentimes a position of light and leading. They are instructed not to confine their attention to mere book-learning, but to cultivate Nature study, and to show the scientific aspects of the principal occupations of their districts. In consequence, they enter into the life of the people among whom they live; and by garden-plots, by carpentering, and by laboratory measurements, such as milk-testing, and, in the case of women teachers, by needlework and cookery classes, they become the teachers, not merely of the children, but of the parents.

The teachers are fitted for their work in well-staffed training colleges; and, as far as possible, the Universities are utilized to provide the necessary teaching. If the period for training does not allow a large number to take a degree, even a brief experience of University life enlarges the mind, extends the vision, and inspires a true love of learning. The ablest among them find means for completing the University course; so that the departments can count among their staff a substantial number of University graduates in arts and science. A few receive the opportunity of visiting the older countries and studying abroad. A sufficient body of competent inspectors is constantly engaged in visiting from school to school, and testing the work done in them. Most

of these, if not all, have been teachers themselves, and bring to their work the knowledge of practical men. The so-called system of payment by results has passed away; and the inspector's visit, though it necessarily tends to discriminate between teacher and teacher, for promotion must, from the nature of the case, go to the best, is yet made primarily for the purpose of guiding and helping the teacher to make his work effective.

There is nothing to prevent parents from refusing to use the State schools, and a large number of non-State schools exist, while many children receive their education at home. Various efforts have been made to guarantee the teaching so given, and it is certain that more will be done towards this end. Meanwhile, it is interesting to notice that, according to the latest available figures, the number of State teachers is 16,507, of non-State teachers 7,940; while the enrolment of scholars in the State schools is 627,910, and in the others 158,694.

If elementary education early became an interest of the State, secondary education was almost wholly left to ecclesiastical and private enterprise. The four religious bodies that did most of the early work of spiritual teaching and oversight in the land contributed their share. Readers of Dr. Arnold's *Life* will not forget the letter he wrote, in 1839, to Mr. J. P. Gell, telling him that Sir John Franklin, of Arctic fame, at that time Governor of Tasmania, had written asking him to recommend a suitable man to take charge of a great school that was to be founded there. Dr. Arnold's soul was fired with enthusiasm for the new enterprise. It seemed to him a fine recognition of the principles he had advocated, that, on the other side of the globe, men were anxious to establish a school that should carry over all the great traditions that had been the glory of the English Public Schools. The man needed was a Christian, a gentleman, and a scholar. His work would be a great missionary labour. He would become the father of the education of a whole quarter of the globe; and he would

be helping to lay the foundations of all good and noble principles in an infant nation, that would hereafter influence the world largely, for good or for evil. At the same time Arnold wrote to the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, urging that it was desirable that the head master should be a clergyman. Such a man would possess opportunities for influence, for example, by his sermons, that a layman could not; and Arnold was confident that the denominational difficulty was not serious, for the spirit of proselytism would no more exist in a good and sensible clergyman than in a good and sensible layman.

All the views enunciated by Dr. Arnold will not find acceptance to-day; for it has been proved that, while clerical head masters have much to be said for them, laymen have succeeded in some places equally well, and the impress left on character has been just as deep. Yet, whatever qualification is applied to his opinions, the body of them still command respect. 'The Christian, the gentleman, the scholar' is a fair description of many who have been in control of the secondary schools of Australia, whether laymen or clergymen; and the consciousness of doing something for an infant nation, over and above their work for individual boys, has been an incentive to many.

The earliest school of the Grammar School type is the King's School, Parramatta, founded in the thirties by Bishop Broughton; and his example was followed by his successors. The Church of England Grammar School in Melbourne, St. Peter's College, Adelaide, and the Sydney Church of England Grammar School, with some minor foundations, are the principal achievements of that Church. The Presbyterians brought with them their ancestral interest in learning, and expressed it in the Scotch College, Melbourne, and in other schools in Sydney and elsewhere. The Wesleyan Methodists were early in the field, and established the flourishing institutions of Newington College, Sydney, Wesley College, Melbourne, and Prince Alfred College,

Adelaide. At a later stage something similar was done for girls. And the Presbyterian Colleges of Melbourne and Sydney, the Methodist Ladies' Colleges of Melbourne, Adelaide, and Perth, with the Methodist Ladies' College in Sydney, together with some Church of England schools, founded somewhat later, are the evidences of the Church's wish to participate in the education of girls.

But the most extensive efforts were made by the Roman Catholics, who were specially impelled to this by the policy of their Church, which forbids their children to be educated in any other than their own schools. The teaching orders found an open field, secured to them by the abundant liberty of Australian citizens. The Jesuit order, the Marist Brothers, the Christian Brothers, together with numerous female orders, took up this work with enthusiasm. St. Ignatius College, St. Aloysius, Sydney, St. Xavier's, Melbourne, all Jesuit colleges; St. Joseph's, Sydney, a Marist foundation, the Christion Brothers' large school at Mudgee, Brisbane, are among the leading establishments; while the number of convents and elementary schools is too numerous to recount.

The main work of secondary education has thus been done by the foundations of the Churches; but there are one or two notable exceptions. One is Sydney Grammar School, a Government institution, in so far as its buildings were erected by public money, and it received an annual endowment of £1,500 a year. But it is independent of the Education Department, and is governed by a body of trustees. It is an institution not surpassed by any in the Commonwealth; and the late head master, Mr. A. B. Weigall, who held his office for forty-five years, was the most interesting figure in the body of secondary school teachers. A typical Englishman and Oxford man, scholarly, honourable, and outspoken, strong-willed and autocratic, yet overflowing with sympathy with boys, and reading them like a book, he stamped his strong personality on many generations of school-boys. He was regarded with veneration and affection by his brethren

of the same craft, and when he died, he was followed to his grave by a huge and unique concourse. The tablet that enshrined his memory quoted in Latin the prophet's words: 'What doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?'

The second exception is the successful group of Grammar Schools established in Queensland. These were partly founded by local effort, and partly by Government assistance. They were liberally endowed with scholarships, and well-staffed. By their means a large number of Queensland boys, whose parents were unable to pay fees, received an education that carried them to the University, where many of them won an honourable name.

The situation is changing to-day in consequence of a totally new movement. Up to the present the English system has held the field; that by which those who receive higher education should pay for it, though generosity should be shown in providing scholarships enabling the bright sons of poorer parents to receive the education their talents fitted them for. Now a system is being inaugurated in the various States, based largely on American principles and experience, by which the State is taking upon itself to provide free secondary education in High Schools for all capable of making good use of it. This differs from the educational conceptions of England, France, and Germany, in all of which some payment, even if small, is expected from the parents, unless indeed, their boys hold scholarships exempting them. As it is, the community taxes itself to provide primary education for all; now it taxes itself further to provide secondary education, that fits for the University, for all who are capable of receiving it. At first sight this places the non-State schools in an unenviable position, for it forces them to compete on a fee-paying basis, with Government schools on a free basis. Nevertheless, experience up to the present goes to show that the community contains large numbers of people who are both able and willing to pay the not excessive fees

demanded by such schools, because they prefer the character and temper that obtain in them in consequence of their longer traditions.

In another way the situation is changing. Up to the present the non-State schools have been perfectly free to develop themselves on their chosen lines, without responsibility to any one, except the parents of their pupils and their governing bodies. In point of fact, they have exercised their liberty by voluntarily allying themselves with the Universities, and by submitting as many of their pupils as were capable of taking them to the public examinations prescribed. A large part of their work, in consequence, has been thus determined. But much of it has been untested, and a feeling has existed, not without reason, that there have been schools and schoolmasters that have thriven on the ignorance of a confiding public. Successive attempts have, therefore, been made in different States to provide some sort of machinery by which all schools should be subject to inspection and registration. These have been thwarted by unexpected obstacles; but it is fairly clear that sooner or later some limits will be placed on the liberty of any one that pleases to proclaim himself a schoolmaster and to undertake to teach the young. The schools of good standing have never raised any objection to these proposals; on the contrary, they have favoured them. Their anxiety has been confined to the possible danger of an infraction of their liberty to work on their own lines, and the further danger of an unsympathetic inspection by men who could not understand their aims and methods. The fact that, till recently, most Australian Governments left secondary education alone, led to a friendly alliance between these Governments and the recognized schools of importance. Various scholarships were given to promising boys leaving the elementary schools, and they were allowed to hold these at the secondary schools. As the Governments have established High Schools, there has been less inclination to allow scholarships to be tenable at any others than their own;

though, by a curious irony, in New South Wales the liberty to utilize the non-State schools has been extended by recent legislation.

The idea that determines the direction of the changes of late years is that what Australia needs is a larger co-ordination of education. The thorough-going advocates for a national system would set up one similar to what obtains in the United States, a free elementary school up to the age of fourteen, a free High School to eighteen, and a free University after that. In this way the High School would be based upon the elementary school, and would commence its work where the latter left off, and the University would be required to accept those pupils who had passed through the High School to the satisfaction of its masters, examiners, and inspectors.

The system thus proposed is simple in construction and possibly effective up to a certain point. But Englishmen do not love over-centralization, and are passionate lovers of liberty, and the intrusive element of human nature upsets many perfect paper schemes. The wisest advocates of the system are, therefore, sensible enough to see that, as a safety-valve is a useful adjunct to a locomotive, so liberty of choice to some degree is really a protection to a State scheme. So many often incalculable elements enter into parents' selection of schools for their children, and any attempt to dragoon them into a fixed system would, in the long run, recoil upon itself. Hence it would appear that the happiest solution of the problem must lie in mutual toleration of systems controlled, and others not controlled, by the State; and there is every reason to believe that such a view of the case will, in the end, be acceptable to all parties.

Whatever faults and defects the leading secondary schools of Australia have to admit, it is fair to say that they have erred in common with the dominant educational theories held in their time; and that their history shows a continual effort to maintain the best traditions introduced from England and

Scotland by their managers, coupled with the desire to make such adaptations as the circumstances of a young nation necessarily demanded. It is not to be expected that, on a large scale, their achievements could be matched with those of the corresponding schools in Europe, which could draw their pupils from an enormous population, and from homes in which a higher average culture reigned than could be expected under the strenuous conditions of vigorous Australian life. Nevertheless, the passion of Australians to show that the young nation could hold her own with the Motherland has prompted both masters and boys to aim at high standards, and prompted them not wholly in vain. The Rhodes Scholarships have offered the opportunity of showing that among the winners were men capable of taking rank among the scholars of England. While in science Australia has produced a number of men who have shown themselves capable of appreciating, and adding to, the highest researches of the day.

But apart from those who have challenged competition with English and other rivals, the Australian schools have produced a body of men that have occupied the highest positions in their native land with ability, dignity, and success. The lawyers, judges, doctors, engineers, clergymen, squatters, graziers, merchants, and statesmen who have received their early education in Australian secondary schools constitute a very fine body of men, of whom no school or group of schools need be ashamed. Every school of any standing can point to numerous instances of competent and successful men who joyfully admit that their success in life is largely due to the wholesome training of their boyhood. And if the extraordinary conquest of a new country has been partly effected by unlettered pioneers, who went out axe in hand to subdue the land, or conducted their flocks and herds to the choice places where their nutriment could be obtained, yet other elements contributing to the vigour, the freshness, the strenuousness, the hopefulness, and the daring adventurousness

characteristic of Australian life, have come from the hundreds of young Australians whose intellect was stirred into life in their school days. It is true that among the most successful of native-born Australians are several who received little more than a plain training in the elementary schools; but the bulk of the men who have occupied positions that presupposed high intellectual attainment have been the product of the great public secondary schools.

The Australian schools joyously took over the great tradition of English sport. The more open life of a warm climate has given opportunities for school games more numerous than is possible in the Motherland. Matches in cricket, football, in rifle shooting, rowing, and athletic exercises are clearly impracticable between English and Australian schools; if they were possible it is by no means certain that the latter would come off the worse. All these games have played a prominent part in making the typical Australian, and the cult of them is diligently pursued. The contests between rival but friendly schools in each State, and to a certain small extent between schools in different States, are followed with the keenest interest, which is not confined to the pupils of the competing schools. The very fact that these contests are part of each year's school life rouses ambition and drives the boys to earnest and whole-hearted training. If there is an undeniable danger that boys should think more of these than of their intellectual attainments, vigorous and not wholly unsuccessful efforts are made by the school authorities to preserve a proper balance; and while all schools in English-speaking lands contrast with the European continental schools in the stress the former lay upon school games and athletic contests, there is no reason for thinking that Australian schools are more dominated by their athletic interest than English schools of the same order.

The results of this athletic life in producing a race of sturdy, vigorous, and physically capable men are not the only ones contemplated by those who encourage it. The moral

qualities it begets are even more valuable than the physical. Sport easily degenerates into, and is often accompanied by, vicious practices. But it is the glory of school sports that probably nothing cleaner and more generally wholesome is to be found in the land. They are followed for their own sake, not for money gain. The traditions for fair play are exceptionally strong, and any departure from them is followed by swift action on the part of those who control them. Thus it comes to pass that they are a training in endurance, in pluck, in public spirit, in the unselfishness demanded by the maxim that every boy plays for his side and not for himself, in self-suppression and self-denial, in generosity and chivalry. It means more than can be estimated that a boy grows up in the atmosphere in which these are the virtues inculcated.

Thus the games of the school are turned to moral advantage. But that is not the whole of the case. An eminent authority has said that in no schools in the world is the pastoral side of the schoolmaster's work better recognized than in England. That tradition has passed to Australian schools, and is tenaciously held. Most of them are boarding schools as well as day schools, and common life under a common roof, as it has its perils, so also has its compensations. It forces upon those in charge the knowledge that their work does not deal with the intellectual side alone of their pupils' life, but must concern itself with the whole. And accordingly, there is a very general recognition that the building up of character must be regarded as the chief object of the school life, and that no academic successes or athletic triumphs can atone for failure in this point. Every school has its failures and its disappointments; but it is the reward of many who have played a leading part in the school life of Australia, that they have been assured that the sum total of the influences of school life upon their boys have included the successful inculcation of manliness and conscientiousness, uprightness and trustworthiness, truthfulness and honour.

Reference has already been made to the man who for forty-five years controlled the fortunes of Sydney Grammar School, a record, it is believed, without parallel in Australia. Excellent scholar and inspiring teacher as he was, he never lost sight of the supreme importance of instructing his pupils in all right living; and he would have regarded his life as a failure had he done nothing more than train their minds in things intellectual. If space permitted, many names of eminent teachers might be given, whose personal influence was a powerful force for good. As it is, only one can be quoted. The Rev. J. H. Fletcher was for twenty-two years President of Newington College, Sydney, and the words of one of his pupils give a vivid sketch of the manner of man he was. 'The same subtle influence was everywhere, with its searching of conscience and its appeal to manliness, self-respect, and fair dealing. It follows many of us still, and has kept us straight in crooked ways and in the fires of temptation. . . . His words sometimes cut like knives or scorched like hot iron. His indignation at meanness, lying, and evil-speaking could be terrible in its white heat, and even against things excusable his sarcasm was often uncannily penetrating.' It is no wonder that the memory of such a man lingers years after his death.

Many of the secondary schools have been established on a definitely religious foundation. In this respect they contrast, and ever must contrast, with State establishments. In the view of many, it is an enormous gain for a day school to be so established; but for a boarding-school it is vital. Where people live together there must be either total banishment of religion or agreement of some kind. It is impossible to tabulate any religious results. But the existence of a religious atmosphere, that of common prayer, Bible reading, and Scripture lesson, has some influence upon the growing boy and girl, and often those influences are permanent. Some schools possess school chapels, and round them cluster associations that in later life inspire or condemn. What is of

importance is that when the boy has grown to manhood, he should be able to look back upon the teaching of religion as something sincere and not perfunctory. If he is satisfied of the first, the probability is that when he comes to choose a school for his own boy, he will be anxious to secure the same influences as played about his own life, even though he has not himself proved faithful to them. But as a matter of fact, if the subsequent history of the boys of the school be examined, it will be found that every Church that has founded a school has in the ranks of its ministry and of its active laity many whose earliest religious impressions were formed or deepened by the school life they shared in their boyhood.

It is in University education perhaps more than in any other educational department that the enterprise of Australia has been shown. The founders of our University policy, the men who established Sydney University in 1852, were men of far sight and large views; and at a time when it might have been supposed that the people were given up to sheep-farming and gold-mining they founded the first of all the Australian Universities. Acquainted, as some of them were, with the stately halls and noble fronts of Oxford and Cambridge, they resolved that the new southern continent should have of the best. What they did they did handsomely. They selected an elevated site, about a mile from the post office, with ample grounds about it, abutting on an extensive public park, and reared the magnificent front and the imposing great hall of the existing pile of buildings, one of the architectural glories of Sydney, which still stands unrivalled amongst academic buildings in Australia. Their conviction as to the paramount importance, even to a young community, of the recognition of learning, was thus expressed in the solid stone-work and the graceful lines of the noble group of buildings that commands admiration from all visitors to the city. If the ideas that governed their lives found expression in conquered forests and in teeming crops, in vast areas where their

sheep could multiply, in the selection of the best breeds for producing wool, or in the numerous gold-fields, where fortunes were rapidly made—and be it said with regret, sometimes as rapidly squandered—or in the political asertion of liberty in its most extended interpretation; they found expression also in the practical application of the motto they chose for their University: *Mens eadem sidere mutato*. Intellect was the same, alike beneath the Southern Cross and the Great Bear. There are many memorials of the founders of the colonies that last to this day; but it is a question whether any finer monument remains of their imagination, their statesmanship, and their confidence in the future, than the splendid foundation of Sydney University.

But if, as regards buildings and academic provisions generally, they showed themselves men almost before their times, in other respects they moved on strictly conservative lines. The new conceptions that, in recent years, have governed University development had not asserted themselves, and no anticipation of them was made, where originality might have been looked for in Australia. Classics, mathematics, and science were recognized, and the first was regarded as the foundation for all the rest. This was the mind of the founders, and the professors whom they introduced were not the men to think otherwise. These were typical Oxford and Cambridge men, of fine scholarship and fastidious taste, enthusiastic in their devotion to the old learning, and little inclined to believe in the new. One of these, by reason of his high attainments, his European celebrity as a Greek scholar, his versatility, and his commanding individuality, stood for many years as the typical representative of the University in the eyes of the public. This was Dr. Charles Badham, the editor of numerous Greek authors, and the friend of well-known scholars, such as Cobet, Grote, Maurice, and Newman. If finished and exact scholarship, enthusiasm for learning, quenchless ardour in the attempt to inspire students with his own passion, and to find

sympathetic souls in any walk of life, or in any corner of the land, constitute the qualities for the head of a University, Dr. Badham was eminently fitted. And if, from a later point of view, his idea of a University was too contracted, and his recognition of those other branches of learning which bear directly upon the life of a practical people was tardy and unwilling, it is still fair to contend that such a personality, just because it ran counter to so much of the utilitarianism of the time, supplied, in its passion for the ideal and the unworldly, just the tonic and the rebuke his time demanded.

Sydney University was built with Government money, and maintained by a statutory grant, which has gradually increased. But once again the impulse that founded the English Universities provoked a corresponding movement here, and some wealthy citizens bequeathed large fortunes to the young institution, by reason of which its professoriate was largely increased and its equipment vastly improved; while numerous donors of smaller amounts provided scholarships, bursaries, and prizes. Mr. J. H. Challis left over £275,000; Sir P. N. Russell gave £100,000; and to establish a library Mr. T. Fisher gave £30,000.

Melbourne University was founded a very few years after Sydney. Victoria was constituted a separate colony in 1851. Two years later an Act for the incorporation and endowment of the University was passed, and in 1855 it commenced work with three professors and sixteen students. It will thus be seen that its opening followed that of Sydney within three years. In its general character, its constitution, its range of teaching, it closely resembled its slightly older sister. Though its buildings are not equal to those of Sydney, it possesses the fine Wilson Hall, of which it is justly proud. In one respect Melbourne University surpasses all others in Australia; that is in its possessing the splendid foundation of Ormond College, the college that represents the Presbyterian Church. It takes its name from Mr. Francis Ormond, whose benefactions amounted to £100,000. In the extent and

character of its buildings, its beautiful dining-hall, its liberal funds for the maintenance of tutors, and in particular the tutors for the Theological Hall, which it includes, it is the most conspicuous of all the University Colleges in the Commonwealth, and sets a splendid example, at once the provocation and the envy of all the rest. Two other colleges exist: Trinity College, belonging to the Church of England, and Queen's College, the first of its kind founded by the Methodist Church of Australia, over which the Rev. E. H. Sugden, M.A., B.Sc., has presided from its foundation.

Twenty-one years after the opening of Melbourne University, Adelaide University was opened, in 1876, with eight matriculated and fifty-two non-matriculated students. There was less disposition in South Australia to look for Government support than in the other colonies, and the foundation of the University was due to two munificent contributions of £20,000 by two wealthy and public-spirited colonists. At the same time the Legislature voted an endowment of land, a site in the city, and a substantial annual donation from the public funds. Subsequent gifts for the extension of the curriculum were made by Sir Thomas Elder, whose total contributions, including his legacies, amounted to £100,000.

By an Act of Parliament passed in 1889, the University of Tasmania was established on a modest scale, the Government granting an annual endowment of £3,000, subsequently increased to £4,000.

Twenty years later the Queensland Parliament founded the University of Queensland in 1909. Three faculties were established: Arts, Science, and Engineering. The Government granted the use of Government House with its grounds for the purpose, the Governor being accommodated elsewhere, and provisionally voted £10,000 a year for maintenance, that sum shortly after being increased by £2,500. Four professors were appointed, with a number of lecturers. In order to attract students, the fees were purposely made very low. Special attention was given to evening students, so that those

who were earning their living might not lose the opportunity of continuing their education. In order to provide for students who were unable to reside in Brisbane, ingenious arrangements, based largely on American precedents, were made for a Correspondence Study Department.

The last University to be established was that of Western Australia, the Act for establishing which was passed in 1911.

If Sydney University in some ways was modelled upon the ancient Universities of England, in one respect it was in striking contrast. They were essentially religious foundations. Theology was a prominent subject of study, especially before the Renaissance, and all the members were assumed to be members of one Church. It was obvious that in a community in which there mingled English Episcopalians and Nonconformists, Scotch Presbyterians and Irish Roman Catholics, such a foundation was wholly unsuitable to the circumstances and repugnant to the feelings of a large majority. The difficulty was met by the adoption of a purely secular basis. There was neither teacher nor recognition of theology; no religious distinctions were admitted; University sermons, so prominent a feature of English life, were unknown; and in the examination for degrees an atheist or a Buddhist would be asked nothing that could offend him.

But this was held by a large section of the people to be a heavy price to pay for a seat of learning. Was it not dangerous, it was felt, to leave young men at the critical, plastic period of their life destitute of religious guidance? Moreover, as the University absolutely refused to grant degrees except on condition of residence and attendance at lectures, numbers of young men were drawn to the city and compelled to live away from home. The difficulty was felt to be acute. But the men of the day were equal to it, and a solution, or partial solution, was found. An Act was passed by the Legislature authorizing the erection of colleges within the University, in which domestic supervision and systematic religious instruction might be given. And very substantial

help both for building and endowment was offered, provided that the remainder of the cost was borne by the denomination that was willing to accept the terms. The consequence was that certain affiliated colleges were founded, and have flourished ever since. In these the various heads had a free hand to impart what religious instruction they pleased, and to make regulations covering the life of the students. Not merely do the colleges secure these ends, but they introduce into the University as their heads men of avowed religious sympathies, and their influence passes far beyond the confines of their own colleges. So that for students whose sympathies are not satisfied by the secular, there are friends and movements supplying their needs.

The solution thus offered goes a long way towards neutralizing the necessary secularism of the University foundation; but its limitations lie in the fact that the number of students in the colleges is a small percentage of the total number in the University, the cost of living being usually higher in them than it is in private lodgings. Efforts have been made to qualify the original secularism, and to find some recognition in the University for subjects of a theological character. It has been felt that it might be possible to do in Sydney what is done in London; but up to the present not much has been accomplished. Melbourne, however, has given a lead, which, later, the other Universities will probably follow. Under the aegis of the University a Theological Faculty has been established for conducting examinations and granting degrees.

Each of the States in the Commonwealth has now its own University. The day will doubtless come when other towns besides the capitals will put in their plea for local Universities or colleges affiliated to them; but for the present the work would seem to have reached a definite limit. What is more likely to happen, is that the efforts of each State will be directed towards the extension of the University it now possesses, and towards its further and fuller adaptation to modern needs. To do this completely will require large sums

of money, and it seems less likely than before that private liberality will be so ready to aid. The increasing tendency to look to the Government, the outcome of the socialistic tendencies of our time, is likely somewhat to dry up the springs of private beneficence.

Looking back over the sixty or seventy years within which all the Australian Universities have been founded, the observer is struck with many points of interest. The first is the wide range of studies. The conservative conceptions with which the first University was founded have given way before a perfect avalanche of new ideas. For some centuries the proper subjects of University study were severely limited. Classics, mathematics, with law and theology, well-nigh exhausted the list. We have seen how general has been the tendency to expel the last of these altogether; while the attacks made upon the first have been persistent and sometimes almost savage. The nineteenth century witnessed a complete change of front. In the English-speaking world Oxford remained largely true to the ancient traditions. Though more disposed to welcome change, Cambridge has not wholly departed from them; while the old foundations of the Eastern States of America have adhered in many ways to the old paths. But outside such venerable preserves as these there has been a cheerful iconoclasm in the destruction of ancient ideals, and a readiness to admit to the dignity of a University study almost anything that offered.

To take one of the most familiar instances, the medical profession. The old idea was that the University should give the aspirant a liberal education, that is, an education in classics and mathematics, after which he should gain his technical instruction as a medical man in some medical school. To suppose that such instruction alone could qualify for a University degree was unthinkable. To-day the majority of our medical men matriculate on more or less conservative conditions, after which their whole University course is given up to the special studies for their profession, while in almost

all cases some conveniently near hospital is utilized for teaching and practising purposes.

If the smaller and younger Universities are compelled to satisfy themselves with a comparatively narrow range of studies, it is noticeable that they select those that answer to the practical needs of the people. Law was included in the small circle of Tasmanian studies, while engineering and science bulk largely in the Queensland group. In the larger Universities, however, the ampler means have enabled the authorities to provide for medicine, history, modern languages, philosophy, engineering, music, dentistry, veterinary and military science, economics, and agriculture. Such an extension was probably never dreamed of by the founders, and would have staggered them had it been suggested. The great variety of studies thus admitted has altered the perspective completely. The study of classics has steadily declined. Greek professors lecture, however skilfully, to small classes. And were it not for those who are entering the teaching profession, or for the most part students in the Arts School, that school would probably be comparatively small.

Another feature of University development is that early in its history provision was made for women. A Women's College is a feature of Sydney University. A hostel is provided in Melbourne, and many women students, not residing in these, attend lectures and take degrees. The vision that Tennyson scoffed at in *The Princess* has transformed itself into actual fact.

The anxiety of the University to extend its influence as far as possible, partly the outcome of the democratic ideas of our time, expresses itself in other ways. One of these is that in several instances a degree may be taken without attendance at lectures, provided the appointed examinations are duly passed. The feeling that prompted this concession was that, in numerous cases, students could not command the time from their daily avocations to attend lectures, who yet were capable

of qualifying themselves to become graduates, and it was unfair to rob them of an opportunity they desired to embrace. In other cases the rule demanding attendance at lectures is stiffly adhered to, on the ground that not merely are the lectures the natural road to a degree, but that students reading by themselves do not share the life of the University, and are therefore unfitted to bear its hall-mark.

A second indication is in the ample provision generally made for evening students. Experience shows that many men and women, compelled to earn their daily bread, are willing to give up their evenings to the pursuit of knowledge for a series of years. For these the Universities have felt a tender sympathy, and while it is not possible for all the schools to repeat their lectures, there were cases in which this could be done, and additional lecturers have been placed upon the staff to meet the needs of such students. Again, by the system of University Extension Lectures, many persons outside the circle of University life have been enabled to share in the culture it provides for its immediate students.

Our survey would not be complete without a glance at the efforts of the States to provide for technical education. In days in which the old apprentice system is passing out of use, something needs to be done to provide the skilled workman with a befitting training, and this is largely done by the technical schools. These have been established in most of the principal centres of population, and have drawn to themselves many thousands of students. In them instruction is given in carpentering, plumbing, engineering, domestic economy, agriculture, and a great number of kindred arts. Schools of Mines and similar institutions have grown up in the mining centres, intended to bring scientific training within the reach of those who work with their hands, as well as others who direct the operations. Most of the States have established agricultural colleges and experimental farms, where young men are trained for a definite period. Opportunity is also given to working farmers to attend for brief

courses of instruction, and the results of the experiments made are available for all concerned. The influences of these institutions in creating a scientific body of landholders is growing every year, and the excellent agricultural shows held in most towns give evidence of the brave effort that is brought to bear upon the development of the resources of the earth.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE

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SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

A searchlight—Lord Acton on 'ideas'—Power of personality—'I will not die'—Macarthur—Macquarie *versus* Marsden—'Found him swearing' — Dr. Lang — Rusden's history—Macquarie—Marsden Conflict and sacrifice—Pioneer policy missionary — America—Policy of the dust-bin in Australia — Samuel Leigh — Wesleyan missions—Fletcher—1823—Work among Maoris—A 'Livingstone card'—Sir William Macgregor—William's Messenger of Peace—Dr. Fison—'She is dead who used to keep it clean'—Dr. Moulton—William Fletcher—The Bible in the Pacific—Fiji—The Bible Society—'That little seed'—Journalism — missions — Notable articles—*Australian Magazine*—South Seas neglected in reports—No great advertisement—*Encyclopædia Britannica*—Its mistakes—R. L. Stevenson—World's work—Mrs. Creighton's missions—Baker Memorial College—'Better than they knew.'

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE

Any effort to sum up the literature of a century's work in the Pacific may be likened to a search-light, flashing and concentrating, but leaving the darkness more profound. The materials at one's disposal are scattered over such a wide area, and so little literature in the strict sense of the term is to be found, that there is danger of this confusion. Nevertheless, materials for literature have piled up in many directions; and while a short incursion must be made into the field of Australian activities and literary efforts, the wider area has to be defined through the achievements and ordered opinions of those whose personality has been illuminated by their work for Christianity and civilization.

Perhaps the difficulty may be expressed in another way. Writing to Mary Gladstone on one occasion, the late Lord Acton laid it down that 'the great object, in trying to understand history, political, religious, literary, or scientific, is to get behind men and to grasp ideas.' He declared that 'ideas have a radiation and development, an ancestry, and posterity of their own, in which men play the part of godfathers and godmothers more than that of legitimate parents.' This was during a criticism of Seeley's *Expansion of England*, though Lord Acton thought that Seeley was as sick as he was of 'the picturesque scenery of the historians of sense.' The 'idea' was set against the man or the woman in history. Now, in dealing with as large a subject as the literature of the last hundred years in the Pacific, an effort must be made to reconcile these seeming opposites. One does not need to be a disciple of Hegel to realize that a reconciliation is possible, and that the outstanding characters of the time were

in many cases consciously, though often unconsciously, realizing an idea—the idea of Christianity—with its doctrine of equality and of brotherhood. Lord Acton remarks of the doctrine involved that 'it has changed the principles of administration, justice, international law, taxation, representation, property, and religion'; but while the idea of equality has been accepted and built upon in any dealing with the century's literary history in the present chapter, there has been a special effort to realize the wonderful power of personality in the development of the empire under the Southern Cross, and in the spread of civilization through the Pacific.

It may be, of course, that the writer, as member of a family containing three generations of missionaries, preachers, writers, and teachers, will be moved more by the force of individuality than by the potency of ideas, though logically it does not follow. Christianity represents the power of personality, and that about sums up the argument from such a point of view. Yet one cannot forget some things in one's own experience when dealing with mission life and literature. Dr. George Brown in 1881, returning from a great campaign in the New Britain group, represented a wealth of possible scientific and literary harvesting in his letters, reports, and notes; but he had brought back an original sketch showing the outline of part of an uncharted coast, which he himself had surveyed and sounded, if memory serves. He asked the writer, who happened to be employed in the Government Survey Office in Sydney at the time, to make a tracing and help in settling the features of the map; but it was the man behind the map, with its idea of safety in navigation, that stands out in one's memory to-day. Dr. Brown collapsed just as the work was finished, and the doctor gave him no hope of life. His brother-in-law, the Rev. William Fletcher, with whom the writer was staying, was commissioned to break the news to the dying pioneer that he had only a very short time to live.

When Dr. Brown heard the verdict of death he rose on his pillow with the exclamation: 'What! Die? But I am not going to die. My work is not finished—I will not die!' He lived, and has since done some remarkable things for the cause he had so much at heart, and he is still a power in the empire and outside of it. The German Imperial authorities have expressed their sense of obligation to him since then, and are his warm friends and admirers. This incident was quite characteristic. In his *Autobiography* the veteran records his feeling of weakness due to a chronic disorder, after arriving in New Britain, as he entered upon his greatest missionary enterprise. His wife and family had been left in New Zealand, and he says: 'It would, I am sure, have been quite easy for me to have laid down and died, but I felt I could be of more use in the world by living.' Indomitable courage, intense determination, and irresistible enthusiasm are the qualities, in innumerable men and women, which have done so much for Australasia and the Pacific in the last hundred years, and they meet one at every turn in studying the century's literature. This must be the excuse for placing personality so far forward in the present chapter. But the idea behind is always present, and the persons, with the principles they represent, will be found to be parts of a great whole.

The first feeling, as the opening decade of the last hundred years is reviewed, is one of perplexity, because the friends of civilization in Australia were at loggerheads. Governor Macquarie and the Rev. Samuel Marsden, sponsors for Christianity in this section of the southern hemisphere, are alternately reviled and extolled by the historians; and this is true of other leaders and writers. Was it not John Macarthur who, in a letter to his wife from England (noted in the seventh volume of the *Historical Records* of New South Wales), sympathetically discussed the appointment of Colonel Macquarie as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the new settlement, yet dipped his pen in gall. He wrote: 'I am

impatient to see the changes that such a man will make among the wretches who have so long insulted every honourable and virtuous feeling by the unblushing display and avowal of infamy and vice, and most sincerely do I pray that he may speedily detect that arch-hypocrite Marsden, who certainly has done more mischief in that settlement than any one of the worthless characters who have had an influence in the direction of public affairs.' And was it not the same John Macarthur, able pioneer and strong-hearted patriot, who was so incensed and upset over the new Governor's attitude towards emancipated convicts? In another letter to his wife, he says: 'In truth, I know not how to act, or what to say, and the more I think the more distracted and puzzled do I feel.' Able, ambitious, and often unscrupulous men were writing against and antagonizing one another in the interests of empire; while through their work often ran a thread of unselfishness and self-sacrifice as notable as it was needed. Some there were whose main thought was the uplifting of individuals, and amid the slashing writing in part of Wentworth's *Statistical Account* of New South Wales is a reference to the progress of missionary work which is as appreciative and temperate as the rest of the chapter appears to be unbalanced and partisan.

It must be remembered that the Blue Mountains had at last been crossed, and the new world beyond was opening its treasures for much-harassed colonists. Governor Macquarie was building his roads, bridges, and public offices, and quarrelling the while with those who thought of other things, or were exasperated by his policy in dealing with 'emancipists.' One seems to plunge into a perfect whirl of misunderstanding and recrimination at this point, so that some historians feel moved to attack the Governor as hopelessly obstinate when not hard, cruel, and mercenary. Mr. Marsden's efforts to get housing accommodation for the men and women at Parramatta without homes or shelter are pathetic, and in one of his letters to

Macquarie in 1815 he strongly protests that the whole thing is a disgrace. The great highway to the West could be pushed on, but there was no time for the Church or for the common charities of life. 'I humbly conceive,' the chaplain writes, 'it is incompatible with the character and wish of the British nation that her own exiles should be exposed to such privations and dangerous temptations when she is daily feeding the hungry and clothing the naked, and receiving into her friendly and, I may add, pious bosom strangers, whether savage or civilized, of every nation under heaven.'

The general failure of decency and order is well brought out by the Rev. John West in his *History of Tasmania*. Mr. West for some years was editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and his book is specially interesting because of its side lights upon life on the mainland while dealing directly with the conditions of the island. He records that there was no Sunday observance in the country in Tasmania, or Van Dieman's Land as it was known a hundred years ago, though a visit from a minister of any name was always welcome. 'A seriously-minded soldier, by diligent inquiry, found out a settler said to be religious. To converse with this person, he took a journey of fifteen miles, and found him swearing!' Even in 1831 a respectable settler, who was killed by the natives, had to be buried with the usual religious rites carried out by a prisoner sought for the purpose. The whole area of settlement in those days lay under a great cloud, and finally Mr. Marsden was so moved by the apathy and neglect of the Governor that he wrote direct to Lord Sidmouth in England, and the local feud grew instantly more bitter. Wentworth, young, ambitious, and partisan, attacked the chaplain as crafty, rancorous, and vindictive, and declared that Wilberforce, who had recommended and championed him, must have been grossly deceived. When Dr. Lang appeared on the scene he and Mr. Marsden, after a term of friendship, also became critics of one another.

Dr. Lang, like the father of Thomas Carlyle, was 'a

pithy, bitter-speaking body.' He had exclaimed that his folk in Scotland had looked upon his departure for Australia with 'cold-blooded and unnatural indifference,' and for his friends neither in the old world nor the new did he make life a bed of roses. His *History of New South Wales* is, however, well worth reading. It is full of shrewd observation and severe comment, but it is coloured with prejudice and marred by malice. Writing of Governor Fitzroy, who certainly had earned no eulogy, and of the defeat of his own motion in Parliament, directed against the Governor when leaving the country, Dr. Lang says: 'If Her Majesty could have commissioned the Prince of Darkness to represent her in the colony during the period that terminated with the Government of Sir Charles Fitzroy, I doubt not but his sable excellency would have received a farewell address of respect and regret at the close of his felicitous administration.' The book has been called more Lang than history; but that is really a tribute to its strength, for it reveals a strong man who helped to make history, as is indeed the case with William Charles Wentworth. This all serves to emphasize the point that the literature of the first decades of the last hundred years shows a new world full of cross purposes and misunderstanding, of tremendous toil and great tyranny, of strong personalities trying to realize themselves, of conditions full of disappointment, and of unexpected obstacles to progress.

As explaining how this whirl of tempers, prejudices, and strong purposes has affected the modern historian, one has only to take up Rusden's *History of Australia,* which in many respects is entitled to be regarded as a standard book. It is full of evidences of hard work, and of ground most carefully covered. Mr. Rusden was Clerk of Parliaments in Victoria, and was able to handle material of special value for his purposes as historian. The amount of study given to original documents is clearly great, while the effort to establish conclusions by piling Pelion on Ossa is as serious a

business for the reader as it must have been exhausting to the author. In the main the judgement passed upon it by Turner and Sutherland in *The Development of Australian Literature* is fair and discriminating, and Rusden's history still stands on our shelves as worthy of attention. But it is like a bludgeon on the heads of Macquarie and Lang, and its handling of other public men on occasion is as prejudiced as are the attacks by the historians already mentioned. Now, taking our four men—Macquarie, Marsden, Wentworth, and Lang—it is possible to study them in turn from their dispatches, private letters, books, and pamphlets, and to find in each a champion of liberty and of justice in the new order. They are great men, if the conditions under which they worked are properly appraised; and while Macquarie stands out as a combination of good and bad qualities, he certainly had genius. He did fine work along broad lines in developing the new country, and while he may have been hopelessly obsessed with the idea of writing his name in the largest possible letters, and was out of touch with some of the best men associated with him, he could see clearly the right direction in which to move.

Rusden, in his history, says: 'Macquarie endeavoured to make Australia a convict paradise; he reiterated that the colony was created for the benefit of convicts; he scorned the assumption of virtue by the unconvicted. He recognized no man's right to be in the colony unless he had, or ought to have been convicted, and he strove to compel the free to receive the freed into their society.' This may be true, but who shall impugn the Governor's sincerity? Vain he undoubtedly was, yet the system of transportation included an idea of hope, of ultimate reformation, and of giving condemned men and women a new start in the new land. Macquarie found many of the 'emancipists' doing well, developing the country, showing all the signs of sound citizenship, and he determined to encourage them. But he went to extremes, and Rusden certainly does impugn his

bona fides. The Rev. Samuel Marsden had his own case against the Governor, yet wrote of him in 1813 as 'very attentive to Sabbath days and a very moral man.' Dr. Lang also offers it as his deliberate opinion that Macquarie's errors were rather of the understanding than of the heart.

Turning now to the case of Mr. Marsden, it is a sign of reviving interest that his *Life* should be republished after half a century's oblivion. The Rev. J. S. Hassall, in his interesting if discursive book, *In Old Australia,* seems to have thought that no one had taken his grandfather's biography in hand, stating that no life of Marsden had been written; but although the Rev. J. B. Marsden's work was out of print so long ago it really covered most of the ground. It is a genuine contribution to history. The book issued in 1913 is edited by Mr. James Drummond, with an appreciation by Archdeacon Walsh. As it happened the author was no relation of Samuel Marsden, though bearing the same name and keenly interested in his career. For some time he refused to write the biography, since completed; but at last he complied with the request of the Religious Tract Society 'under the conviction that the facts and incidents, as well as the moral grandeur of Mr. Marsden's life, are too important to be suffered to lie any longer in comparative obscurity.'

Marsden's many letters, the interesting book by his grandson, and the references and cross references throughout the literature of the period, establish this fact of eminent worth; and the chaplain's vindication of himself in a pamphlet published as the necessary sequence to his attack upon the Governor, with the retaliation of the latter, only add strength to the whole position. The vindication is noted as complete in the *Australian Almanac* for 1828, and may be accepted otherwise on the strength of Mr. Bigge's report. Cardinal Moran, in his *History of the Catholic Church in Australia,* says that Marsden was 'originally a blacksmith in a Yorkshire village, but forsook his forge to join a band of strolling Methodists, among whom he soon became remarkable for

his energy in preaching.' His late Eminence, however, accepts the facts of his driving power in the development of New South Wales, though he has little charity to spare for the chaplain's failings. It is the case again of the truth somewhat battered and reduced to fit an argument, whether with Wentworth, Lang, Rusden, or the scholarly cardinal.

Mr. Hassall's notes may fairly be brought forward at this point. In passing it may be remarked that the author of *In Old Australia* knew his grandfather in the flesh and frequently visited him, and those of us who remember Mr. Hassall in Brisbane feel a direct contact with Samuel Marsden, who certainly was born of Methodist parents, but who came to Australia from Cambridge ordained a priest by the Anglican Church, and who sturdily worked his way from the grammar school of his native place to the University. Mr. Hassall says that his grandfather was the son of a respectable Yorkshire yeoman. At one time he was with a blacksmith uncle; but he showed in early life the same rugged determination which characterized him in later years. It is well to give the facts in view of his friendship with the first chaplain of the settlement—his predecessor, the Rev. Richard Johnson—a Methodist, as it happened, and also a University graduate. Cardinal Moran is careful again to note Mr. Johnson's Methodism, but he says that the latter is described as 'a man of little energy and quite unequal to cope with the manifold disorders that prevailed.' The reply may, of course, be offered that even a Marsden, and later on a Father Therry, able and determined man as he was, could not succeed except after long travail in making their protests heard and their positions respected. Cardinal Moran finally notes that Mr. Johnson left New South Wales after amassing a fortune out of oranges, which in those days were sold to the settlers at half-a-crown a piece.

Mr. Hassall throws a sidelight on the situation by the remark that his grandfather's coming 'could hardly have been very welcome to Governor Grose, who at the time

was a bitter enemy of the Rev. Richard Johnson, a most worthy and devoted man. The country was in a dreadful state of lawlessness and wickedness. Mr. Johnson remained about six years longer and was always a friend of Mr. Marsden's, and a kindly fellow worker with him. His health gave way, and he returned to England, leaving my grandfather the only clergyman in Australia for over seven years.' Thus do we find opposition and misconception doubly exemplified in the literature dealing with those early days. Cardinal Moran's history is full of the reminder of conflict. The self-sacrifice of the priests who offered for service in the new land—some were turned back and others were only able to get in after long efforts—fits finely into the general story of privation and persistence which runs through the annals of the time. Whether it be in the efforts of the Roman Catholic Church to minister to its adherents, rebuffed and disappointed, never discouraged, and finally successful, or in the labours of Johnson, Marsden, Leigh, Lawry, and Carvosso—Leigh the first accredited Methodist missionary to Australia—the work had to be done under difficulties unknown in other countries flying the British flag.

It should be pointed out that the contradictions to be noted in the literature of the earlier years of the century just behind us were the natural result of the policy pursued in England. We get to Australian literature, at any rate, through the literature of the mother country, and while the story of Imperial progress is remarkably stimulating, it is sometimes very depressing. The special article on 'Missions' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* notes that the development of the maritime power of England three hundred years ago 'was distinguished by a singular anxiety for the spread of the Christian faith.' Edward VI, and even Queen Elizabeth, who looked upon a lie as an intellectual way out of a difficulty, gave their instructions and charters in colonization for what may be called mission work; and the sailors of those days, as Hakluyt records, were keen missionaries. Sir Walter

Raleigh, who was responsible for the founding of Virginia, the first of the American colonies established by England, was as much impressed with the need of carrying the gospel to the heathen as any of the Puritans and Quakers who followed him, and the literature of exploration and civilization in those days is coloured with this enthusiasm.

It hardly needs a reminder of Charles Kingsley's *Westward Ho* to show how the novelists have viewed the situation. Thus it is that a recent history, entitled *The Quakers in the American Colonies*, by Rufus M. Jones, begins with the note that the confusions and conflicts of the early days of the American colonies were largely caused by religion, leading, however, to a sensitiveness to the truths of Christianity which has made the United States a magnificent field for work, bearing fruit in successful missions oversea and in lively spiritual life at home. But there was a new spirit abroad. Mr. Doyle, in the *Cambridge Modern History,* says: 'The dawn of the seventeenth century rose on a somewhat changed England. Englishmen filled with the new wine of the Renaissance and united under a Queen whose rule, despite all its craft and meanness, appealed intensely to their imagination, had dreamt dreams and seen visions. A generation succeeded, not less enterprising, but more patient, more self-denying, more sane. The conception of colonies as centres from which Christianity might be spread through savage lands did not altogether disappear, nor did English emigrants at once give up the idea of rivalling Spain in the race for gold. But these ideas fell into the background. Colonization designed to provide homes for surplus population, to expand alike the imports and exports of England, and thereby to develop her natural resources, now became the dominant note.'

Religion was actually present as a factor, though in the background. Certain high principles were kept well in view. But in the eighteenth century Australia at the outset of her career may be taken to represent the policy of the

dust-bin. The old ideals had gone, for the Pacific at any rate, and the far distant fields were to be ploughed, planted, and made fruitful as part of a chapter of accidents, not as the result of working out a great experiment in civilization through Christianity. The literature of the moment of Captain Phillip's departure is full of darkness, and the shadows are accentuated as one finds that only strong pressure made the presence of a single chaplain possible in the expedition which began the history of settlement in these lands.

It may not be difficult to use the literature of the United States in the earlier years of British dominion to arrive at similar conclusions, for transportation to Australia was made necessary by the independence of the American colonies. One door was closed across the Atlantic and another was opened in the Pacific. There were struggle and distress for the champions of religion even in lands carrying charters of liberty and recognizing the need of the Church's activity; but the atmosphere was full of the springtime, and health and sanity were the conditions of most of the work yonder. In Australia, however, those who fought for a footing for Christianity were up against the stone wall of a vile system, and it had to be battered down; but in the process many men and women sank into depths of degradation and discouragement because the forces fighting for them were so cruelly handicapped. In America the clash was between the sections of the Christian faith, especially between the Puritans and the Quakers, while in Australia the struggle was against secular tyranny and misrule. This strife in the early years of Australian pioneering experience has helped, no doubt, to touch its literature with a pessimistic tinge. The extraordinary extremes of climate must also be counted in, and the wealth born of good seasons is to be set against the losses and despairs of drought recurring at fairly frequent intervals. Under the double pressure poets as well as pioneers have felt the strain. But this is not a study of poetry, nor of the

lighter side of literature. It is an effort to focus the facts in the realm of missionary achievement, which must of necessity take in the life of Australasia in the first fifty of the hundred years behind us.

The literature of the Churches comes in here to show that Australia was saved from stagnation by the labours and self-sacrifice of missionaries, who either entered as such or were colonists of the best type. This applies to the work of all denominations; it is as true of the *History of the Presbyterian Church,* as of Cardinal Moran's *History* already quoted. But the story of the empire covers the same ground. As the ferment for freedom worked in these colonies, it was reinforced from time to time by the advent of immigrants attracted by Dr. Lang's labours, or moved by the telling activities of Gibbon Wakefield, Sir William Molesworth, Charles Buller, the Mills father and son, and other great men in England. Let any one read the *Life of Sir William Molesworth,* by Mrs. Fawcett, if he would realize what was happening in the mother country, until transportation was stopped and Australia came to her own. The Wesleyan Missionary Society, founded a hundred years ago, was started at an opportune time, and Australasia became as real a field for the enterprise of the Church as Africa or India. The advent of the Rev. Samuel Leigh was but the beginning of a great influx during the next half century of some of the picked men of middle-class religious life in Great Britain and Ireland, and the Rev. James Colwell's *History of Methodism in Australia,* published in 1904, shows what the results have been. It is a clear, forcible, and illuminating story of the progress of religion through the activities of one branch of the Christian Church in the southern hemisphere; and the *Life* of Samuel Leigh may be read with Symon's life of the Rev. D. J. Draper and other biographies of the same sort to see how well Mr. Colwell has covered his ground. The biographical sketch of the Rev. J. H. Fletcher, by his eldest son, shows the spirit which was moving England in days

when Gibbon Wakefield and Sir William Molesworth were worrying successive governments by insisting upon colonization under proper conditions, fighting for the grant of self-government to the settlers at the Antipodes, and finally making transportation impossible by a report practically forced upon the House of Commons.

The mother of Joseph Horner Fletcher was a remarkable woman, the wife of a West Indian missionary, and with missionaries among her sons, all of whom, except one, have helped to develop the life of Australia and New Zealand. In a letter to her eldest son, given in the sketch above mentioned, she devotes him to mission work, though it tears her heart to let him go. He became head master and principal of Wesley College in Auckland in 1849, a school established for the education of missionaries' sons, though open to all sections in a growing community. At this college, curiously enough, the editor of one of the two morning newspapers in Sydney, now retiring, and the associate editor of the other, were pupils for a time.

The literature of the last hundred years cannot be covered without reference to the press in this connexion, but a fuller notice must be left until later in the present chapter. Through the grandchildren of this original West Indian missionary couple, mission and Church work in Australia and the Pacific islands has been steadily helped on, as the records, reports, and letters at the Foreign Mission Office and the archives of successive Methodist Conferences will show. It may be taken as a family typical of many. In this particular case its labours in science cover biology, philosophy, philology, and ethnology; while something in theology, and much beside in general achievement, are to its credit. The writer only apologizes for obtruding the name because he knows no other family so well. Mr. Colwell in his history says that 'in the year 1839 Mr. J. J. Walker joined the first class formed on the MacDonald River by the Rev. William Schofield, and his four sons and eight grandsons are

Methodist preachers to-day.' Examples of fine families in connexion with each of the Churches could be multiplied in this way; and the thrift, sobriety, and hard work of a multitude of men and women of the sort have helped enormously to give the empire in the Pacific its enduring basis.

This, then, is the keynote of the present chapter. Through the literature of a hundred years runs a steady stream of writing which tells a story of wonderful achievement following upon endless toil and unceasing endeavour. A little more than a century ago Samuel Leigh landed, to be welcomed and assisted by Samuel Marsden, and at first distrusted as superfluous by Governor Macquarie. In 1824 the third edition of Wentworth's *Statistical Account of the British Settlements in Australasia* appeared, with the following paragraph: 'The Missionary Societies, particularly the Wesleyan missionaries, seem to have directed a large share of attention to these colonies, and it must be confessed that the gentlemen who have been appointed to the Wesleyan Mission have conducted themselves with singular zeal and disinterestedness. Their efforts have been crowned with considerable success, for independently of the benefits which have accrued from their establishment of Sunday schools, to which I have already adverted, it appears that in the year 1821 they had in different parts of the colony and its dependencies six commodious churches, each of them well attended with hearers, and the whole, I believe, built by the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants themselves.' This statement comes close to the vitriolic attack upon Samuel Marsden, 'who has proved himself a turbulent and ambitious priest,' and to the drawing and quartering of Mr. Commissioner Bigge, whose report is challenged for its 'wilful omissions.'

This followed the experiences of a momentous year, 1823, as Dr. Fitchett notes it to be in his interesting and illuminating book, *The Romance of Australian History*. Mr. Bigge had been sent out to report upon the condition of the colony, and was an able, conscientious man, who did not fail to deal

faithfully with Governor Macquarie, and the recall of the latter was rendered necessary by the commissioner's findings. How bitterly the Governor and the chaplain were feeling and fighting may be seen in the Macquarie manuscripts recently acquired by the Mitchell Library, but that must now be finally left. The important thing is that Australasia was a mission field, dealt with as such in the transactions of the home Methodist Conferences until in 1855 the connexion was merged in practical independence, with a local conference and all the machinery of a settled Church.

But, in the years between, the South Seas had been attacked by all the Churches with a vigour which surprises the reader of mission literature, and Australia and New Zealand simply became centres from which activity radiated. It is Marsden's connexion of almost a quarter of a century with New Zealand which has lifted his name into such prominence as a missionary, and which led to the grand work of Bishop Selwyn and Bishop Patteson on behalf of the Church of England in Melanesia. Drummond, in his introduction to Marsden's *Life*, says that he was the first to grasp the character of the Maoris. He trusted them, and, as Archdeacon Walsh remarks, this trust was never forfeited: 'There is not an instance on record where the missionaries were molested. Even in the days of Heke's war, when the Maoris fought against the Imperial troops, the missionaries' lives and property were always respected. Indeed, the mission station was always a city of refuge in time of trouble.'

This quotation must be qualified by the reminder that it applies only to Marsden's work and experience. Other missionaries in New Zealand worked hard, and lost life and property. The position in this respect is well defined in *A New History of Methodism*, in the chapter dealing with Australasia, by the Rev. E. H. Sugden, M.A., B.Sc., Principal of Queen's College, Melbourne. Mr. Sugden's summary of the origin of Methodism in Australia and New Zealand, and his story of progress in the last fifty years, are a fine piece of work,

fitting well into the general scheme of a monumental record; but of the struggle to convert the Maoris he says that it was 'rendered exceedingly difficult and hazardous by the tribal wars which the ambition of Hongi continually excited.' The mission had to be abandoned for a season; chapels were destroyed, and there was much discouragement, though in the end a great triumph was recorded when the Treaty of Waitangi resulted in the proclamation of British sovereignty, largely due to the influence of the missionaries.

Now the point to be noted here in the general character of this literature is the one made by Robert Louis Stevenson in a letter to Sydney Colvin and published in the *Vailima Letters:* 'I wish you to get *Pioneering in New Guinea*, by J. Chalmers. It's a missionary book, and has less pretensions to be literature than Spurgeon's sermons. Yet I think even through that you will see some of the traits of the hero that wrote it, a man that took me fairly by storm for the most attractive, simple, brave, and interesting man in the whole Pacific.' This was written on Christmas Eve, 1890. Stevenson thought of Chalmers as a 'Livingstone card,' and he was similarly impressed by George Brown, who is also mentioned in the *Vailima Letters*. Indeed, the visit of the latter moved him to excited comment: 'Yesterday, Sunday (June 5, 1893), the Rev. Dr. Brown, secretary to the Wesleyan Mission, and the man who made war in the Western Islands and was tried for his life in Fiji, came up and we had a long, important talk about Samoa. Oh, if I could only talk to the home men! But what would it matter? None of them know, none of them care. If we could only have MacGregor here with his schooner, you would hear of no more troubles in Samoa. That is what we want: a man that knows and likes the natives, *qui paye de sa personne*, and is not afraid of hanging when necessary.'

There is no need to go into the question of Samoan troubles and of Stevenson's sympathies, but he does help in his letters to emphasize the truth that the great mass of mission litera-

ture is not literature at all in the strict sense. Nevertheless, it glows and throbs with the personality of men at work, and the mention of Sir William MacGregor's name touches the laymen's side of an immense activity which counts in John Williams, Chalmers, Brown, Lawes, Fison, and a host of others. Sir William MacGregor's activities in New Guinea as administrator, explorer, surveyor, and much else, are to be found set forth in many reports and dispatches; and it is a wonderful story, as those of us realize who have been in touch with it as journalists and otherwise. But the man who has made such a mark in the empire was known and respected in Polynesia before he was chosen to represent the Crown in New Guinea, and yet no trumpet has been blown in our literature to direct attention to his contribution to a great achievement. It is recorded by himself in plain terms, but only in the course of official communications. He it was who suggested the present system of compartments for missionary work in New Guinea. There is consequently little or no overlapping, and the course pursued in Uganda, where the Church Missionary Society holds the field alone, is to be found operating as successfully in parts of the Pacific.

It is, however, in Judge Murray's *Papua or British New Guinea* that one does get a little clearer view of the first Administrator. Sir William MacGregor has written an introduction to this interesting history of Papua, and therein has disclosed some of the difficulties under which he laboured when landed upon its shores to make a government out of nothing. He says: 'The position of the Administrator was not unlike that of a man dropped into deep water with his hands tied behind his back, and is worth recalling on account of some winged words of Captain Bosanquet (then in command of H.M.S. *Opal,* and ordered by Admiral Fairfax to transport the Administrator to New Guinea), who frankly informed me he was specially instructed not to land any men for police or similar duty in the possession; "but," he added,

"if I see you fellows beset anywhere with your back to a wall, I shall not look on with indifference." I shall always remember those words with sincere gratitude, and treasure them as worthy of a British sailor.' The present Lieutenant Governor and Chief Judicial officer shows in his book how well Sir William MacGregor did his work, but the personality of the man can only be suggested. Judge Murray, for instance, does not tell the story of the repulse of the head-hunters from Dutch New Guinea who invaded the southern part of the British possession and carried fire and death with them. Sir William went out to meet them with a scratch force of native constables armed with muzzle loaders, in this first serious emergency, and came face to face with a host of savages led by a magnificent specimen of manhood over six feet in height and well built. At a distance of 500 or 600 yards the leader brandished his weapons, and in insulting language dared the Administrator to come on. Sir William carried a good breech-loading rifle and sighted it for the distance. Taking aim he killed the man with his first shot, and his followers fled. Hardly any got back to Dutch New Guinea, because they had made retreat difficult if not impossible by their wanton destruction. The lesson was never forgotten, and the campaign of one shot served a great purpose in the subsequent history of New Guinea. Probably Robert Louis Stevenson had heard of the incident when he cried aloud for a man like MacGregor. Another incident which Judge Murray does not relate is worth giving because it shows how Sir William obtained his power over the natives by his skill as a surgeon. In his early days of administration he had taken some of them out to fell trees, and one native had a leg crushed by a falling log. Sending back for his instruments and chloroform, he ordered the man to be carried carefully to a convenient place and operated upon him before the amazed chiefs. The latter explained matters as follows: 'He made the man dead. Then he cut off his leg. Then he made him alive again.' But what interested Sir William

himself was their shrewd note that the death he dealt with chloroform did not stop the blood spurting when the flesh was cut. If the man was dead his body seemed to be alive!

Judge Murray, however, shows clearly enough in his illuminating book how well the first Administrator put in the foundations for other men to build upon. The natives trusted him and mourned his departure; and the story of Sir William MacGregor's influence and achievements when it comes to be finally written should be a fine one. Not the least interesting touch in this book is Judge Murray's reference to missions. He does not deal with them, he confesses, but he refrains from lack of adequate knowledge, not from failing sympathy. His plea for Christianity in this connexion is as direct and impressive as though he had devoted a chapter to the work of the missionaries. On this point Sir William MacGregor, in his introduction, is sufficiently emphatic. He says that he can write with knowledge, and he bears full testimony to the good deeds and timely help of the representatives of the various Christian denominations in New Guinea.

One wonders what would have happened had Kipling visited these regions, and especially Samoa, as he had intended. Stevenson had never met him, but he looked forward to greeting him, and was disappointed that he could not come. Between the two men there would probably have been something said and written to set the home folk thinking. The trouble has been that people in the old world do not know and do not care. When wonderful things achieved are plainly told they do not believe, as witness the scepticism over John Williams's building of the *Messenger of Peace* at Rarotonga. The missionary asked for a ship from his society, and it was refused more than once. Then, without any knowledge of shipbuilding, or of the arts and crafts concerned, he set to work. The story as told in his *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises* was discounted by some, even of his admirers, as is noted in the *Memoirs* by Ebenezer Prout of

Halstead. In *Epoch Makers of Modern Missions,* an American publication of last year, the facts are succinctly summarized. John Williams built a ship of 70 or 80 tons, which sailed many thousands of miles, and it was an evidence of his intense earnestness to reach the people in the surrounding islands.

The marvels of missionary triumph in Rarotonga, and close by, simply forced him to go further. 'He used a stone for anvil and charcoal of his own making for fuel. He took coco-nut husks, dried banana stumps, native cloth or any other substance, for oakum. The ropes were made from the bark of the hibiscus, the sails from the mats upon which the natives slept. They were quilted together for the purpose. The hull was covered partly with lime and partly with gum from the breadfruit-tree. There was little iron used. The hinges of the rudder were made from a piece of pickaxe, a cooper's adze, and a large hoe.' Invention was shown in many details, and the whole incident is invested, as the writer of the *Memoirs* remarks of the entire book, 'with all the romantic interest which belongs to the fictitious *Adventures of Robinson Crusoe.*' It is interesting to make this quotation from an American publication instead of going to the original, because it has needed an outsider to do in part what should be the duty of his British kinsfolk. *Epoch Makers of Modern Missions* is written by Archibald McLean, President of the Foreign Missionary Society of the United States, and it is a series of bright, brief biographies of the outstanding workers in the mission field, intended to attract and to hold public attention.

But what John Williams recounted of himself has been almost the commonplace of missionary enterprise in the Pacific for a hundred years. The literature which awaits resurrection at the hands of a Stevenson or a Kipling is full of it. One takes up, for instance, the letters stored at the Methodist Mission Office in Sydney, many of them put into volumes by the careful hands of Mr. Colwell. Before the

present writer are the letters of the Rev. Lorimer Fison from 1873 to 1878, nearly all sent from Fiji to the Rev. Benjamin Chapman, General Secretary of Missions. Those of us who remember Dr. Fison in the flesh think of him as a strong man in the best sense of the term; and to have heard him and Dr. Brown laughing over the humorous side of things, anon discussing with grip and intensity the great problems of the Pacific, then turning to the intricacies of ethnology and philology, was to understand why Robert Louis Stevenson so earnestly wished to capture one of them with pen and ink.

Right through the Fison letters there is this note of strength in personality. When he returned to Fiji in 1873 he found the islands smitten with an epidemic of measles, which could be compared in his opinion only to the Plague of London. A quarter of the native population was dead or dying. Then the mission house was found to be ant-eaten, much of the furniture had disappeared, and the missionary had to become carpenter, cabinet maker, clock mender, and a score of things beside. He had to re-organize the growing Church; he established a local training institution for teachers, and otherwise took education in hand; while the financial affairs of his circuit had to be administered and regulated. At one time the traders combined to force the natives to sell their copra at half its value, and Dr. Fison met the situation by arranging for a fair price with some one outside until the ring was broken. Meanwhile, there were interviews with the Governor, receptions of the same august personage when on tour, and arrangements with his Excellency for the collection of taxes. In one of these letters is the account of a hurricane; elsewhere the mission vessel has been rescued from a reef after immense efforts, and after experiences of serious danger on the part of the natives and of the missionary himself, until finally it is repaired without any boasting. So well had everybody laboured, and so heroically had Daniel the chief teacher behaved, that Dr.

Fison made representation to the Mission Board in Sydney, pressing for recognition of their services. This was given in due course, with white and crimean shirts, calico, and other things of value; but the Mission Secretary had suggested that Daniel might like a suit of superfine cloth.

The reply was sufficiently emphatic: 'I will write again when Daniel has made up his mind as to what he will have; but you may depend upon it his choice will *not* be the suit of superfine cloth. I preached a sermon some time ago against trousers, coats, boots, &c., and you will not see a Lakeba native clad in any garments so unsuited to his habits of life and so certain to produce disease. I recommend Daniel to get a good silver watch with a suitable inscription engraven upon it. This will be really serviceable to him and, moreover, an almost imperishable possession.' In still another letter word is sent of a disastrous fire which burnt down the church worth £1,000, and made more work for the missionary and his helpers. And so the story goes on. It is a story of incessant toil, punctuated with illness, now of his wife, 'the lovingest little woman in the world,' and again of himself. One learns in reading these missionary letters what the wives have meant to the men, even if one had not seen for himself evidences of their full-hearted devotion and self-sacrifice. When Dr. Fison decided to offer himself for work again in Fiji, he wrote in a letter dated from Hawthorn, Melbourne, January 7, 1875: 'I have talked the matter over with my wife, and she is willing to go anywhere. Man was made a little lower than the angels, but women—at least my little woman—must have been made nearly on their level.' Mrs. Fison certainly had Greatheart for a husband, and he could be as soft as a woman on occasion. After the hurricane mentioned above he reports that the awful havoc made had hampered work a great deal. Overthrown houses had not been rebuilt, and there was much discouragement.

He tells the following story, when dealing with one end of his district, which gives a good idea of Dr. Fison's style and

of the range covered by these mission letters: 'The teacher's house was not only sadly out of repair, but also intolerably dirty, being an exact match for its owner's shirt and *sulu*, both of which testified to a lamentable absence of soap, not to mention needles and thread. I made a note of these things in my pocket-book, intending to castigate him for them during the meeting of office-bearers, which I had appointed for the morrow; but, when the time came, and I was just beginning to prepare my battery under cover of the question which we always ask as to the state of the chapels and the teachers' houses, the poor fellow, answering for the town of which he is in charge, spoke of the ruinous condition and the dirt of his house in a manner which disarmed me so effectually that I could not fire a shot. It was the hurricane, he said, which had knocked his dwelling to pieces, and as for the dirt—when he came to that part of the subject his voice faltered, his hands began to pluck nervously at the mat before him, and great tears came rolling down his cheeks. "She is dead," he cried, "who used to keep it clean." And, wiping his eyes on one of his dingy shirtcuffs, he told us in simple touching words how his wife had been taken from him in the late epidemic, how she comforted him with loving words as he sat weeping by her side, and how she bade him follow her to the Good Land whither she was going to meet her Lord. I should like some of those who sneer at mission work among savage tribes to have witnessed that little scene. You may be sure that our imperfectly washed brother had no sharp words from me. Nevertheless, I did not leave him without a gentle hint, for compassion must never be allowed to prevail over duty. When I bade him farewell on my departure from his town, I said, "Be zealous in the work, and diligent in the use of this," and therewith I bestowed upon him a good-sized lump of soap.'

This student of Caius College, Cambridge, contributor to the Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, author in conjunction with Dr. A. W. Howitt

of *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, a standard work on the Australian aboriginal tribes, and the first scientific investigation of their organization—this notable observer of Fijian life and habits in his capacity as missionary—was content to do the spade work of civilization and to be a preacher of Christian truths to the natives. His letters, in their beautiful, clear, and uncorrected writing, reveal the man at a hundred points, and nothing could be better than their forcible presentment of facts and arguments. The Fison of the *Tales of Old Fiji* is the same man. In that book he stands beside Pratt of Samoa, as mentioned by Stevenson in the *Vailima Letters*, in which the latter writes of 'one capital book in the Samoan language . . . a book of fables by an old missionary, which is simply the best and the most literary version of the fables known to me.' Fison it was, as recorded in the first edition of *Notable Australians*, who by special invitation attended 'as a representative of Australian science the meeting of the British Association at Oxford in 1894, and in 1905 was granted by the British Government a pension of £150 per annum from the Civil List for his distinguished services to anthropology.' These men have worked and died, as others elsewhere of similar calibre have done, for an idea; and while the literature of their work cannot be noted in thrilling biographies written by eminent men, it is as real and thrilling as the best of the world's literary achievements.

But what has been noted of Dr. Fison may be said of Dr. Moulton, who was for many years principal and head master of Tubou College in Tonga, and who represented in himself as a Moulton the fifth generation of schoolmasters and preachers. His was a life long devoted to mission work on the educational side, and his power and influence remain today as a great asset in the life of Tonga. The writer recently was examining a copy of *Æsop's Fables* with illustrative blocks, translated into the Tongan language by Dr. Moulton. The natives, it appears, read and enjoy the work and grasp every moral, as they see each point, with astonishing quick-

ness. Dr. Moulton also translated *Pilgrim's Progress* in the same way, and the lives of Caesar and Napoleon. He believed as a good follower of John Wesley and of the Rev. W. B. Boyce, General Superintendent of Missions from 1846 to 1855, in making classical literature available for the multitude. Mr. Boyce was noted for his erudition and wide culture, and did not rest until he had begun the publication in Sydney in 1847 of *The Gleaner,* which offered to readers the cream of literature as gathered from his fine library. Dr. Moulton could only do as much through infinite toil in translating various works into Tongan, and his labours in this direction are not likely to be forgotten. But chiefly is he remembered by his translation of the whole Bible from the original Hebrew and Greek. This is a monumental work, and has been generally eulogized by those who know all that is involved.

As showing the wonderful range of Dr. Moulton's activities, he gave the natives a musical notation of his own, having found that the ordinary syllables of the Tonic Solfa represented objectionable ideas. His literary and musical activities in Tonga made him so enthusiastic about the capabilities of the language that he would rouse his brother missionaries in humorous protest. On one occasion Dr. Fison was chairman of a missionary meeting at which Dr. Moulton had spoken, and the latter had suggested that from its wonderful range and flexibility the Tongan tongue might have been heard in the Garden of Eden. This brought the laughing retort from the chairman that Tongan was no doubt the language used by the serpent to tempt Eve, as it would be admirably suited for the purpose. Dr. Moulton's enthusiasm, however, may be taken as typical of much of the work done by missionaries when dealing with the languages of the Pacific.

The Rev. William Fletcher, B.A., for instance, gave some of the best years of his life in formulating the Rotuman language and in translating the New Testament. Those who came into close contact with this scholar and student found

it intensely interesting to hear him discuss the niceties and difficulties of this particular tongue, with its great range of words for envy and hatred, but its lack of power to express the thoughts behind faith, hope, and charity. Before the writer lies a commonplace book kept by Mr. Fletcher when in Rotumah, in which is stored a mass of material that may some day see the light; but which at present sleeps between covers of brown paper in faded ink with the date, March 1869, upon them. Many of the entries in this quire of folio paper stitched together as a book are necessarily philological in their value; but here is one, taken word for word, with quite another range of interest: 'Fijians as compared with Rotumans. Their previous heathen training very different. The former horrible and destructive—the latter comparatively gentle and bloodless. But the former developed thought, obedience, quickness, endurance, all manly qualities, and these qualities transferred to Christianity developed fine men and women and followers of Christ. But the Rotuman is lacking in what is manly and noble. His isolated abode, its littleness, the tame character of the people, developed nothing but childish qualities, childish love of novelty, of distinction, touchiness, laziness, no endurance; and all this brought to the gospel makes a set of feeble, failing, unpromising followers of Christ. A Fijian never wearies of his object; a Rotuman speedily does. A Fijian chief knocks an offending subject on the head; a Rotuman merely threatens something, and may go so far as to kill a man's pig.'

But curiously enough, among the notes further back, is the following sidelight upon Rotuman character: 'Taniela Niua told me that numbers of persons have killed themselves on the death of their friends, and have been buried with them. He mentioned the case of two brothers at Ouafa. As the sick one, at first, could only eat a mouthful or two of food, so his brother would do no more. When the sick one came to just water, so his brother would take nothing else. When the former ceased taking nourishment, so it was with him. He

ate and drank no more. The brother at last died. The survivor went and attended to him so that his funeral might be respectable. Then he climbed up a high tree, cast himself down, was taken up dead, and was buried with his brother in one grave.' Between these two extracts, from what is almost a diary, is a book of comment and explanation which probably only Mr. Fletcher himself could have written; but he was content to spend his years in pastoral work, which found its completion in making the New Testament a real possession for the unstable Rotumans.

The work done in this particular domain of literature over a very wide area may be realized from a perusal of the Rev. A. W. Murray's book, *The Bible in the Pacific*. This is a plain yet impressive story of astonishing achievement. It begins with the Tahitian version after the arrival at Eimeo of the Rev. William Ellis in 1817, when steps were taken to print the first gospel which ever saw the light in the Pacific. Mr. Ellis brought with him a printing-press, and knew enough of printing to do what was required. Then came the Rarotongan version by Williams and Pitman, which took these devoted missionaries twenty years to complete, and was finally printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society between 1835 and 1838. In 1884 a standard edition was prepared and put through by Mr. Murray himself. The Samoan, Tongan, and Fijian versions, those of New Britain and New Guinea, and numerous others, followed in order as the translations were completed; and the names of Pratt, Turner, Cross, and Hunt have been written as high in connexion with one section of this work as have the names of Brown, Chalmers, Lawes, and Danks in the other. In this great enterprise all the Churches have distinguished themselves, but the story of Fiji in relation thereto is full of tragedy and surprise.

One missionary after another took up the burden, to die before his task was finished. John Hunt arrived to see the indefatigable Cross succumb, and wrote his biography,

only to die himself at thirty-six years of age, having translated nearly the whole of the New Testament into Fijian. Hunt's life and labours are again dealt with by James Calvert, who addressed a letter to Dr. Hannah, Theological Tutor at Didsbury College, which is a small biography in itself and is classed as such on the shelves of the Mitchell Library. Hunt's *Life* in fuller form was written by George Stringer Rowe, one personality impressing the other, so that the succession has been sustained. Fiji in 1914, however, is a field of perplexing problems, because Asia has come in to disturb all the calculations of its well-wishers. How the position is developing, with Indian coolies overrunning the islands, may be seen in the story told by the Rev. J. W. Burton in his *Call of the Pacific,* and by the Rev. Cyril Bavin in his chapter on *The Indian in Fiji,* which appears in another part of this volume. So the work of translating the Scriptures is unfolded, explained, and justified.

But the story of Fiji in true perspective has not yet been written, as the Rev. J. G. Wheen, present General Secretary of Methodist Missions, remarked lately to the writer. How impressive it could be made, if the facts about the principal workers were given, may be seen in the conclusion of David Blair in his *History of Australasia:* 'It is mainly owing to the indefatigable labours of those self-denying men that the Fijians have been gradually reclaimed from paganism and the most revolting cannibalism to Christianity.' Whenever the story is discussed there is a tendency to use superlatives. Even Mrs. Creighton in her little book on *Missions,* recently published in the Home University Library, is constrained to give the wonderful work in Fiji a page, quoting Charles Darwin as thus describing the work of the missionaries: 'They had abolished human sacrifices and the power of an idolatrous priesthood, a system of profligacy unparalleled in any part of the world, and bloody wars, and had greatly reduced dishonesty, intemperance and licentiousness.' Another reference will be made later on to Mrs. Creighton's

inspiring story of missions, but it may suffice for the present to remark that no credit is given to Methodism for the work in Fiji, and she does not mention a single name in its roll of heroic missionaries who have been engaged there in turning cannibals into Christians.

But the literature of a century's work in the Pacific cannot be adequately discussed without fuller reference to the aid afforded by the British and Foreign Bible Society, whose achievements and activities have been full of romance and high endeavour. It has been behind the missionaries at all times, printing, publishing, and delivering their translations —sometimes distributing them—and advertising to the world the results of their labours. To-day the Society's list of versions into which the whole or parts of the Bible have been translated, for use in Oceania alone, is an extended one, and the number of languages used totals sixty-five. Year by year its reports, handbooks of information, and other publications, carry on the story of success, and amaze the investigator with the ground covered. Many books could be written upon this side of mission work from the articles in *The Bible in the World,* which is a periodical, and from materials which are otherwise so abundant. Notwithstanding the monumental history of the Society by Canton, there is plenty of room for much enduring literature.

One takes up at random the little book *The Word among the Nations*, published as one of the popular illustrated reports, to find a reference to the difficulties of translation. 'Dr. George Smith, of the Australasian Methodist Mission,' is an introduction to a paragraph which is puzzling at first, until it is realized that Dr. George Brown must be intended. Most people know who is meant, and the slip will not mislead. Dr. Brown, then, who reduced the language of New Britain to written form and translated a gospel into it, has shown that the meaning of the verb 'forgive' is an enigma to the natives. 'Even in a land like Fiji,' he writes, 'now a Christian country, we have not been able to translate the

sixth petition of the Lord's Prayer in any other way than: "Be not angry with us on account of our sins, as we are not angry, &c."' In passing, an interesting note from the common-place book of the Rev. William Fletcher, already referred to, may be given in this connexion. He says that the idea of forgiveness is much more clear in Rotuman than in Fijian. A Fijian uses a phrase which literally interpreted means: 'Do not be angry with me.' 'But,' continues Mr. Fletcher, 'there is nothing implied that the anger is gone and goodwill and favour restored. It rather just means: "Stay your anger and take no vengeance!" A Rotuman uses one of two phrases: "Throw it behind the back," the other, "Kill it"; words much more expressive by their very etymology and in their use too. So, another phrase covers the idea of smoothing away anger—making all right again.'

Once more we are told in this stimulating little book, issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society, of a beautiful word from the island of Ambrym, in the New Hebrides, the native word for love. 'Literally translated it means "the heart keeps calling, calling for me"; and "the love of God" in the native Ambrym language is "the heart-callings of God." Another most picturesque thought is locked up in their word for "good-bye"; it means literally "fire again in the sky to you," that is to say, "another dawn," and is equivalent to our old English word "good-morrow."' Again, we are told of one of Dr. Bromilow's experiences. He it was who completed, about five years ago in Dobu, the New Testament for the natives in an island off the coast of New Guinea. 'Mrs. Bromilow was once sitting in their house at Dobu, when word was brought that the natives were burying a dead woman and a living child along with her. She ran out and rescued a baby boy literally from the breast of his dead mother. She took him home to the mission house, where he was carefully tended, and grew up into a young man, who went to Sydney with Mr. Bromilow to act as his assistant in translating and revising this Dobu New Testament.' The Society's small

illustrated reports are full of notes and news of the same sort, and in many respects represent real literature.

In passing it may be explained that scholars are finding these successive translations of the Bible into the native languages wonderfully accurate and vivid, when all the difficulties are taken into account, and the spread of Christianity has been made possible in unexpected regions as native teachers have gone into the darkness with the books in their hands. What the Bishop of Uganda said last January in the course of a sermon in Westminster Abbey has its parallels in the Pacific. The story was told of a dark day in the history of Uganda, 'when the whole Church then living was cast out of the country, a Mohammedan king put on the throne, and the seed seemed to have utterly died away. And yet, as they went into exile, they took with them a little book—the Gospel of St. Matthew—in their own language, and that Gospel is still to this day the favourite book of that whole nation of the Baganda. That little seed had within itself the germs of the great life that was in time to regenerate the whole country.'

Again, it is quite impossible to leave the subject of a century's literature, in connexion with the work of civilization and the spread of Christianity in these lands, without some extended reference to the Australasian press. For many years the story of achievement has been recorded by the various newspapers, and the articles which have appeared, and still are appearing, in their columns represent a magnificent reservoir from which coming historians and scientific men may draw. There has always been a genuine sympathy with mission work in this respect. Australian journalism has been built up so far from the old-world centres that it has developed a character of its own, and the outlook upon the Pacific has given its organs a power and an appeal which have to some extent made up for any lack of special books that otherwise might have been written. Picking out a volume quite at random the writer has run through the files of the *Sydney Morning Herald* for 1844—seventy years ago. This was

when items from Parramatta and Windsor were still classified under the heading 'News from the Interior.' It was a time of strong writing, and perhaps Wentworth and Lang, if brought back from the shades, would justify their language in and out of politics by reference to extracts from the columns of the *Herald*.

Here, for instance, is an extract from a leader in the London *Times* which has been republished: 'There is nothing alive, man or monkey, that squeals so amazingly when it is hurt as the Rev. Sydney Smith.' The *Herald* itself can be very severe when moved by indignation at the blunders of the British Press, even so far back as January 25 of the year mentioned, and it notes scornfully in a leading article that 'it is not so long since a noble secretary of the colonies, in an official dispatch to our Government, gravely suggested that Goat Island might be advantageously set apart as a penal establishment.' In the following April it followed up the attack by republishing an article from the *Morning Post* in which this statement is made: 'Luxury in its rankest form pervades almost all classes (in New South Wales). Sir George Gibbs stated, in a recent dispatch to Lord Stanley, that the country round Sydney was, for miles, covered with broken champagne bottles.' While, however, the *Sydney Morning Herald* was looking after the interests of the still youthful settlement, it was watching the position in the Pacific and noting the progress of missionary work with equal vigilance.

In February 1844 appears an extract from the *Leeds Mercury* on France in the South Sea Islands. A memorial from the Rev. Thomas Heath is also given, in which the following appears: 'The interests of commerce have been greatly promoted by missionary operations. These labours now extend to the New Hebrides, the Loyalty group, and new Caledonia. Before the mission vessel of the London Missionary Society went thither in 1840 and 1841 scarcely a ship ever called there. But since teachers have been placed

there, there have been above 100 Sydney and other vessels in two years, seeking sandal wood, and they have obtained great profits.' Then an appeal is made for the freedom of the groups, which reads somewhat strangely as one looks at the map of the Pacific Ocean to-day: 'The friends of Protestant missions indulge the anxious hope that Her Majesty's Government may be induced, with the concurrence of France and America, to secure the liberty and independence of other islands, after the manner in which they have been secured to the Sandwich islands.' It seems strange, also, to find in 1844 the same controversy over the activities of the French in Tahiti as is making Australians anxious to-day in connexion with the New Hebrides. Otherwise it may be noted that mission work is reported in those days with little limit as to space, since the twenty-third anniversary of the Auxiliary Methodist Missionary Society is given four columns on May 1.

Readers of the various leading newspapers have followed the work in the islands in the last seventy years with the keenest interest because it has been continually before them, and the pros and cons are still being thrashed out. The attacks upon missionary enterprise may have been recorded, but the defence has been faithfully ventilated and advertised, and no one can say that there has been any lack of published material upon which to come to judgement. This ventilation, however, has been made easy and necessary by the personality of the missionaries themselves, as may be seen from what has already been given. Contributions have come from the best men in the mission field. Here, for instance, is a series of articles published during the last ten years in one of the leading morning papers, incidentally dealing faithfully with the British Government for its neglect of important interests in the Pacific. Each article is powerfully written, because the brain behind has been full of expert information, and the mind directing the pen has been alive with indignation. The series had undoubted influence upon those in

authority both in Australasia and in Great Britain, judging by subsequent results; and none but a missionary, the writer thinks, could have written them. There is no special plea for missions in them. The sole object is to secure fair play for the islands of the Pacific under British control, and if one thing comes out more clearly than another in the literature of the century it is that missionaries have been substantial aids in the making of empire. They have been, and still are in many instances, the right hands of British administration. That this is broadly applicable to mission work everywhere may be seen in the reports of the World Conference in Edinburgh in 1910, and is as true of other Powers as of Great Britain.

A second article lying before the writer appeared recently in another leading Australian morning paper. It is informative and not argumentative, and is headed 'The Bible in Fiji' by a correspondent. It asks in the course of a fine statement of their work that the names of Calvert, Cross, Hunt, Waterhouse, Lyth, and Langham shall not be forgotten, and the facts of their self-sacrificing labours are as certain to appeal to the average reader as to the people specially interested in missions. Many other instances could be given of contributions to mission literature in the public press, but it is enough for the present purpose to have indicated two representative efforts to educate and inform Australian and British opinion. The press is a great and growing factor in the ordered life of the Pacific, and those who are doing its work may be forgiven if they are proud of their share therein. This must be held to apply just as truly to the religious as to the secular newspapers, and critics may insist that the former should come first, since missions are the charge of the Churches. But the appeal is much narrower in one case than in the other, since all classes and sections of the community read the daily papers, while a comparatively limited number are touched otherwise. The point, however, is a small one.

Naturally the records of missionary enterprise have appeared continuously in the various denominational organs, and not the least of the help given in this direction has come from weekly religious papers and magazines published in the mother country. In the Mitchell Library, for instance, is a complete set of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine,* a London publication, which is full of missionary reports and information from all over the world, and abounds in references to and accounts of work in the Pacific. As far as the local position is concerned, when Australia was still a mission field, it is notable that the first religious journal in these lands was published in Sydney on May 1, 1821, by Revs. W. Lawry, B. Carvosso, and R. Mansfield. A copy of the initial number is preserved in the Sydney Public Library, and it contains the letter from Governor Macquarie giving his 'unqualified sanction and approbation.' It was called *The Australian Magazine*, and lasted for eighteen months with every prospect of continued success. The difficulty of continuing it lay in the frequent changes of residence of its promoters, as Mr. Colwell remarks in his *History of Methodism*, in which book may be found a block, showing the first page of the magazine, by those who are curious in such matters. Taking the press as a whole it may be said fearlessly that the work of the last hundred years for Christianity in the Pacific has been forwarded and simplified by its aid, and the foundations of civilization have been enormously strengthened in consequence.

A recent reference to the World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh in 1910 describes it as 'a mount of vision.' This will be found in the *Britannica Year Book*, which aims at continuing the work of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* by picking up the new threads of truth or information spun since the eleventh edition was issued. Such a reminder, and the source of it, give one food for thought, because neither the proceedings of the conference nor the article on missions in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* affords

the inquirer a sufficient idea of the work done in the South Seas. This is not intended as criticism, but rather is offered by way of explanation. The official account of the World Conference given by the Rev. W. H. T. Gairdner, B.A., of Cairo, in his book *Edinburgh 1910*, is full of inspiration, and thrills the sympathetic reader as the magnitude of the interests represented is disclosed; while the volumes which embody the reports of the eight commissions, the discussions, and the addresses at the Conference, simply leave the reader breathless as he is carried from one great mission field to another. It has to be confessed, however, that the work done in the islands of the sea sinks into insignificance beside the triumphs wrought or declared to be possible in Asia, Africa, and the two Americas. Mr. Gairdner's book, indeed, sets forth the position with an introductory picture. It is a plate of the earth as it swings through space, illuminated by the sun's rays, but showing only the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Australia is almost in the picture, but a cloud has blotted it. So is the wonderful work of missions in the southern hemisphere obscured, because, as a matter of fact and in the nature of things, both sides of a globe cannot be shown at once under certain conditions.

The World Conference found more than enough in Asia and Africa to occupy its attention, and the correspondence—'one volume from Japan, three volumes in yellow from China, three in red from India, one in green from Mohammedan countries, and one from the continent of Africa'—takes the critic to the heart of the reason. Speakers were kept to the seven minutes limit, and at last to five minutes, yet of the twelve hundred delegates how many were able to speak, allowing an average of thirty or forty in each of the eight full sittings days of conference? The great majority were necessarily unable to be heard; yet even if it be suggested that the delegates meet to confer and not to make speeches, the fact remains that there was not time to cover more than the ground taken up. The marvel was that so much was done in the time, and

nothing but the genius of men like Mr. Oldham, the secretary, and the hearty co-operation of everybody concerned made success possible. Thus the 'mount of vision' is seen to have a limited horizon, even as the highest peak cannot give the eye more than a certain range.

One reason why missionary triumphs in the South Seas do not command attention, nor the vast fields ripe for harvest attract a multitude of eager workers, is that there has been no great advertisement. Men who have emulated Livingstone in lives of self-sacrifice and noble service have not found heroic admirers to arouse the world on their behalf; or if some writer like Robert Louis Stevenson has been impressed with the work and personality of a George Brown there has been too much modesty or too little time or opportunity to give him material for an immortal book. Lest it should be supposed that Mr. Gairdner's book has altogether failed, or that the World Conference itself had no time, to give the work in the South Seas its due, the following sympathetic reference taken from *Edinburgh 1910* may be offered: 'From a training-college in Mabia some fifty-four Samoans, Tokelau, and Ellice islanders have gone to New Guinea, that savage isle, successors of those first three who, in 1883, sailed to be the colleagues of Tamate, his fellow-missionaries in the Gospel of Christ. Chalmers the Scotchman is not the only martyr of New Guinea. The Polynesian is there too. In Papua sleep saints from Scotland and from Samoa; in Papua islanders from Stevenson's Samoa sleep their last sleep with their Tamate, far away from his Scotland and their Samoa across the sea.' This is the right note. It touches the heart, and tells the truth. For a review of the World's Missionary Conference it may be all the truth available, yet the whole truth waits to be stated even for summarizing purposes.

Thus in *The Bible in the Pacific,* already noted, the Rev. A. W. Murray tells us that as far back as 1870 a mission to New Guinea was projected by the directors

of the London Missionary Society, and that he and Mr. M'Farlane in 1871 took eight teachers and their wives, natives of the Loyalty Islanders, to begin the work. In 1874 Mr. Lawes and his wife arrived, and in 1877 Mr. Chalmers joined the mission. Meanwhile, in 1875 Dr. Brown had taken a band of Fijian and Samoan teachers to the New Britain group, and the story of these two great missions is one of the most thrilling on record, though it has not been told in the form which makes great literature. That surely is to come. It may be said, however, that the literature of missions in these far-off seas is like the nails in a house—everywhere and nowhere. While to the ordinary eye a house is not built with nails, the builder knows that they are its very life, and the mission literature of the Pacific, though real and vital as the nails in a house or as the blood in a growing child, is curiously inconspicuous. Hence we find people, who know a great deal of what has been done in the mission battle-field, quite ignorant of essential victories and unaware of important strategic movements. They are like the Canadian lady who recently visited Australia for the first time. Her idea of Sydney was so vague that, after a pleasant trip across from Vancouver in the same steamer, she turned to the writer, as we proceeded up the harbour in the early morning, with an amazed: 'Why, it is a place!' and thereafter she could only exclaim in astonishment. Or they are sometimes akin to the old lady in England whose son was coming to Australia to make a living amongst us. She put a knife and fork and plate in his kit, because she had heard that we ate with our fingers in these latitudes!

Now take the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* and turn again to the article on 'Missions.' It is a fine summary of missionary work, and some mention is made of the Methodist Church's activity in Polynesia, of the wonderful swing from cannibalism to Christianity in Fiji, with the name of Calvert by way of emphasis, but never a word is there in it of the work done by other

men, or if a name is given it is out of focus. There is no mention of Fison, Moulton, or Rabone, or any other king of toil and inspiration in the islands of the Pacific under missionary auspices. Again readers must be reminded that this is not offered by way of criticism, or as an attack upon any part of the literature of missions. The difficulty of all writers lies in the fact that our missionaries have been primarily preachers and pioneers, not literary men, and they certainly have been remote from the track of literary limelight. How the perspective of mission work in the South Seas has, in consequence, been distorted may be seen from the general result in the references to such matters abroad.

As a quotation has been made from *Edinburgh* 1910, another fine and inspiring extract may be given from the 'Missions' article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* now under review. Incidentally it gives in much better form the pith of the argument with which the present chapter began: 'Side by side with this continuity of missionary zeal, a noticeable feature is the immense influence of individual energy and the subduing force of personal character. Around individuals penetrated with Christian zeal and self-denial has centred not merely the life, but the very existence of primitive, mediaeval, and modern missions. What Ulfilas was to the Gothic tribes, what Columba and his disciples were to the early Celtic missions, what Augustine or Aidan was to the British Isles, what Boniface was to the churches of Germany and Anskar to those of Denmark and Sweden, that, on the discovery of a new world of missionary enterprise, was Xavier to India, Hans Egede to Greenland, Eliot to the Red Indians, Martyn to the Church of Cawnpore, Marsden to the Maoris, Carey, Heber, Wilson, Duff, and Edwin Lewis to India, Morrison, Gilmour, Legge, Hill, Griffith John to China, Gray, Livingstone, Mackenzie, Moffat, Hannington, Mackay to Africa, Broughton to Australia, Patteson to Melanesia, Crowther to the Niger Territory, Chalmers to New Guinea, Brown to Fiji. At the most critical epochs such men have

ever been raised up, and the reflex influence of their lives and self-denial has told upon the Church at home, while apart from their influence the entire history of important portions of the world's surface would have been altered.'

This is a magnificent summary of mission work. It is a book in itself, and touches the imagination at a score of points at once. But, as has been remarked of Mr. Gairdner's reference to New Guinea, it is not the whole truth. It is perfectly true that Dr. Brown has been given the prominence he deserves, but the field of his triumphs was not Fiji. He spent fourteen years in Samoa, his first charge, and other years of extraordinary toil and achievement have been divided between the New Britain group, New Guinea, and the wild islands thereabout; while the rest of a long life has been devoted to superintending and inspiring the work in the whole field of South Sea missions. But certainly it was not Fiji which gave him his name and fame as a missionary; and the 'Missions' article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* does not indicate that the reference to Dr. Brown in its fine precis of missionary biography was a slip of the pen. The writer had apparently taken his impression of the man correctly from some books available, but the final words of the paragraph of names show that there is not a full grasp of the mission field story in the southern hemisphere. All that the article can give in its summary of work in New Britain is that 'Wesleyan native evangelists from Fiji and Tonga carried Christianity in 1875 to the Bismarck Archipelago,' with no reference whatever to Dr. Brown or Mr. Danks, and making a mistake even in the name of one of the group of islands from which the native evangelists came—substituting Tonga for Samoa.

To mention Samoa in this connexion is to find an opportunity for placing Robert Louis Stevenson in his proper relation to mission work. He was intensely interested in Samoa, and this helped to make a strong bond between himself and Dr. Brown. The story of their meeting is recorded briefly in Dr. Brown's *Autobiography*, published five years

ago. This is a book which is typical of Polynesian mission literature in its plain unvarnished tale of great deeds. It is not the story told to Stevenson, however, because the play of humour and pathos in the conversations of the two men, the flashes of inspiration, the knowledge brought forth in the give and take of argument—all the details, in fact, making up the magnetism of two such personalities and thus rendering the story as much Stevenson's as Brown's—are not properly revealed in the book. How could they be, with the duet turned into a solo? Yet it is history, and must be read and remembered. How one regrets that the vivid imagination and powerful pen of the sympathetic Scot were not given their opportunity! The friendship between the two men was real, and would have borne its fruit in a piece of permanent literature, had there been some such hold between them as Africa found for Stanley in his quest for Livingstone.

Stevenson, however, began with a prejudice against missions and a lack of understanding of the work being done by missionaries in the Pacific, and in consequence his first meeting with Dr. Brown was not marked by much sympathy or cordiality. But as soon as the men got to know one another he was impressed as everybody else has been, and like Chalmers, he found Brown 'as big as a Church.' The marvellous romance of missionary work in the South Seas gripped him. But there it ended, because the hero ready to hand was not conscious at the time of having done anything extraordinary, and Stevenson could not travel with him to make sure of a book. How the veteran has been impressing the people of England in these later days may be seen in the article recently published in the January number of *The World's Work,* whose worth and standing in the ranks of British magazines need no certificate here. Dr. Brown, as President of the Australian General Methodist Conference, has been representing missions at the great gathering held in London, and though now nearly eighty he has been bearing the burden of his office like a young man.

The World's Work says: 'Mr. Brown will rank with Livingstone, Moffat, Chalmers, and Hannington as a great pioneer missionary and Christian explorer, as an enlightener of dark lands, an opener of closed ports, a herald of civilization, and a notable promoter of trade and commerce. Islands which, in his earlier manhood, were shunned even by the boldest traders, upon which it was a more terrible fate to be cast than to be mercifully swallowed up by the kindly sea, are now as safe for tourists and traders as Norway or Switzerland, their inhabitants having been transformed in the course of forty years from naked savages to peaceable and decent folk.' *The World's Work* rightly says of the subject of its article that the most wonderful thing in his remarkable record was his conquest of the cannibal islands of New Britain. 'It is a record absolutely unsurpassed in the roll of Christian heroism and devotion.' The Stevenson episode finds due prominence in this connexion, and the following quotation from Stevensons's letter to his mother, written on SS. *Lubeck* in September 1890, during the voyage between Sydney and Tonga, which is given in Dr. Brown's *Autobiography*, is embodied: 'We have a very interesting party on board: Messrs. Chalmers and Hunt of the London Society, and Mr. Brown of the Wesleyan. Chalmers and Brown are pioneer missionaries, splendid men, with no humbug, plenty of courage, and the love of adventure; Brown, the man who fought a battle with cannibals at New Britain, and was so squealed over by Exeter Hall . . . I have become a terrible missionaryite of late days; very much interested in their work, errors and merits. Perhaps it's in the blood, though it has been a little slow in coming out. No, to be sure I always liked the type.' There is little need to add anything to such a summing up of a most interesting phase in the lives of two great men.

Returning, in conclusion, to the lack of knowledge of what has been done, one again takes up Mrs. Creighton's little book on *Missions*. It is a very concise, readable account of the world's work under this head, but apparently the able

and well-informed writer has hardly heard of Methodism in connection with Polynesia. No credit is given for triumphs that deserve a place alongside the achievements of Livingstone and Moffat, because in the main they have not been enshrined in literature as such. Mrs. Creighton surveys the universe in a couple of hundred pages, but she does not even do as Mr. Herbert Fisher does in his Napoleon monograph in the same series, in which the Peninsular War is discussed in a page or so. The literature of the great campaign is sufficient, of course, but then Napoleon fought through his generals. He was an absentee from the Peninsula, and Mr. Fisher has excuse. Mrs. Creighton may also claim absolution, because details of the fighting in the Pacific are buried away in piles of letters, reports and diaries which await the genius of a Stevenson or a Kipling to turn them as beaten oil into fine white light. Nevertheless, an explanation of certain omissions seems to be due.

Reference has already been made to Mrs. Creighton's account of the evangelization of Fiji, and to the fact that the men most concerned in that astonishing capture for Christianity are not mentioned. What does appear in her book is the statement that John Williams in his remarkable ship went to Fiji with two Tahitian teachers in 1830. Mrs. Creighton then remarks: 'The inhabitants of Fiji were given over to the most bestial cannibalism, cannibalism inspired by nothing but the most loathsome greed, which would lead a man to kill his wife and eat her.' Her account of the work done by the missionaries ends as follows: 'The piece of rock upon which little children were brained before being eaten has now been turned into a Christian font. Fiji possesses a native ministry, and it sends teachers to other islands in the Pacific. The attraction of these beautiful islands to traders and others has brought many to them who have interfered with the peaceful development of the child races which inhabit them, and frequently the missionaries have suffered for the crimes of the traders.'

Are we to infer from this otherwise fair statement that the missionaries in question were sent from time to time

as successors of John Williams by the London Missionary Society? Mrs. Creighton admits later on, in dealing with the work of Bishop Selwyn, that when he set out to fulfil the parting injunction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to carry the gospel to the Pacific islands, he found Wesleyan missions established in some of them, and she rightly declares that 'he made no attempt to interfere with their work.' As a matter of fact, Fiji was left as a field for Methodist missionary enterprise. The Wesleyan Church began its labours there in 1835—five years after John Williams landed, and what has happened since as a result should make one of the most thrilling stories in the realms of literature. But Mrs. Creighton has only found that much was accomplished by nobody in particular. Take by way of contrast to this syncopated story of Fiji the accounts given from time to time in the Australasian press of to-day. Here, for instance, is an article that appeared in the *Sydney Daily Telegraph* of October 29, 1913, headed 'A Martyr Missionary,' which throws some light upon the progress made in less than half a century. The article is really a report of the recent opening of the Baker Memorial College. The Rev. Thomas Baker was a Wesleyan missionary, who was murdered and eaten in July 1866, and his death became one of the foundation-stones in the conversion and civilization of Fiji. The College in question, now named after him, was founded almost at the beginning of Methodist activity in that part of the Pacific seventy-eight years ago, and men like the Rev. John Polglase and the Rev. William Fletcher, whose sister Mr. Polglase had married, were among the first principals.

The report begins: 'From the mountains came the sons of the people who killed and ate the man whose name their children now delight to honour; men from rivers and valleys seldom visited by white men, men from proud Bau, whose fathers not very long ago ruled the greater part of Fiji with an iron hand; men of Tongan descent from the distinct Lau group, and men of very mixed blood from the far-away isle of Rotumah, and men of darker hue from Ba; women, old and

young, with children in arms, and others clinging to their dresses, all with one purpose in view, and all laden with food and fruit for the feast. Chatting, laughing, frolicking, they swarmed over the place.' The closing paragraph of the report runs: 'The hall itself has already cost £5,125, and requires yet £800 in order to complete it. It is an imposing and spacious structure, well worthy of the name it bears and the purpose it is intended to serve. It is the centre from which will radiate throughout Fiji that light never yet seen on sea or land, but which lightens and beautifies the world of thought and action, for here will future generations of Methodist ministers find full equipment for their important duties.' Needless to say the report as a whole makes a most interesting chapter in the history of Fiji, and it will help historians who may be intent upon giving the truth its full circle.

Finally, it may be said that the missionaries who have laboured in the Pacific have built better than they knew. Their monument is an enduring one, and is to be seen everywhere by those who care to look around. Yet some of us who have been in touch with the heroic men in question, or who have access to their writings, or who have used the Mitchell Library in Sydney, to which the writer's acknowledgments are due, know that a satisfactory reference to their work should be possible in the mission literature of the day; but that must mean the reaching out of hands from Europe and the unstopping of ears in the old land. The story is essentially one of the last hundred years, and its fuller literature should prove to be imperishable. The Kikuyu Conference is to-day calling the world to attention; and the Bishop of Uganda's fine sermon in Westminster Abbey last January was prepared and preached with the world's ears open. His words are as true for Australians as for others, and it is not by advertisement, after all, that the work of Christianity is done. But missionary achievement in this part of the world is so real a thing that its literature must some day be written in letters of golden fire which shall constrain the unthinking to give heed.

CHAPTER IV

THE FORWARD MOVEMENT

By WILLIAM G. TAYLOR

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SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

Methodism Apostolic and free—Hughes—Acute situation—Decayed city church—London — Sydney—'Sell it?'—Central Methodist Mission—Centenary Hall—Growth—Agencies—Circuit Missions—Newcastle — Melbourne — Brisbane — Adelaide — New Zealand—Basic principles—Life-saving station—Spiritual atmosphere.

CHAPTER IV

THE FORWARD MOVEMENT

METHODISM has been well described as a child of Providence; some would affirm of God's special Providence. In its beginnings it approximated in a remarkable degree to the methods and purposes of the Apostolic period. As we have it to-day, a virile, ecclesiastical system, established in almost every land, numbering its forces by millions, influencing in pronounced form the politics, the commerce, the educational, the social, and the industrial life of the nations, saturating Christendom with its evangelistic and aggressive spirit, it furnishes a by no means ordinary illustration of the laws of spiritual evolution. Methodism is a development rather than a creation. Started, like the Apostolic Church, not as a result of carefully matured plans, but as the direct outcome of an outpouring of the blessed Spirit of God, it grew by virtue of the life that was in it. Nothing could exceed the simplicity of the early Methodist propaganda: 'The world is wrong. God has devised a method for putting it right. We are called everywhere to make known this glorious truth.' Thus, in a remarkable fashion, the first and the eighteenth centuries shook hands. The one prospered, because it was an unintentional copy of the other.

In every period of its history the progress of the Methodist Church has furnished an illustration of the law of adaptation. This is our answer to such as will persist in urging a return to the style of preaching and to the methods pursued by John Wesley and his coadjutors. That can never be. All healthy things must grow and take their colour from the soil and the atmosphere in which they have been placed. A stagnant

Church is an anachronism. Conservative as he was in every fibre of his being, John Wesley was compelled to acknowledge the operation of this law. The Methodism of 1739 and of 1791 are of different orders. The message was the same, but the setting forth was dissimilar to a remarkable degree. Had any one hinted to John Wesley during the earlier years of his propaganda that the day would come when, for instance, laymen would be employed as preachers, or when Methodism would be separated from the State Church, one can imagine how that little man would have thundered forth his anathemas upon such heterodoxy.

As with Wesley, so with his followers. It is questionable whether there has ever been a religious movement whose members have exhibited so lavish an affection for its founder, and a greater loyalty to its fundamental principles, than are to be found in connexion with the various branches of the great Methodist family. And yet, probably, there has never been a Church enjoying greater freedom from hide-bound and time-worn methods. It is instructive to indicate but a few of the numerous important developments in the Church's history during the past century that go to illustrate this statement. The establishment of Foreign Missionary organizations, with governing bodies in England, America, Germany, and Australia; the English Home Missionary agency; the extension of the itinerancy; the establishment of centres for the printing and circulating of pure and high-class literature; the founding of High Schools, first for the education of ministers' children, and later for the sons and daughters of the people; theological institutions for the training of the ministry and of local preachers; the introduction of laymen into the highest official courts of the Church; and the establishment of great philanthropic centres such as the National Children's Home and the Local Preachers' Mutual Aid Societies.

One of the latest, and certainly one of the most remarkable, of these developments is that which has come to be known

by the term the Forward Movement, the inspiration of the fertile brain of the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, M.A. As with so many of the movements that have come to bless the world with their saving strength, this was born of the pains and penalties of dark necessity. Towards the middle of the last century Methodism suffered a painful set-back, from the effects of which the Church even yet has not entirely recovered. Simultaneously with the increase of wealth in the cities and towns of the Homeland, there took place a slackening of the somewhat stern traditions of the times of the earlier propaganda. It was the period of the building of great, costly churches on the one hand, and the spread of an enervating formalism on the other. A comfortable, self-satisfied Church can never be expansive. Thus it came to pass that in many leading centres, whilst the Church grew in wealth, there was a manifest lowering of the emphasis that had, in earlier years, attached to spiritual expressions; the inevitable result of which was a decay of evangelistic passion, and a neglect of those aggressive agencies that had played so prominent a part in the origin and earlier growth of Methodism.

In the early seventies the situation had become acute. A few courageous and noble spirits pleaded with Synod and Conference to do something that would lift the Connexion to its old spiritual level. It may be mentioned incidentally that one of the results of these discussions was the establishment of a system of District Evangelists, the success of whom, later on, led to the appointment of Thomas Cook, Thomas Waugh, and others, as Connexional Evangelists. A few of the prominent men of British Methodism, sorrowing deeply because of this spirit of repression enervating so many Churches, decided to take concerted action. They met again and again to seek divine guidance and to find a way out for the Church. Prominent amongst these were Charles Garrett, Alexander McAuley, J. Ernest Clapham, Sir William McArthur, M.P., and, later, H. Price Hughes, Peter Thompson, and Robert W. Perks.

The leading problem that these men were called to face was that of the decayed city Church. In such cities as Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, and especially London, the Church was face to face with the fact of enormous buildings erected in the centre of what had now become great commercial areas. Churches with splendid pulpits, pipe organs, family pews, big debts, and but a skeleton of their old-time congregations. In 1874 one of this band of heroes went to Liverpool to attack the problem of empty Pitt Street. Thus Charles Garrett became the father of the modern Forward Movement. The remarkable results of Mr. Garrett's ministry in that city read like an additional chapter to the Acts of the Apostles. On spiritual, philanthropic, and social lines he put up a tremendous fight and gained a memorable victory.

Watching from afar, gradually these men of the hour prepared their plans for a more definite appeal to the Church as a whole. It was decided to make a bold venture in Manchester, and pull down the historic Oldham Street sanctuary, and in its place erect a great hall, with accessories for the nursing of agencies collateral to the fervent preaching of the old evangel. Meanwhile, stern necessity compelled the Conference in 1885 to send Peter Thompson to East London; where, in the midst of despairing surroundings, a work of God was established that has come to be recognized as one of the joys of British Methodism. In 1886 the new buildings in Manchester were ready for opening, and an almost unknown man, Samuel F. Collier, since President of the British Conference, was appointed to take charge.

The next point of attack was London. With Hugh Price Hughes and Mark Guy Pearse in charge, an audacious but ultimately successful campaign was opened in 1887. The West London Mission was started in the midst of a population of half a million people, and started without a brick of property, and without income. St. James's Hall was courageously taken for Sunday services. Soon a congregation of 3,000 was gathered, and conversions on the oldest of old-

fashioned lines became the order of the day. Then followed Birmingham, Edinburgh, Hull, Belfast, and many other centres. In Great Britain there are now between forty and fifty of these Central Missions in operation. And not one of them has failed. They have brought a buoyant atmosphere into many Churches, and they are gradually transforming desert wastes, that were the despair of the Church, into gardens of the Lord.

Coincidently with the birth of the Forward Movement in England the Methodism of Australasia was, so far at least as its central city Churches were concerned, passing through a crisis similar in character, though more circumscribed in extent. Sydney and Melbourne, and in a modified sense Brisbane and Adelaide, were feeling the pressure of the general migration of the people to the suburbs. Even New Zealand, with its smaller provincial cities, was beginning to realize that in order to maintain its hold in the central Churches, newer methods than those which had been successful in the days when business men lived over their shops must be tried.

Synchronizing with the development of Forward Movement ideas in England, Australian Methodism moved in exactly the same direction. In Sydney, the mother city of the southern world, the situation had become acute. In the centre of the city, surrounded by warehouses and beehive emporiums, stood York Street Centenary Church. Built in the early forties, at a cost of many thousands, furnished throughout in cedar, with massive Corinthian pillars in front, in its day it was one of the finest buildings in Australia. For many years it was the Mecca of Australasian Methodists. Its pews, seating 1,200, were filled with the leading people of the Church. The ablest men occupied its pulpit. For many years 'Old York Street' was as dear to the heart of the people in New South Wales as City Road is to those of the Homeland. Here was held the first Australian Conference in 1855. Here was born the Foreign Missionary Society of

Australasia, the income of which last year reached the sum of £42,477. Here also were started the operations of the Home Missionary Society, the Theological College, and other successful organizations of the Church.

But dark days gradually closed in on the Church. Suburbs sprang up in all directions. Methodist churches were built in every new centre, and York Street was stranded. The Conference sought to check decay by putting prominent specialists in charge. In one case a well-known topical preacher was appointed, with results that were disastrous. At the Conference of 1884 a crisis was reached. The congregations were then not larger than thirty in the morning and fifty at night, burdensome debts disheartened the trustees, the building was in a bad state of repair, and the circuit membership had come down to seventeen. At that memorable Conference a determined effort was made by a section of the representatives to secure the sale of the property, with a view to building churches in the new suburbs. This was strenuously opposed by those who still clung to the belief that better days were in store for the old sanctuary. 'Sell it,' cried that Nestor of the Conference, the Rev. George Hurst. 'Never! It shall not go forth that Methodism at its centre has become bankrupt.' Then, imbued with the spirit of prophecy and with deep feeling, Mr. Hurst added, 'We have tried our eloquent men and our organizers, and have failed. Surely we have amongst us an evangelist imbued with the original ideas of aggressive evangelism that in the past have made the Church so great a power in England and in America. Let us find that man, put him in charge, give him an absolutely free hand, and assure him of our sympathy. In God's name let us do something.' That speech saved the situation. At that time the writer was in the midst of a revival in the Glebe circuit. This led to his name being suggested. In spite of memorials from the Glebe, and the fact that his medical adviser pleaded that for health reasons the appointment should not be made, at the third draft of

stations the sheet read: York Street, W. G. Taylor, F. C. Boyer; Joseph Oram, R. W. Vanderkiste, supernumeraries.

At the suggestion of the President, the Rev. Joseph H. Fletcher, I was allowed to choose my colleague. I mentioned the Rev. F. C. Boyer, who had recently arrived from Didsbury College. Together we were called to face the problem of a depleted congregation, a bankrupt exchequer, two circuit officials, practically empty class-books, and, worst of all, a pessimistic spirit amongst the Methodists of the city, the majority of whom foredoomed the new venture to failure. This is not the place in which to record the exciting story of those strenuous days. Necessity, that mother of many triumphant successes of the Christian Church, compelled us to try new methods. The Church was there; our work was to fill it. The accepted methods had failed; and yet every Sunday night, within a few yards of the building, crowds were perambulating the streets. Our duty was clear. If these people would not come to us, we must go to them. Accordingly, a cabinet organ was purchased, a gospel chariot of quite original design was built, and, accompanied by a small band of open-air enthusiasts we had gathered round us, we took our stand at the town hall corner in George Street. There we opened our commission, fought our first battle, and gained our first victories. At that memorable corner the Forward Movement in the Southern world was born.

As the outcome of much thought and prayer, it was decided to give a special name to the new work. Somewhat audaciously, it was resolved to call it the Central Methodist Mission, little dreaming that within a few years those talismanic letters, C.M.M., would come to represent Forward Movement methods in every State of the Commonwealth and New Zealand. As a further rallying cry for the converts and workers it was decided to take as the mission's motto the now well-known words, 'A Living Christ for a Dying World.' For thirty years that sentence has been burnt into the fibre of the mission's advance enterprises, loyalty thereto

explaining its successes, and linking on the triumphs of its work with those of Wesley's day and of Apostolic times.

On the kerbstone of Sydney's busiest street our forces gradually increased in strength. A gospel cry of fire was proclaimed, at first in the teeth of the keenest opposition; but trophy after trophy was won. Notorious drunkards and gamblers, lewd men and 'wasters,' were brought to the Master's feet. Slowly opposition died down, the congregation in York Street grew, new classes were opened, and the prayer-meeting became the focus of the mission's enterprises. Within two years the old church was again crowded to the doors, finances were healthy, and, best of all, not one week passed without a record of conversions. The Conference of 1886 resolved to pull down the old church and erect a block of Connexional premises, with a hall to seat 1,800 people. The Centenary Hall, built at a cost of £30,000, was opened in 1888; and there for twenty years the work continued to expand, until it was found necessary to secure still larger premises. This was made possible by the munificent generosity of the late Hon. Ebenezer Vickery, M.L.C., who in 1905 purchased the Lyceum Theatre in Pitt and Castlereagh Streets, and later handed it over to the C.M.M. to be worked as a centre of aggressive evangelism. Some £25,000 were spent in extensive alterations and additions; and to-day this great property, with its central hall seating 2,500, the conference hall seating 500, its suites of offices for Connexional and C.M.M. purposes, and its array of rooms of all sizes, numbering nearly 200, stands as an illustration of what can be accomplished by a Church that is loyal to its evangelical ideals.

Details of the growth of this work cannot here be given. The following facts must suffice. In 1884 York Street Circuit income stood at about £300. The income of the mission last year reached a little short of £10,000, exclusive of rent and hall lettings, which amounted to several thousand pounds. The rent, after cost of working, was devoted to the reduction

of the debt on the alterations mentioned above. In 1884 the paid staff consisted of two ministers and the caretaker. To-day it numbers fifty-four. In 1884 the total congregations at York and Princess Street did not exceed 150. To-day 4,000 people listen to the gospel story at one or other of the Sunday services. We began with a members' roll of seventeen. To-day it stands at between 500 and 600, whilst the converts of the mission, which must necessarily be considered rather as a dépôt than an ordinary Church, are to be found in every part of the Commonwealth, and not a few in Great Britain and America.

During the progress of the work various agencies have been added, including the following: an Evangelists' Training Institute, through which over 150 young men have passed to the ministry, or to home or foreign mission fields; a Training Home for Sisters of the People, in which about 100 young women have received training in evangelistic and parochial work; the Queen Victoria Seamen's Rest, with H.R.H. Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyle, as patroness, a comfortable home for sailors (during last year 15,500 seamen made use of the rooms, 200 weekly being provided with beds); the Dalmar Children's Home, managed by a committee of ladies; the Alexandra Home for Friendless and Fallen Girls, with Hope Haven as its city branch; three Immigrants' Homes, providing beds for over 500 new arrivals; Men's Shelter; Luncheon and Tea Rooms; Girls' Brigade; Men's Guild; Factory Service Mission; Seamen's and People's Bank; Employment Bureau; Missing Friends' Agency; Kindergarten and Personal Workers' League. An extensive Musical Department includes an orchestra and two brass bands.

During later years what are known as circuit missions have been established at Balmain, South Sydney, and Bourke Street. These are worked on Forward Movement lines, and have, in each case, a record of successful work. There are many who are of opinion that the multiplication of special

agencies of this character is a mistake, and implies a reflection on ordinary circuit methods. Be that as it may, there is no gainsaying the fact that in each case mentioned there has been an upward and forward movement, leading to success of a permanent character.

Twenty years after the inauguration of the Forward Movement in Sydney, circumstances led to a remarkable development in Church work at Newcastle, the second city of the mother State. The saintly and courageous men who pioneered the Church in these lands were men possessed of the seer's eye. They dreamt their dreams, they saw their visions, and to-day we reap the benefit. But occasionally they made mistakes. It was manifestly thus with the pioneers at Newcastle; who, oblivious to the far-reaching traditions of the Church, sold what land they possessed down amongst the people, and erected a fine church on the heights of Perkin Street; certainly far removed from the dust and excitement of the city's centre, but unfortunately far removed also from the people, who refused to climb the hill. Though a magnificent site for a lighthouse seen for miles at sea, it was utterly unsuitable for a church of the people. What experiences the Church in Newcastle passed through during the years that followed! Debt, retrogression, and discouragement faced pulpit and pew alike. At last, in the appointment of the late Rev. Rainsford Bavin, the man of the hour was found, capable of untying the Gordian knot, and placing Methodism upon a basis from which advance would at least be possible. King Street furnished the site. A courageous spirit influenced trustees and stewards, with the result that on November 21, 1902, an imposing ceremony was witnessed by a large and enthusiastic crowd, Sir Harry Rawson, Bart. and the President of the Conference at the head thereof, when the foundation-stone of extensive new premises was laid. On January 24, 1904, the present block of buildings was dedicated to the work of evangelism, in the midst of the people. The building contains an auditorium capable of seating 1,200 people, a smaller

hall that seats 400, together with rooms for Church and social purposes. Two ministers, a seamen's missionary, three Sisters of the People, encouraged by a sympathetic committee, are now at work. Conversions have been witnessed from the day of opening, when the power of the Spirit was present in a remarkable manner, and between thirty and forty people professed conversion. The hall continues full, an aggressive Seamen's Mission agency carries help and cheer to thousands of over-sea sailors, and a Rescue Home for fallen and friendless women has been established. Once again the prophecy of Isaiah xxxv. 1 has been strikingly fulfilled.

At the time that Sydney was struggling through its initial Forward Movement difficulties, Melbourne Methodism was gradually approaching a crisis. Wesley Church stood in the heart of the city, probably the most costly, and certainly the most imposing, Methodist ecclesiastical building south of the equator. It was the Methodist Cathedral of Victoria. With its noble spire, its imposing Gothic windows, its massive stone pillars supporting its high-pitched roof, it is a building of which any Church would be proud. As in Sydney, so here the flower of the Church at one time assembled. From its pulpit the most eloquent men proclaimed the evangel of the Cross: Joseph Dare, that silver-tongued prophet; Daniel J. Draper, the statesman of Australian Methodism; John Eggleston, sweet and persuasive; and John Watsford, that greatest of all Australian evangelists, and many others.

But disintegrating forces were at work. The spell of the open suburbs began to operate, and ere long this noble building took its ignoble place by the side of the mother Church in Sydney, and became the problem of Melbourne Methodism. In 1891 its minister, the eloquent Dr. Watkin, examined the work of the Sydney Mission, at that time in the midst of a blessed work of God, and returned to his own charge, impressed by all he saw, but gravely dubious as to the wisdom of adopting similar measures at Wesley Church. 'They have succeeded in Sydney,' he said, 'but they operate in a suitable

hall. Here things are different. I fear the outside masses will never be drawn into the Gothic aisles of this church.' The general feeling may be gathered from a paragraph taken from one of the Melbourne C.M.M. annual reports: 'In many minds the opinion prevailed that the building was in the wrong place, and was architecturally too pretentious for working people to worship in. At one time plans were prepared for a large plain hall, to be built in the back yard, with the hope that in this way a solution of the problem might be found. This proposal was favoured, and contributions received for the purpose; but in the end the trustees consented to allow the holy and beautiful temple to be the head quarters of the Central Mission.'

At the Conference of 1892 the writer was invited to address the Melbourne Conference, in order that he might tell the story of the Sydney experiment. At that time Melbourne was practically committed to a Forward Movement scheme, and contemplated sending to England for the Rev. Edward Smith to superintend the work. In his speech the writer ventured to plead with the Conference not to bring a stranger to start this work. 'At Geelong,' he said, 'you have the man. Put Mr. Edgar in charge, give him a free hand, surround him with your sympathy, support him with your money, and you will soon have in this city a Central Mission virile and far-reaching.' In 1893 the mission was established, with the hearty approval of the Conference, and the promise of enthusiastic support by the people. The Rev. A. R. Edgar was soon in the thick of the fight against the buttressed social evils of the city. The conflict was severe, but the result was the gradual weakening of the forces of evil and the speedy filling of the pews of the old cathedral church. They have been full ever since. For twenty years the work has been in progress. The best type of evangelism here found its home, and from this centre has gone an influence felt throughout the State.

The report for 1913 lies before me. In place of a decayed

cause, a discouraged ministry, a disheartened board of trustees, and an anxious Conference, I face the record of soul-saving power, of increases in membership, of an income that has reached over £8,000, with still other statesmanlike prospects afloat for capturing Melbourne for Jesus Christ. It is difficult to realize that within twenty years such auxiliary agencies as the following have been established: the Hospice for Poor Men; a Home for Fallen and Friendless Women; Home for the Cure of Alcoholism and the Morphia and Tobacco Habits; Boys' Training Farm; a Labour Bureau; a Training Home for Evangelists and Missionaries; a staff of four ministers and a managing secretary; a sisterhood of five sisters; a musical department, and a staff of enthusiastic workmen, zealous for the extension of the Messiah's kingdom. Truly what hath God wrought! The age of miracles has not yet passed. As a natural outgrowth from this vigorous centre, successful circuit missions have been established at Collingwood and Fitzroy. In the former especially a good work has for some years been carried on in the midst of an artisan population for many years scarcely touched by ordinary Church methods.

In a somewhat modified form, Brisbane in the north and Adelaide in the south have the same story to tell. In each case, however, the sphere of operations is more contracted, and the Forward Movement Missions are of more recent date. Albert Street, Brisbane, never suffered as did York Street, Sydney, and Wesley Church, Melbourne. Still there were indications that the time was approaching when, through removals into the suburbs, there would be repeated the story of the older centres. Like a wise general, the Rev. G. E. Rowe, the minister of the circuit, took time by the forelock, and secured the consent of the Queensland Conference to establish a Central Mission in the heart of the city, with the beautiful Albert Street Church as its head. The new venture was successfully floated in April 1907, his Excellency the Governor of the State, Lord Chelmsford, honouring the

occasion with his presence. During the past six years a memorable work has centred at Albert Street. The evangelical note is sounded, though it may be in slightly altered form to that of Sydney or Melbourne. The mission is largely a preaching centre, with a strong accessory force, represented by a number of Sisters of the People, together with agencies for the welcoming of immigrants, the care of the poor, and the saving of the tempted girls of the city. As in Victoria, successful homes for the care of little waifs and strays are managed, not by the C.M.M., but by the Home Mission agencies of the Church.

Forward Movement work in Adelaide is yet in its infancy. By the vote of the Conference of 1905 the Pirie Street circuit was designated the Adelaide Central Methodist Mission, with the Revs. Henry Howard and William A. Potts as ministers. The historic Pirie Street Church has continued as a preaching centre, with that prince of preachers, Henry Howard, in charge. To that church have foregathered many of the leading men and women of the city. It will never be known how widespread has been the uplifting character of the ministry of that church. The real C.M.M. work has, however, for eight years centred in Maughan Church, Franklin Street, a fine memorial church, for many years attended by the Chief Justice of the State, but utterly unsuitable for aggressive mission agencies. The present minister, the Rev. William H. Cann, has recently succeeded in collecting a fund of £10,000 with which to erect central premises that will furnish adequate scope for the evangelistic and philanthropic operations.

The influence of the Forward Movement has begun to make itself felt across the Tasman Sea in various centres of the Dominion of New Zealand. In each case, however, the genesis of the work differs from that of Australia. In Auckland, for example, a local mission hall was in charge of a Salvation Army captain, who attached himself to the Methodist Church, and was made a blessing in the salvation of many. The

work grew rapidly, the leader was ordained a minister of the Church, and on March 14, 1909, large premises were opened in Newton, with the Rev. James Wilson in charge, as superintendent of the Auckland Methodist Mission.

In Dunedin a Forward Movement was carried on for some years in a large public hall by a minister of a sister Methodist Church. His success in reaching the people was phenomenal. Two thousand hearers attended his ministry. Work was carried on in the open air, and conversions were the order of the day. Circumstances led to the reception of this minister, the Rev. William Ready, into the ranks of the ministry. With him came his mission, since carried on with varying degrees of success. The present superintendent, the Rev. William Slade, has recently succeeded in securing the erection of suitable buildings in the heart of the city. With a home of its own, Dunedin may now be expected to add a valuable contribution to Forward Movement agencies.

In Wellington, the Dominion city, attempts are being made to bring the Church into line with other centres. A small mission hall, worked by a local committee, has been taken over by the Conference, and a minister has been appointed to what is designated the Wellington Central Mission. Services have been held in a theatre; but with no home of its own, the mission finds it difficult to impress itself upon the city. But a brighter day is dawning. In Christchurch a Forward Movement mission is operating in one of the smaller centres of the Church. But many of the leading ministers and laymen are seized of the fact that ere long Durham Street will have to follow the example of Sydney and Melbourne, and establish the kind of agencies that have been so successful elsewhere.

In conclusion, it is well to ask: What are the basic principles on which this development has been built? Here is the fact: Finances augmented and new, and in some cases startling, philanthropies established. What is the explana-

tion? The Rev. P. J. Stephen, superintendent of the work in Sydney, in an article written in 1911, gives this answer: 'There are at least three things for which this Central Mission stands. First, spiritual Christianity; second, practical Christianity; third, triumphant Christianity.' It may be questioned whether the title at the head of this chapter is not a misnomer. There is a sense in which it would be more appropriate to designate the movement as Backward, rather than Forward. Reduced to its final analysis, this work represents an honest attempt to secure for the Church the atmosphere, the spirituality, the aggressive evangelism that moved England during the earlier days of the Methodist crusade. There is much in it that is as primitive as the faith of the Pentecostal disciples. For thirty years I have had unique opportunities of estimating the true character of what is to-day one of the leading religious forces of the Southern world. And what do I find? That its converts and workers are not worried about matters of abstract doctrine. Many of the most successful agents as soul-winners could not possibly pass an ordinary local preacher's examination. They are not anxious to fill the offices of the Church coveted by men of ordinary congregations. Concerts, bazaars, and social entertainments scarcely appeal to them. They are, for the most part, obsessed by a desire to catch the Christ spirit, to be worthy of Him, and to win trophies for His kingdom.

Thus it is that for thirty years the Sydney work has been known as a life-saving station. People of all Churches and from long distances have come to its services, as to a spiritual Bethesda, on purpose to find the Christ. The first sermon, preached on April 13, 1884, was on 'Christ in you the hope of glory.' That text gave the movement its working motto: A Living Christ for a Dying World. Loyalty to that ideal has meant a continuous chain of conversions. That chain has never been broken. It is as strong to-day as when its first link was forged on that memorable night in 1884, when four persons were led to the feet of their Lord. This is also

true of some of the other Forward Movement Missions operating in the centres of the Commonwealth population.

We have always maintained, and we maintain still, with an emphasis that has gained strength as the years advance, that no Church can prosper which is wanting in that intense spiritual atmosphere of which we are here writing. Why do so many ten days' missions fail? And why do so many missioners lose heart? The atmosphere of the Church is not right. There is not the soil in which new converts may take root, and much good work withers away. With the spiritual atmosphere right, the Church may attempt anything in the direction of saving the world. Thus it is that out of the original and fundamental conceptions of the Forward Movement so many agencies have grown. These auxiliary agencies are all saturated with the spirit of fervent evangelism. In one of the Australian Rescue Homes for Women, for instance, of the hundreds who have been screened and nourished, fully three-fourths have professed conversion. In the numerous agencies for the feeding of the destitute, the housing of the immigrant, the caring for the sailor, it is the soul rather than the body, or, better still, the soul and the body, that these missions seek to save. The educational agencies of the movement, what is their goal? In the numerous classes, guilds, and brigades that operate, the ultimate purpose is to impart a more complete knowledge of the divine Word, and to capture the members for the service of Christ. Its evangelistic Training Institutes are institutions that seek to create and develop the spirit of a fervent evangelism. Its Homes for the Sisters of the People are nothing if they are not the centres from which is made to flow the saving grace of Calvary.

This movement has come to stay! I can detect in one or two directions a tendency to elevate the intellectual, the spectacular, the social, at the expense of the spiritual. Wherever that is done there is bound to be decay. My soul is moved by hope and prayer that are intense and buoyant that the Forward Movement in these lands may act as an object

lesson to the Church of God. I am not concerned to see these Central Missions increased in numbers. One such work in each leading city, in which may centre the philanthropies of the Church, is enough. What I long to see is the spirit of the Forward Movement penetrating and permeating the circuit machinery. Every Church an evangelistic centre! That is the New Testament ideal; and it should be ours.

CHAPTER V

THE AUSTRALIA OF TO-MORROW

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SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER

History easier than prophecy—Marsden—Realized—Great Commonwealth—Immense productive resources—Vast spaces—State rivalry—Political problems—Education—Stamina—No close preserve—No class legislation—Danger of materialism—No distinctive church — Union—Adams — Stephens—Nation-making—Australia, hail !

CHAPTER V

THE AUSTRALIA OF TO-MORROW

It is a comparatively easy thing to write the history of a country or of a nation. Its records are open to inspection, and its achievements, as well as its failures, are writ large for discerning minds to read. But it is a difficult task to write of the things that are yet to be; and a wise man is reluctant to assume the rôle of the prophet. Australia of to-day is a big subject. Writers of previous chapters have written of it from their several points of view. And when it is remembered that the results they chronicle are the outcome of little more than a century of colonization in the southern continent, imagination may fitly be called to our aid to enable us to realize in some measure what the Australia of to-morrow is likely to be. We may well ask: What future awaits a land whose spaces are so wide and whose resources are so varied, when modern civilization has fuller play, and human skill and enterprise have conquered the difficulties that yet lie in their path?

The future of the island continent began very early to exercise the minds of those whose lot was cast under the Southern Cross. In almost every instance on record the outlook was tinged and glorified with the golden light of exultant hope. Only a few years subsequent to the foundation of the settlement the Rev. Samuel Marsden wrote: 'I think it is one of the finest countries in the known world, and no people will be more happy than the people of this island in a short time.' Prefixed to the earlier editions of the *History of Governor Phillip's Voyage to New South Wales* were some lines that have become historic, not for

their merit as poetry, but for their accurate delineation of a then future which has already been largely realized. The early aspirant for poetic fame represents Hope standing on a pedestal and horoscoping the Future.

> There shall broad streets their stately walls extend,
> The circus widen and the crescent bend;
> There rayed from cities o'er the cultured land,
> Shall bright canals and solid roads expand;
> There the proud arch colossus-like, bestride
> Yon glittering stream and bound the chasing tide;
> Embellished villas crown the landscape scene,
> Farms wave with gold and orchards blush between.

Already these visions have been largely realized. A little more than a century has wrought a wonderful transformation. Of the Australia of to-day its sons are justifiably proud. But what is the Australia of to-morrow to be? That is a question that the future alone can fully answer. All that we can here venture is a hint or two as to its possibilities, or haply, its probabilities.

Is it too much to say that within another hundred years Australia will be a great commonwealth, strong in all the elements and qualities that go to make a nation strong and regnant? That, at least, is our faith, and for that faith good cause can be shown. The natural and material possibilities of Australia are scarcely yet known to its people. Time was when the popular idea was that the interior of the country was little better than a desert; but exploration and cultivation have dissipated that ignorance, and disclosed vast areas capable of yielding almost all kinds of products, and responding readily and profitably to modern methods of agriculture in all its forms. A little more than half a century ago a German naturalist (Dr. Mueller) indulged in bright anticipations as to the future in store for what were then regarded as the arid plains of the salt-bush country. He predicted the application of irrigation to those vast areas, and the utilization of the waters of the inland rivers, then running wastefully to the sea. In language almost as

poetical as it was practical, he described the various products that would eventually ameliorate the climate and replace the mallee scrub. The lapse of time has justified the faith of the scientist, and disclosed the possibilities of intense culture and exuberant fertility that yet await full development.

It is almost impossible to over-estimate the productive resources upon which futurity has to draw. Australia possesses soil and climate, in one part or other of its wide extent, equal to the cultivation of almost all known kinds of products. Its mineral wealth is also well-nigh boundless. Former chapters of this volume will have disclosed to what extent this has been exploited. But cultivation and mineral production alike have hitherto been carried on under difficulties. The methods employed have been comparatively primitive; the cost of machinery has been great, arising from dear carriage over long distances, and by methods of communication now rapidly becoming obsolete. The lack of sufficient population has also been acutely felt, and has necessarily retarded the rate of progress. That under such conditions the Australia of to-day is what it is, in such elements of material strength and wealth as production, commerce, and intellectual development, is in itself a prophecy of what Australia will become when its swaddling bands are removed, its soil opened up to scientific cultivation, its mineral wealth realized and utilized, and its primary and secondary industries raised to their highest levels of efficiency.

Millions of acres yet remain to be occupied and utilized. It is no wild dream that pictures them eventually being brought under the plough and waving with golden harvests. What is already being done in districts that a few years ago were the natural habitat of the emu and the kangaroo, or whose pasturages were utilized solely for wool-raising, is an ocular demonstration of the possibilities of the soil; and the continued discovery of new and large metalliferous deposits is an indication of the vast stores of wealth that

the future will have at its disposal. Population is being attracted in an ever-increasing flow, and it is one of the certainties of the coming years that the overflow of the Old World will more and more seek a place in the vast spaces and under the clear skies of this new world of the Sunny South. Given a period of a hundred years from the present, and what will then be the population and wealth of Australia? The contribution that science will make to the result it would take a daring mind to suggest. If the marvellous achievements of the past century are to be equalled, not to say surpassed, in the century ahead—and why should they not be?—the brightest visions will be realized, and Australia will be one of the richest and greatest countries on the face of the earth. Its cities are well placed, and are all developing their own special characteristics.

The States of the Commonwealth are engaged in a generous and stimulated rivalry with one another in material development and in educational equipment. This has its advantages, and is no mean factor in promoting the common progress and hastening the advent of the brilliant future. It will not be many years before the whole continent will be girdled with transcontinental railways. Communication will be easy from east to west, and from north to south. Interchange of products and of commercial commodities will be expedited, thus making Australia as a whole the beneficiary in the enjoyment of the comfort and wealth of every part of its wide area and varied climate. Whatever modern science has to say, Australia will listen to it. Whatever conveniences it may invent, or potentialities it may disclose, a vigorous young nation will eagerly appropriate; and it may be taken for granted that nothing that is likely to aid in the work of human progress will be allowed to pass unrecognized or unused by an alert and ambitious citizenship and the leaders thereof. That the Australia of to-morrow will claim recognition and exact homage from nations that it will then have outdistanced in the race for

wealth and greatness may be regarded as little less than an absolute certainty. The lines of a local poet in this connexion contain words of truth and soberness:

> Her white, pure lustre beams across the zones;
> The nations greet her from their awful thrones.
> From hence, the morning beauty of her name
> Will shine afar, like an exceeding flame.
> Her place will be with mighty lords, whose sway
> Controls the thunder and the marching day;
> Her crown will shine beside the crowns of kings
> Who shape the seasons, rule the course of things.
> The fame of her across the years to be
> Will spread like light on a surpassing sea;
> And graced with glory, girt with power august,
> Her life will pass till all things turn to dust.

But what kind of a people will be the citizens and rulers of the Australia of to-morrow? In this connexion 'citizens' and 'rulers' may well be bracketed, because Australia has already declared for a democracy in which equal rights and opportunities are assured to all, so far as human arrangements can assure anything. Old-world conventions are not counted much of, and will be treated with still scantier respect as the years go by. This is a situation that has its perils as well as its privileges. Nor is it to be expected that the supreme lessons of prudence and wisdom will have been learned, except at the cost of an experience in which, probably, the penalties of not a few mistakes will form a share. Australia has set itself to solve some of the knotty problems in the sphere of politics and industry that have engaged the attention of thinkers for many a century, and is intent on working out her destiny on the lines of the absolute sovereignty of a fully enfranchised people. But she is also intent on educating her future masters, and hence the establishment in all the States of an educational system, that not only provides primary instruction, and practically makes this compulsory in its operation, but places the advantages of a secondary education, with easy access to the University, within the reach of every boy and girl who

has an ambition in that direction, and evinces aptitude for the assimilation of knowledge.

On this point the political parties that are competing for the suffrages of the electors and the control of our destinies are absolutely agreed. There is, in fact, a rivalry between them as to which shall go the furthest in improving and popularizing the system of national public education. With the prospect, in the near future, of a well-informed and educated democracy, there need be no fear of the adoption of revolutionary programmes or even of the ascendancy for any length of time of garrulous demagogues. 'The common sense of most' is a factor that can be relied on to keep the balance always to the ultimate securing of the greatest good to the greatest number. A nation that tends more and more to become self-contained and self-reliant, and whose citizens read and think, can be trusted to profit by its own experiment, and to be very guarded in its deviations from tracks that are well known and well approved. So far, at any rate, Australia has not made many serious mistakes in the legislation it has enacted for itself. The Australia of to-morrow ought to be wiser and more progressive than the Australia of the past has been.

Will there be any deterioration in the physical stamina or the mental alertness of those who shall yet occupy these Southern States? Or will the Australian of the future take on a new type and evolve characteristics peculiar to his own country, as the American has done? A writer in an English journal (*The Spectator*) has ventured on the following forecast: 'The early Americans, whose influence is only just dying out, were men of austere temper, who led on an ungrateful soil lives of permanent hardship. They had to fight the sea, the snow, the forests, the Indians, and their own hearts, and did fight them all, if not with complete success, at least with persistent hardness. The Australians, we conceive, with a more genial and altogether warmer climate, without Puritan traditions, with wealth among them

from the first, and with a habit of communion with Europe, will be a softer though not a weaker people—fonder of luxury and better fitted to enjoy art, with an appreciation of beauty which the Americans have never shown, and with not only a love for literature, but a power of producing it in its original forms. They will, in short, desire easier and larger lives than the Americans do, will be less persistently laborious, and will feel—we note this already in Australians almost as strongly as in Californians—a sort of worship for their climate. The note of discontent which permeates the whole of the American character will be absent, and if not exactly happier, they will be more at ease! All Australian development will be affected by that difference, and as they cease to be British, German, and Irish, the men of the new type which will gradually be born—the distinctive and separate Australians—will be as distinguishable in England as the Americans also are distinguishable from them. The typical Australian will be a sunnier man.'

In this discriminating forecast there is no note of decadence. Why should such be anticipated? By all the tests that can be applied, it is evident that there is virility in the typical Australian. The country holds its own in the field of manly sport. It has produced world-renowned cricketers, champion oarsmen, and record-breaking swimmers. Its sons have displayed their prowess on the playing-fields of England and Africa; and its soldiers were not a whit behind those from other parts of the Empire on the battle-grounds of South Africa. But they have entered into higher competitions in the realms of scholarship and statesmanship. They have fagged in the University precincts of Oxford, Cambridge, and London. They have sat at the council board with statesmen from other climes in the Imperial Conferences of recent years. They have maintained the prestige of the race from which they sprang. They have won laurels on every field. With improved environment, with a higher general standard of education, and with an ever-widening

field for his ambitions and energies, the Australian of to-morrow ought to be one of the most virile as well as most optimistic men upon the face of the earth.

Our critics have pointed out dangers in the pathway of national development, and there is neither wisdom nor patriotism in ignoring their warnings. A narrow provincialism is one of these dangers. That spirit shows itself in the selfish desire, only too largely evinced, to keep the continent as a close preserve for those who are at present in it, and their immediate descendants. There are influential quarters in which a vigorous immigration policy is not popular. No more suicidal course can possibly be adopted than that of restricting the steady and abundant flow of population—always, of course, of a suitable and likely type—into the several States of the Commonwealth. Australia's broad acres and rich mines will not make her a great and prosperous nation unless there are bone and sinew, brain and blood, to occupy those acres and develop those mines. Australians need to recognize more fully the fact that the earth is the Lord's, and has been given by Him to the children of men; and if its spaces are comparatively empty at present, it is that they may, ere long, be filled by those who are scarcely able to get a footing in other countries already overcrowded, and whose conditions cabin and confine the energies which here would find ample scope and unrestricted play. A larger vision is a desideratum in the popular mind.

Along with this provincialism is the tendency to make class interests the dominating factor in Australian politics. It goes without saying that a great nation cannot be built up on those lines. It may be that the present tendency is but the swing of the pendulum in the direction opposite to that which previously prevailed, and that time and experience will induce the equilibrium. Equally unwise is it to endeavour to set up conditions by legislation that entirely ignore the world-conditions prevailing in similar matters,

as if Australia were a little patch apart. The great divine fact of the brotherhood of man, and its cognate truth of human solidarity, cannot be set aside by local Acts of Parliament, or by decisions arrived at around trades unions' council tables. It may be that the strikes that are at present going on—and which, be it said, are not merely local in their occurrence—are but the growing pains through which society is to arrive at a stronger and nobler manhood. The lines of the Quaker poet are doubtless as applicable to Australia as they were to America:

> Never on custom's oilèd grooves
> The world to a higher level moves,
> But grates and grinds with friction hard
> On granite boulder and flinty shard;
> The heart must bleed before it feels,
> The pool be troubled before it heals;
> Ever by losses the right must gain,
> Every good have its birth of pain;
> And graces and charities feel the fire
> Wherein the sins of the age expire.
> The fiend still rends as of old he rent
> The tortured body from which he went.

It may be that through tribulation of this sort the Australia of to-morrow will enter into its kingdom of more equal laws, and of economic and social conditions in which humanity, as such, shall be at a premium, and gold, and that which it stands for, take a lower position.

Another danger that threatens the Australia of to-morrow —and perhaps the greatest of all—is that of materialism. The conditions of life are such as to induce that. The climate is soft, and to some extent enervating. The rewards of enterprise and effort are dazzling and almost certain. Instances are constantly before men's minds of those who have succeeded in acquiring position and amassing wealth, and who spread themselves like a green bay-tree in all the luxuriance of an assured competence. Human nature finds it hard to resist the inducement to strive to obtain the same result, and to make the acquisition of wealth the be-all and

end-all of existence. Along with this is a growing addiction to pleasure, even at the cost of lowering or surrendering the sanctities of life. Secular writers are recognizing the peril of this, and the shadow it throws on the future. They are asking whether, amid the material prosperity with which the bounties of Nature, aided by the enterprise and energies of man, have endowed the country, we are becoming less virile, less self-reliant, and disposed to pay less heed to the spiritual ideals and intellectual pursuits which lift man above the brute creation? It is not long since the editor of one of Sydney's daily journals affirmed: 'We are like to become drunk with prosperity if the joyous draught lasts much longer. In our increasing wealth we are giving thought only to material gains and material pleasures. We are becoming hardened in materialism, and that may become a national peril more harmful than an enemy's blockade of our ports.'

The lessons of all history go to show that no people can long exalt the material over the spiritual without paying the penalty. There are indications that this is a growing peril in Australian life. It is deadening the finer sensibilities of the people. It is honeycombing business. It is determining and lowering the ideals of public life. It is diminishing the sense of reverence for sacred things—if, indeed, it is not undermining the spiritual beliefs that enter into the warp and woof of personal strength and national security. Many of the forms of sport are coarse, if not brutal. Entertainments that are crowded on week-days, and are seeking to get a footing on Sundays, are, at the best, frivolous, and at the worst, dissipating and deteriorating in their influence and effect. Australia is not alone in this regard. England and America cannot throw stones at her; for if report be true, the things we complain of are imported from those countries, and the worst has not been sent us. But the fact remains, that after over a hundred years of colonization and Christianization, Mammon is strongly entrenched.

Materialism in many forms is benumbing the nobler life of the land; giant evils remain to be attacked and destroyed. And in any sane vision of the future these things have to be reckoned with. They are spectres with a lot of substantiality in them. They are the corpses that are dragged through the banqueting-hall of our reveries in regard to the future, to induce serious thought and reflection in the midst of a delirium that would otherwise become intoxicating.

What kind of a Church will the Australia of to-morrow possess? At present there is nothing to indicate that the Commonwealth is likely to evolve a distinctive type of ecclesiastical organization. As regards the essentials of Christian belief, they are the same under all skies, and they have undergone no material change since first authoritatively delivered. They are held in common by all the leading denominations whose joint labours have helped to guide Australia through the perilous and trying days of the past, and to bring her to her present advanced condition in social and moral status. That these denominations so tenaciously hold by the forms of faith derived from their founders, and even by the traditions that have made them strong and effective for their own special work, is one of the hopeful signs of the times. Denominationalism may have been carried to an extent that reasonable men deplore, and that, in some cases, tends to become a scandal to religion. But on the whole it has worked for good, so far as Christianity within the British Empire is concerned, and its day has not yet passed.

However desirable in theory a United Australian Church may appear to be, there has not emerged at present any reasonable ground for cherishing a hope as to its realization. Negotiations for the promotion of union cannot be said to have brought the goal appreciably nearer, and not a few do not hesitate to say that while the talk of union was in the air, the Churches themselves were drifting further apart.

The watcher may well ask: What of the night? But the answer is not reassuring as to any hopeful sign upon the horizon indicating that the day of reunion is at hand. What the future may disclose will depend more upon personal leadership by capable and consecrated men than upon such an hypothesis as the development of a purely Australian type of Church organization in harmony with the genius of the Australian that is to be. America is a composite nation, with an almost unique power of assimilating strange constituents and welding them into a compact and homogeneous unity under the Stars and Stripes; but it has not evolved any special ecclesiastical type. It has not produced a Church which can reasonably claim to be the Church of the United States. On the contrary, it is the home of several great denominations, imported, as it were, from overseas; at the same time it is the happy hunting-ground of religious faddists and eccentrics of every conceivable variety, with still a large proportion of its population untouched and unreached.

We have enough of that sort of thing already in Australia. It is to be hoped that the Australia of to-morrow will not be afflicted with it in any larger measure. A consummation devoutly hoped and worked for is the elimination by absorption of some of the smaller and straiter sects; the amalgamation of those whose doctrinal beliefs are practically uniform, and whose ecclesiastical polity is based upon the same great principles; and the establishment of a working concord among the evangelical Churches, providing for joint ministerial training as far as practicable, and united action on all matters affecting the general, social, moral, and religious welfare of the people. The vision of a great, united Australian Church may be the vision splendid; but it would be futile to put that forward as one of the things to be realized in the Australia of to-morrow, unless there can be included in that horoscope the wider vision of the time when Christianity shall be universally triumphant, and the

kingdoms of this world shall all have become the kingdoms of our God and of His Christ.

The Australia of to-morrow! Much more might be written, especially if the writer assumed a licence to indulge in dreams and visions as to what he would like to see. Our poets have vied with one another in chanting the praises and anticipating the greatness of this fair Austral land. Says A. H. Adams:

> Vast the heritage we hold,
> League on endless league unrolled
> Splashed with sun and wattle gold
> God's demesne, Australia!
>
> Great our opportunity,
> Greater must our courage be,
> For our race we hold in fee,
> God's demesne, Australia!

In 1877 James Brunton Stephens wrote his forecast—'The Dominion of Australia':

> She is not yet; but he whose ear
> Thrills to that finer atmosphere
> Where footfalls of appointed things
> Reverberant of days to be,
> Are heard in forecast echoings,
> Like wave-beats from a viewless sea—
> Hears in the voiceless tremors of the sky
> Auroral heralds whispering, 'She is nigh.'

Such an opportunity of nation-making has never before occurred in the history of the world. For the first time in human annals a whole continent is under one flag, subject to the same laws, and occupied by a people speaking the same language, and professing practically the same religion. Its fields have never been reddened with blood shed in cruel war. Its people practically call no man lord or master. They are all free and equal. Its fringe only, so far, comparatively speaking, has been occupied. Millions of square miles of its interior wait occupation and utilization. A just and sane estimate of its material and latent wealth goes to show that Australians are 'rich beyond the dreams of

avarice.' Great indeed is our opportunity. Imagination paints a glowing picture of great cities yet to be; of industry and commerce assuming colossal proportions; of seats of learning rivalling those of the old foundations of the Motherland; and of Churches compassing the whole area of work in both the home and foreign fields, witnessing for righteousness, nourishing the young, and evangelizing the islands of the sea and the nations beyond. Patriotism indulges the prayerful and confident hope that Australia will remain an integral part of that great Empire whose flag is the flag of freedom everywhere, and whose highest mission it is to be a light-bearer to other nations.

United, that empire shall yet stand in its strength against the emissaries of evil and the fomenters of strife, and in itself invulnerable. Divided, its division will be a disaster to the world, and a constant menace to each of its at present united parts. It is a great opportunity for men of good will, of enlightened patriotism, and of high-souled Christian consecration. In presence of such an opportunity we may well unite in the prayer so aptly expressed by Mr. Rudyard Kipling, in his 'Ode in Commemoration of the Inauguration of the Commonwealth on New Year's Day, 1901':

> Tempered, august, abiding, reluctant of prayers or vows,
> Eager in face of peril, as thine for thy mother's house.
> God requite thee, my Sister, through the wonderful years to be,
> And make thy people to love thee, as thou hast loved me!

The Australia of to-morrow! The former chapters have dealt with the history of the continent and the development of its life and that of its people, in many directions. It will not be inappropriate, therefore, if we call one of our Australian poets to our aid, and let him close the volume with a national hymn, in which he apostrophizes his native land, and breathes out in song his aspirations on her behalf for a peaceful and holy future.

Australia, hail, fair southern land, 'neath whose bright sun and cloudless sky
A giant nation starts to life, who holds the Briton's birthright—liberty.
What though she cannot boast a name renowned in page of ancient story,
The day will come when high enrolled that name shall blazon forth in glory.
Then hail to thee, dear native land. May Heaven, whose cross the flag displays,
Its choicest blessings on thee send, direct thy councils, guide thy people's ways.

From inward strife, from foreign foe, in mercy, Lord, defend our land;
Oh, never let its people know of dire disease or famine's withering hand.
Defend our altars, hearths, and laws; and while to Thee from all our coasts
Ascends the hymn of prayer and praise, be Thou our help and shield, Lord God of Hosts.
So will we sing, dear native land. May Heaven, whose cross thy flag displays,
Its choicest blessings on thee send, direct thy councils, guide thy people's ways.

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	New South Wales	Missions	Victoria and Tasmania	South Australia	Queensland	West Australia	New Zealand	Total
(*a*) Ministers	226	85	250	123	63	36	193	976
Preachers on Probation	47	50	49	35	16	15	...	212
Home Missionaries	36	...	84	24	48	18	62	272
Local Preachers	893	4,695	1,506	877	439	225	935	9,570
(*b*) Church Members	23,110	42,706	39,042	20,764	9,701	4,582	21,814	161,719
On Probation for Membership	1,180	6,923	921	523	362	112	...	10,021
Junior Members	1,729	...	7,400	2,331	1,373	742	4,198	17,773
Class Leaders	180	6,767	678	125	137	70	219	8,176
Attendants on Public Worship	118,569	151,578	185,960	85,892	54,230	25,145	99,503	724,877
(*c*) Sunday Schools	549	1,460	962	444	307	127	473	4,122
Teachers	4,422	2,826	7,706	4,038	2,041	931	3,025	24,989
Scholars	38,456	34,337	68,503	33,345	19,846	8,880	30,190	233,557
(*d*) Christian Endeavour Societies	202	...	297	182	126	33	100	940
Senior Active Members	3,919	...	6,008	3,246	1,210	685	2,000	17,068
Junior Societies	118	...	223	128	...	40	75	584
Junior Active Members	3,453	...	4,562	4,199	1,061	1,413	2,300	16,988
(*e*) Theological Institutions	1	(11)	1	1	1	1	1	6
Number of Tutors	5	(12)	7	1	4	1	...	18
Number of Students	14	(345)	27	5	6	2	15	69
(*f*) Book Depôts	1	...	1	1	1	1	...	5
(*g*) Church Building or Loan Funds	2	...	2	1	1	1	1	8
Capital	£59,320	...	£51,367	£10,016	£6,657	£1,789	£13,287	£142,436
(*h*) Churches	648	1,052	973	490	267	104	440	3,974
Schoolrooms	131	39	313	167	21	26	...	697
Parsonages	144	285	218	121	62	42	147	1,019
Colleges	2	34	4	2	1	1	1	45
(*i*) Fire Insurance Fund	1	...	1	1	1	...	1	5
Guarantee Fund	...	...	£1,300	£5,000	£5,100	...	£12,000	£23,400
Accumulated Reserve	£1,008	...	£2,330	...	£1,317	...	£5,493	£10,148

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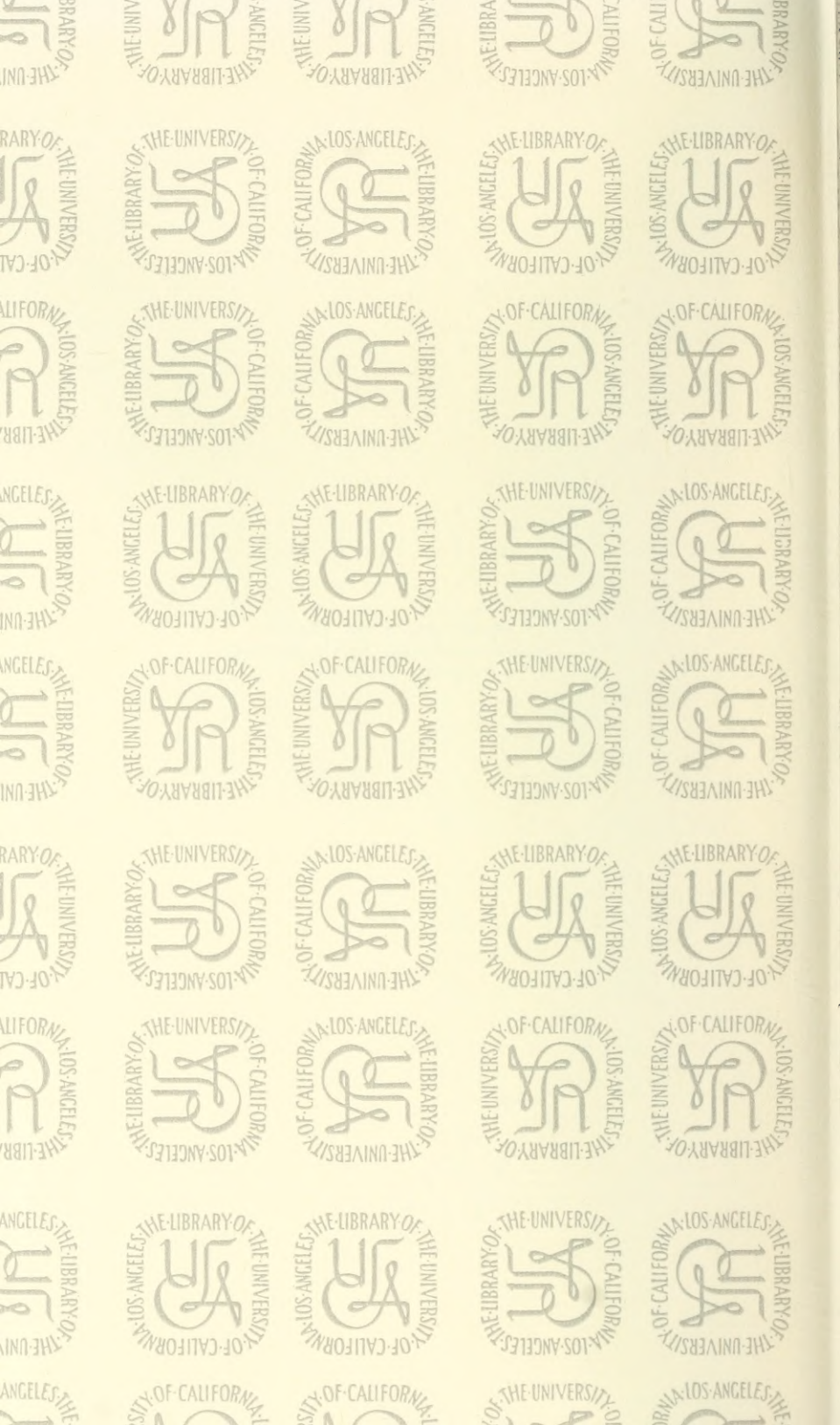
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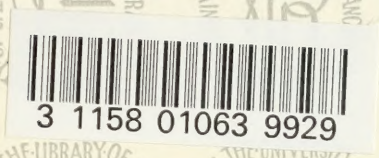
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